



4th Marianas History Conference

ONE Archipelago, Many Stories: Commemorating Our Histories

History

Three of Three



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History of the Mariana Islands

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Notwithstanding the recommendations of the Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru about the spelling of the word CHamoru, the editors have respected the original spelling presented by the authors, as representing their choices and perspectives on these matters.

4th Marianas History Conference

Spanish Era

CHamoru “Adaptive Resistance” During the Spanish Conquest and Colonization of the Marianas Islands

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Abstract: *Mainstream history of the Mariana Islands presents the CHamoru as indigenous people who were transformed after the conquest (1668–1700) into a Hispanicized population losing their Austronesian cultural tradition. I instead emphasize the role of CHamorus during these years as active participants in their history and vehicles of what I call “adaptive resistance.” In this paper I present some of the ideological interpretations that have been included in the historical narrative. They have been accepted without conducting a critical analysis of the sources and have been crucial to establish this narrative.*

Anthropologists have long accepted, with great relief, that our discipline renounced the search for absolute objectivity demanded, paradoxically, by many other sciences. The acquiescence to reality has allowed us to accept alternative sources of knowledge, such as poetry, novels, or songs. It allows us also to be missionaries, dancers or even pirates, or all at once. We abandoned the schizophrenic use of the third person of the plural in our writings and embraced our authorship, our “I.” Claiming our authorship, we acknowledged our passions and mistakes. This acceptance better equipped us to deal with the contradictions and complexities enclosed in historical events and their commemorations.

While reflecting on the anniversary of the arrival of Magellan to these islands, we have seen that there are different perspectives of the same historical event. The Government of the Philippines claims today that Lapu Lapu’s killing of Magellan should be the main event to commemorate in 2021. Meanwhile, the Spaniards will celebrate with pride Magellan’s or Juan Sebastián Elcano’s incredible achievement.

In any case, the victory of Raja Lapu Lapu, who didn't personally kill Magellan, was a defeat for his countryman, the Rajah Humabon of the small island of Limasawa. Humabon was in a war with Lapu Lapu and joined forces with Magellan's men.¹ Objectivity and perspective interact with political interest and historical interpretations.

It is also important to clarify, when talking about resistance and agency in the Pacific, that scholars associated with the Australian National University (ANU) have been working with these concepts in the Pacific for many decades. In the '60s James Davidson inaugurated a school that claimed for island-centered historiography, denied the overgeneralization of the fatal impact thesis, and pushed for fieldwork as part of the historical endeavor. Later came contact studies and structural approaches to Pacific history, ethnographic perspectives, and Islander-centered narratives. At the dawn of the 21st century, they debated who owns history and witnessed the birth of Cultural Studies.

However, Australian scholars of the Pacific have neglected the history of the CHamoru people during the Spanish period.² Some pages were written covering the initials years of contact (1521-1700) After the final pacification and reduction to villages in 1700, we found mostly a historical silence until the arrival of the USS *Charleston* in 1898. I cannot recall any island-centered historiography, post-contact studies, structural studies, islander-centered history, or microhistories for the Spanish Colonial period of Guam from 1700 to 1898 written during the 20th century. It looks like Pacific historians walked tiptoeing around the subject,

¹ Antonio Pigafetta, *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan: Transl. from the Accounts of Pigafetta and Other Contemporary Writers*, ed. Henry Morton Stanley (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 100-102.

² I will use CHamoru instead of Chamorro to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of the Mariana Islands. I follow the last directions of the *Kumision I Fino' CHamoru*.

presupposing a radical process of forced acculturation.³ In the 1970s, some CHamoru scholars started to oppose the idea of total acculturation, stressing some processes of cultural continuity, although the Spanish period remained not adequately analyzed.⁴

Acculturation studies⁵ unconsciously assume that sooner or later any non-Western culture in contact with Westerners will eventually become westernized losing its primordial ‘purity.’ They presuppose that after an initial violent reaction, there will be a final passive submission of the indigenous culture, which will succumb ineluctably to the colonial enterprise. However, other options are possible. We find processes of transculturation, ethnogenesis, creolization, cultural mobility, or culture transformation, among others. All of these approaches share a common denominator: They recognize that ‘people – free and enslaved, “dominant” and “dominated,” labor and management – are active agents of change rather than simple receptors of imposed conditions and restraints’.⁶

³ There are some exceptions from outside ANU like the work of Fran Hezel. Most recently some other scholars, such as Alex Coello de la Rosa, Carlos Madrid, Frank Quimby, Michael Clement Jr. and I have started to fill the void. I am not trying to be exhaustive in this list, but to point out a problem that I consider relevant today.

⁴ See for instance Underwood, Robert A., “Hispanization Process as a Socio-Historical Process on Guam.” Unpublished manuscript, prepared for University of Guam Guam History courses. Guam, 1978. Souder-Jaffery, Laura Marie Torres. *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers of Guam*. University Press of America, 1992. Diaz, Vicente M. “Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam.” *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (1994): 29-58. I would like to acknowledge the useful commentaries of Michael Clement especially on this point but also on this paper and the conversations that we usually have on the door jamb of my office.

⁵ There are of course some exceptions like Gregory Bateson, *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 61-72.

⁶ Douglas V. Armstrong, *Creole Transformation from Slavery to Freedom: Historical Archaeology of the East End Community, St* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 61-62.

Alongside this idea of acculturation lies a tendency to an anthropological ‘romantic’ approach to indigenous cultures.⁷ This trend presupposes that, ‘in their original or natural state, before they are disrupted or contaminated, cultures are properly rooted in the rich soil of blood and land, and they are virtually motionless’.⁸ This means we should assume that the ‘original condition of indigenous cultures was one of fixity and coherence’ and that cultural mobility and change are a contemporary phenomenon which have no presence in the past. However, as Stephen Greenblatt points out, most probably the past, like the present, is ‘more about nomads than natives.’⁹

CHamoru people performed what I have called ‘adaptive resistance’¹⁰ – the cybernetic activity of peoples that manifest political/cultural agency under asymmetric (neo)colonial conditions – that has been in play until today in different forms.¹¹ I argue that the ‘Spanish-Chamorro Wars’,¹² episodes of collective or individual violent resistance against the Spanish colony or non-native individuals

⁷ Tim Ingold, *Anthropology: Why It Matters* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018), 77.

⁸ Greenblatt, *Cultural Mobility*, 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰ David Atienza, “The Mariana Islands Militia and the Establishment of the ‘Pueblos de Indios’”. Indigenous Agency in Guam from 1668 to 1758,” in *One Archipelago, Many Stories: Integrating Our Narratives*, vol. 3 (2nd History of the Marianas Conference, Guam: Guampedia Foundation, 2013), 137-58; David Atienza, “Priests, Mayors and Indigenous Offices: Indigenous Agency and Adaptive Resistance in the Mariana Islands (1681 -1758),” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (2014): 31-48.

¹¹ David Atienza and Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, “Death Rituals and Identity in Contemporary Guam (Mariana Islands),” *The Journal of Pacific History* 47, no. 4 (2012): 459-73; David Atienza and Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, “Embodied Silent Narratives of Masculinities Some Perspectives from Guam Chamorros,” in *Narrative and Identity Construction in the Pacific Islands*, ed. Farzana Gounder (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015), 243-58.

¹² See Francis Hezel “The Early Spanish Period in the Marianas, 1668-1669,” in *One Archipelago, Many Stories: Integrating Our Narratives*, vol. 3 (2nd History of the Marianas Conference, Guam: Guampedia, 2013), 127-36, for a discussion about the historiographical concept of “Spanish-Chamorro Wars”.

that expanded from 1672 to 1700, and the consequent *reducciones* – reductions to villages –, did not eliminate or exterminate the indigenous life from the Mariana Islands.¹³ Therefore, an unwillingness to comprehend the complexity of this moment generates a process of historical Manichean interpretations that unavoidably falls into an ideological trap. This hegemonic narrative of acculturation is ideological, and therefore political.

The partial or selective blindness that has characterized leading 18th and 19th centuries' historiography of the Spanish Colonial period in the Mariana Islands, might be originated partially on political and (neo)colonial interests, but it is also a problem of historiography and of research methodology.¹⁴

Avoiding or ignoring complexity will lead us into a 'historical ideology' that will always be forced to fit into a dialectical dynamic of conflict and resolution between opposite actors. Ideology is a 'systematic body of concepts,' 'integrated assertions, theories, and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program,'¹⁵ which tries to explain human history with some few and simple interpretative keys. Historical episodes and actors that do not fit into these explanatory keys will be silenced or will be forced to fit in the schema at any cost.¹⁶ Contradictions, paradoxes, 'cultural

¹³ Francis X. Hezel, *When Cultures Clash: Revisiting the "Spanish Chamorro Wars"* (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2016).

¹⁴ The problem is not only the lack of Spanish language skills to read primary sources among many scholars, but also the fact that Davidson's School privileged what they consider to be indigenous in an effort to decolonize history. Unfortunately, they did not include CHamoru people in the category of indigenous after the Spanish colonial conquest.

¹⁵ "[Ideology](#)," Merriam-Webster.com. Accessed August 22, 2018.

¹⁶ On many occasions, indigenous Marianos that adopted colonial agenda were systematically labeled as traitors, see, for example Eddie LG Benavente, *I Manmaga'lahi Yan i Manma'gas: Geran Chamoru Yan Espanot (1668-1695)* (Hagåtña, Guam: Eddie LG Benavente, 2007).

ambiguity,¹⁷ alternative ontologies¹⁸ and complexities will be eliminated. Phrases like ‘with me or against me’ or ‘we and they’ will fill up the whole canvas with only two colors: black and white.

A monochromatic vision of historical events will require a polarization and normalization of history into well defined and separate factions that share a common worldview. However, we cannot analyze colonial political forces as a compact block with no complexities, multiple ontological levels, inherent paradoxes, and contradictions.¹⁹ On the other side, the occupied culture, its agents, and its actions are neither led by unifying interests nor motivations.

For example, **we have been taught** that the actors or agents during the last part of the 17th Century in the Mariana Islands were just Spaniards and CHamorus. But we may ask: Who were the Spaniards, and who were the CHamorus in these conflicts?

Looking closely to the primary sources we will find out that among the so-called ‘Spaniards’ there were peninsular Spaniards from Castilla, Galicia, and País Vasco. Also, among them were Jesuits – from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Germany, and Flanders; convicts, and soldiers; professionals and non-professionals. Some were from New Mexico – maybe Tlaxcalans, Nahuatls, Chichimecas, Totonacas, Oaxaqueños, *Criollos* or *Mestizos*; and from Peru – Kechwas, *Criollos*, and *Mestizos*. There were some from the Philippines – mostly Pampangans and Tagalogs; and finally, some were CHamoru – from different clans, lineages and villages, some chiefs and some commoners – that also joined the ‘Spaniards’ and their agenda.

¹⁷ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, 22.

¹⁸ I use the word ontologies following the work of the Ontological School in Anthropology. See Martin Holbraad and Morten Axel Pedersen, *The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition* (Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁹ See also Rainer F. Buschmann, Edward R. Slack, and James B. Tueller, *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World, 1521-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014).

Among the ‘CHamorus’ there were some from Hagåtña, from Umatac, Anigua, Sumay, and Orote. Some were of high-status lineage *matao*; and some of low *manachang*. They were from different clans with different traditions and histories of alliance and war. There were baptized CHamorus, and those not baptized; bachelors *manuritao* and married people; there were women – young girls, married woman, and old women; and men, chiefs and commoners. There were some Carolinians who joined the CHamoru side, as did some Filipinos from Pampanga or Tagalogs who were married to CHamoru women. Finally, there were also some African men, ex-slaves that survived shipwrecks or deserted the ‘Spaniards,’ and we know there was at least one Chinese: Choco.

It follows that a high level of heterogeneity implies a high level of complexity and dynamism. What makes it profitable to dig at the crossroads of all the interests and agendas of the different characters of the historical play is remembering that the effective power, the actual capacity to re-route history, rest on these relations. Besides, we can’t uncritically assume that the colonial event meant the same to pre-contact indigenous people of the Mariana Islands in the 17th Century as it means to us in the 21st Century, because we probably occupy different ontological structures. Colonialism, in the words of Vicente Diaz, is an ambivalent and dynamic process, and CHamoru history needs to be viewed as ‘contested sites on which identities and communities are built and destroyed, rebuilt and destroyed, in highly charged ways.’²⁰

On this ideological endeavor of generating two separated and well defined blocks, **we have been taught** that Diego Luis de Sanvitores arrived Guam in 1668 with soldiers as a proof of the initial genocidal intention of the Spanish Jesuits. Accordingly, the “soldier’s work was soon completed, and this race [CHamoru] was

²⁰ Vicente M. Diaz, ‘Simply Chamorro: telling tales of demise and survival in Guam’, in David Hanlon and Geoffrey M. White (Eds.), *Voyaging through the Contemporary Pacific* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), 141–70, 143.

no more.”²¹ Paul Carano and Pedro Sanchez wrote in a seminal Guam’s history in 1964 that (the bold is mine):

On June 15, 1668, the Sanvitores mission stepped ashore on the island of Guam. The mission consisted of Father Sanvitores, four other priests of the Jesuit order, a lay brother, and some lay assistants. Most of the assistants were natives of the Philippines Islands who had volunteered to serve as catechists. Besides these, **there was a garrison force consisting of a captain and thirty-two soldiers.** This force was made up of Spaniards and Filipinos. **Captain Juan de Santa Cruz was the commander of the military garrison.**²²

Fran Hezel, in 1982, mentioned that “Fr Luis Diego Sanvitores, with five other Jesuits, a group of lay catechists **and a company of troops**, came to establish a permanent mission in the Marianas.”²³ Rogers in 1995 confirmed that “Sanvitores was both the spiritual leader and the secular chief executive with control of **the soldiers through the military commander, Capitan Juan de Santa Cruz**”²⁴

Later he added that “The mission consisted of five Jesuit priests, one scholastic brother (Lorenzo Bustillos), three Spanish officers, and about forty or forty-one non-Spaniards. These latter were mostly Filipinos but included some Mexican

²¹ Hans G. Hornbostel, “The Island of Guam and Its People’s Tragic History,” *The Mid-Pacific* XL, no. 1 (1930): 77.

²² Paul Carano and Pedro C. Sanchez, *A Complete History of Guam* (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1964), 64.

²³ Francis X. Hezel, “From Conversion to Conquest: The Early Spanish Mission in the Marianas,” *Journal of Pacific History* 17, no. 3 (1982): 115–37.

²⁴ Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 47.

mestizos of Spain and Indian descent. **Thirty-one of the non-Spaniards were soldiers** and the remainder either catechist or servants.”²⁵

Don Farrell in 2011 also stated that “The morning after they arrived, Sanvitores came ashore with the rest of his missionaries **and troops**, including Juan de Santa Cruz.”²⁶ And more recently Chappell in 2013 collective work wrote that ²⁷ “On Guam, however, **Spanish priest arrived with an armed escort in 1668**” concluding that “This holocaust [the one of Guam] would be repeated on other Pacific islands exposed to intensive foreign contact, just as it had occurred on the American mainland.”

Nonetheless, the former authors who support the thesis that Sanvitores arrived with troops in June of 1668 do not quote any primary sources, but rather quote one another. Conversely, Francisco Garcia, writing in 1700, stated that Diego Luis de Sanvitores arrived with no troops but only with some priests and his “secular companions.”²⁸ Luis de Morales, a direct witness of the historical event, does not mention soldiers at all on the first arrival of the missionaries. In the collection of primary sources compiled by Levesque²⁹ there is no one reference to the arrival of Diego Luis de Sanvitores with soldiers, and even James Burney,³⁰ a declared enemy

²⁵ Rogers, 47.

²⁶ Don A. Farrell, *History of the Northern Mariana Islands to Partition* (Saipan: Public School System, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, 2011), 155.

²⁷ David A. Chappell, “The Postcontact Period,” in *The Pacific Islands: Environment & Society*, ed. Moshe Rapaport (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2013), 139.

²⁸ Francisco Garcia, *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* (Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 2004), 176.

²⁹ Rodrigue Levesque, ed., *First Real Contact, 1596-1637: A Collection of Source Documents*, vol. III, History of Micronesia (Gatineau, Quebec: Editions Levesque, 1993).

³⁰ James Burney, *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean ...* (Printed by L. Hansard, 1813).

of the Spanish Crown, writing in 1813 mention no soldiers on the arrival of the Jesuit fathers. Likewise, the French navigator Luis de Freycinet³¹ in 1819 or the American anthropologist Laura Thompson³² in 1941 did not find or mention any data related to the arrival of the Jesuit father in 1968 with soldiers.

Primary sources, indeed, present another picture of the first arrival of the Catholic mission to the Mariana Islands. In a letter written by Diego Luis de Sanvitores to Francisco Bello, procurator in Mexico for the Philippines, before leaving for the Marianas in 1668, Sanvitores reports who is going to the Mariana Islands with him, what he is bringing with him, and what he is still missing. Sanvitores wrote:

The people who come from Manila destined for the mission of the Marianas Islands are: Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, priest of the company of Jesus. Father Tomas Cardenosa, priest of the same company. Two other priests and a brother who had been granted by the government did not come from Manila because the lack of presence of subjects of our company in that province makes it easier to take them now from Mexico. There also come in the company of the parents to serve God in this mission with their offices the following natives of the Philippines: Don Francisco de Mendoza, main interpreter very skilled with the language of the Marianos, with whom he lived about twenty years. Esteban Díaz, also an interpreter with more than twenty years of stay in these islands. Don Juan de Santa Cruz Panday, master blacksmith who comes with his wife destined to teach the girls, and with a sister and a seventeen-month-old child, family of known example of Christianity for those poor and to teach them many other trades because they know how to weave, work the soil, etc. Don Felipe Sonsong, Panday master of church

³¹ Louis Claude Desaulses de Freycinet, *An Account of the Corvette l'Uraïne's Sojourn at the Mariana Islands, 1819* (Saipan: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 2003).

³² Laura Thompson, *Guam and Its People* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969).

building and carpentry. And as journeyman³³ or assistants: Juan de los Reyes, Domingo de la Cruz, Domingo Mindoro, Pascual Francisco, weaver; Andrés Ysson, farmer; Juan de Santiago, singer; Felipe Jocsan, singer; Andrés de la Cruz, child countertenor. These will also serve in the sacristy.³⁴

The first mention of a military confrontation happened as a consequence of the death of the first missionary in Anatajan in August of 1669, Lorenzo the Malabar,³⁵ when he offered baptism to a child of this island. Then, when a few days later a war erupted in Tinian between the Marpo and Sungahron clans, Diego Luis de Sanvitores decided to organize a small army with his lay helpers to assure the peace in the islands and the security for the missionaries. Sanvitores appointed Don Juan de la Cruz to lead this small army together with nine other Pampanga, some of whom were only twelve years old, and one Spaniard.

On November 25, 1669, Diego Luis traveled to Tinian with the little “Mariano Squad,” as he called it, armed with three muskets and one small piece of artillery. Miraculously, and after a few months, this small army restored the peace among the clans. The apparent success of the Mariano Squad pacifying the island of Tinian, and the increasing violent rejection to receive baptism generated by Choco’s tales

³³ The Spanish word used for “journeyman” associated to the hierarchical structure of the guild or trade was *oficiales*. The guild was composed by *Maestro* (Master), *Oficiales* (journeyman), and *Aprendices* (apprentices). This might have caused the misinterpretation of the text, thinking that *oficiales* could be translated as officials, a military title. Don Juan de la Cruz, second last name or nickname was Panday, which means blacksmith in Tagalog and other Filipino languages. He was not commander of the garrison but was in charge of the Mariana Squad later on.

³⁴ See Letter of Diego Luis de Sanvitores to the Procurator of the Jesuit mission for Manila in Mexico. Acapulco, January of February 1668. RAH Cortes 9/2627 n4.

³⁵ Lorenzo, originally from Malabar, South-west India area, remained in Guam since 1638 after the wreck of *La Concepcion* ship. He served as a translator for the missionaries and accompanied Diego Luis de Sanvitores in his trip to the northern islands in 1669.

regarding this Christian sacrament,³⁶ convinced Sanvitores of the necessity of having a small army to assist in the evangelization. One year later, the new Governor of the Filipinas Manuel de León, on his way to Manila, dropped some men to assist in the mission. Later, on June 9, 1671, the galleon *el Buen Socorro* delivered the first eight soldiers assigned for the mission.³⁷ In the hagiography of Diego Luis de Sanvitores, Francisco Garcia mentioned that:

The ship *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro* arrived on June 9, 1671, and brought to this mission the succor of which it stood in great need, that is, soldiers, who were sent by Her Majesty, through the providence of the Lord, who saw how greatly they would soon be needed.³⁸

It is a fact that indigenous people from the Philippines were not alien to warfare, especially Pampangan, Visayan and Cagayan peoples. Many of them “looking for ways to exempt themselves from the *repartimiento* and *bandala* systems” taxes in the form of compulsory work occasionally became temporary soldiers for the Empire, linked to it by a “contingent loyalty.”³⁹ Consequently, they hardly could be classified as professional soldiers. Manuel de Solórzano in a private letter to his father complained about the poor condition of the garrison in Guam’s presidio, composed of forty men in 1682:

³⁶ Choco, a Chinese Sanglai shipwrecked in Marianas, spread the rumor that the baptismal waters were poisonous. The fact that some recent born or old people in danger of imminent death were baptized immediately by the Jesuits seemed to confirmed, when they died after receiving the sacrament, that Choco’s tales were not totally unfounded.

³⁷ Letter from the Governor of Philippines Manuel de Leon to the Regent Queen dated in Manila, June 22, 1672” AGI Audiencia de Filipinas, 10, R. 1, N. 18.

³⁸ Garcia, *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*, 228.

³⁹ Stephanie Mawson, “Philippine Indios in the Service of Empire: Indigenous Soldiers and Contingent Loyalty, 1600-1700,” *Ethnohistory* 63, no. 2 (April 2016): 380-413.

“[...] some of them *criollos* from New Spain, and others from the Philippines, manned this fort, but I would have exchanged them all for ten *Extremeños*. Some of them were lame, others had sores on their skin, and all were tired and discouraged by the constant presence of the barbarians and their lances.”⁴⁰

We have been told that “By around 1720 not one male of the original [CHamoru] race was alive.”⁴¹ After the pacification process and the relocation of all native islanders from the Marianas Archipelago in villages in the islands of Guam and Rota, the indigenous culture disappeared or mutated into a kind of hybrid Hispanic culture. CHamoru women were forced to marry Spaniards and Filipinos, and the custom was lost.

However, the census for Guam and Rota of 1728⁴² shows that except for one *mestizo*, Ignacio Teseda, the entire island of Rota was peopled by indigenous CHamoru. Likewise, the villages of Guam were also almost exclusively indigenous, except for Hagåtña. The 1758⁴³ census does not include explicit remarks about the ethnic composition of the villages, but again, the presence of indigenous names confirms that the ethnic composition of the villages of Guam and Rota did not change much in the thirty years between the two censuses. In these censuses, we can perceive a tendency, as well, to matrilineality, a Micronesian indigenous kinship characteristic. Finally, counting the proportion between male and female

⁴⁰ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa and David Alienza de Frutos, *Scars of Faith: Letters and Documents of the Mariana Islands' Jesuit Missionaries and Martyrs* (Boston: Jesuit Sources, In Press).

⁴¹ Hornbostel, “The Island of Guam and Its People’s Tragic History,” 75.

⁴² AGI Ultramar, Leg. 561, ff. 127-186.

⁴³ AGI Filipinas, Leg. 480, ff. 1-82.

individuals in the censuses, we find a healthy balance in a proportion of one to one, men and women.⁴⁴

We have been taught that after the forced relocation completed in the early 18th Century, navigation techniques and knowledge were lost. Nicholas Goetzfridt in a popular web based encyclopedia used by many Guam's history students concludes his entry about *Proas and Navigation* with the following statement:

By the end of the seventeenth century, contact and eventual settlement by Spanish colonialists and missionaries not only led to the near decimation of the Chamorro people through introduced diseases and warfare, but also, in an effort to demobilize and control the Chamorro people, led to the decline of the construction and intricate engineering details of the proa that had so fascinated early Europeans.⁴⁵

Unquestionably, a loss of people generates a loss of intangible knowledge, but it is risky to assume that behind the decline of proas' construction, there was a hidden intention to "demobilize and control the Chamorro people." The Spaniards, indeed, depended totally on the knowledge of the CHamorus navigators to move between the islands. In any case, on April 22, 1819, Jacques Arago, illustrator in the Louis Freycinet's expedition, recorded his trip to Rota and Tinian in traditional proas.⁴⁶ Some of these ships were guided by CHamorus and some by Carolinians. The traditional knowledge and the skills still existed at the beginning of the 19th Century. Probably this activity remained until the inhabitants of the Marianas adopted a more advantageous inter-island navigation system sometime during the 19th Century.

⁴⁴ For more information about cultural continuity in the censuses of 1728 and 1758 see David Atienza, "Historical Complexity and Cultural Continuity of the Indigenous CHamoru during the 18th Century" Under Review.

⁴⁵ Nicholas Goetzfridt, "[Proa and Navigation](#)," Guampedia: The Encyclopedia of Guam, accessed October 24, 2019.

⁴⁶ John Milsom, *The Uranie in Guam* (Gladestry Associates Publishing, 2019), 57-72.

Resistance in the Marianas was not circumscribed to the first encounters and dissipated after 1700, as many historians claim. Resistance continued as long as CHamoru people endured living in the Mariana Islands. But it was an adaptive resistance, also performed on the village and the domestic sphere. As I have defended here, CHamoru people, although severely decimated, displayed elements of an Austronesian tradition in the 18th and 19th centuries. Any denial of this native agency could be motivated ideologically or could be a methodological problem. In any case, it is necessary to change the model to approach the history of the Mariana Islands. It is fundamental today to consider the continuity and transformation of CHamoru culture in all its complexity.

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David Atienza has a bachelor's degree in history and a master's degree in anthropology and linguistics. He 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, prior to teaching on Guam. Dr. Atienza's research interests are focused on cultural identity, ethnohistory, and linguistic anthropology. He has authored several publications and participated in local and international conferences. Currently, he is an associate professor of anthropology at UOG.

Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães in Portuguese and Fernando de Magallanes in Spanish) Memoria

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Abstract: Ferdinand Magellan (c. 1480-1521) set out from Spain in 1519 with a fleet of five ships to discover a western sea route to the Spice Islands. This presentation is based on the facts of Magellan's life and character researched by Historian José Toribio Medina and published in Santiago de Chile in 1920. The work of JT Medina is so monumental that it has guided the study of many historians. In this paper the author is selecting passages of Magellan's Memoria and translating them to illustrate his ambition and goals of the expedition that change navigation forever.

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



MAGELLAN'S HYPOTHESES

1. Sailing south around the coast of the new continent to find the strait to connect with the South Sea.
 - Sources for his hypothesis: Map of Martin de Bohemia owned by the King of Portugal and other unpublished maps prior to 1517, the globe of Behaim dated 1492 that was drawn as hypothetical since it was the year of the "Discovery" of America.
 - Magellan set his plan to travel to latitude 57 south to find the strait. His hypothesis was to find the strait and arrive to the Moluccas without touching Portugal's domain (Medina, 1920 p. LXX).
 - Magellan abandoned Portugal with a map made by Pedro Reynel. In October 1517 arrived in Seville to present his hypothetical plan to the Spanish King Charles V. "A business of much interest for His Majesty".

PEDRO REYNEL'S MAP 1485



MARTIN BEHAIM'S GLOBE 1492



BEHAIM'S GLOBE

- Bartolomé de las Casas, bishop of Chiapas, was in Valladolid (1518) described it as: "Magellan brought a well-painted globe showing the entire earth. He used this to show the route he would take, except he had left the strait blank so no one could find it.



MAGELLAN IN SPAIN

Magellan in Seville stay at the house of Diego Barbosa, who became his mentor about the businesses that he was to pursue. After 70 days in Seville Magellan married Beatriz Barbosa, daughter of Diego. This event helped him politically to initiate the negotiations, since now Magellan has a link to Spain.

In January 1518, he went to meet the Great Chancellor with Ruy Faleiro. Magellan had three maps and the globe to show the king a sailing chart.

On 22 March 1518, King Charles gave his approval. Magellan and Faleiro received royal appointment to command the fleet of five ships to be equipped and manned at royal expense. Magellan and Faleiro were appointed joint captains general of an expedition directed to seek an all-Spanish route to the Moluccas.

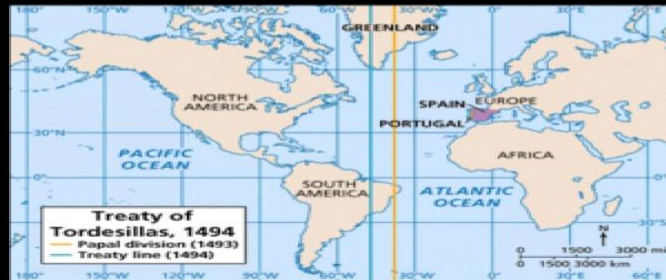
2. THE TREATY OF TORDECILLAS

By the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), all newly discovered and undiscovered territories east of a line of demarcation (370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands) were assigned to Portugal; all that lay west belonged to Spain. Magellan and Faleiro now proposed to sail west to give practical proof of their claim that the Spice Islands lay west of the line of demarcation—that is, within the Spanish, not the Portuguese, hemisphere.

Magellan was convinced that he would lead his ships from the Atlantic to the "Sea of the South" by discovering a strait through Terra Firma (the South American mainland).

In the royal agreement, Magellan and Faleiro were directed to find "the" strait, referring to the hypothetical passage through Terra Firma.

TREATY OF TORDECILLAS, 1494



THE FLEET

- The flagship *Victoria* was 85 toneles (tons) –Captain Luis de Mendoza
- The *Concepción* 90 –Captain Gaspar de Quesada
- The *San Antonio* 120 –Captain Juan de Cartagena
- The *Trinidad* 110 – Ferdinand Magellan
- The *Santiago* 65 –Captain Juan López Carvalho
- The ships were very small –between sixteen and twenty feet in beam, eight to ten feet in depth, and forty-eight to sixty feet in length. They had half-decks and stern castles, two or three masts.

THE FLAGSHIP VICTORIA



Credit:Historia/Shutterstock. Copyright:Copyright (c) 1808

THE VOYAGE AND THE CREW

- On September 21, 1519, the ships left Sanlúcar de Barrameda a port city in Cádiz in the autonomous community of Andalusia, southwestern Spain.
- The crew was composed by an international representation of twenty-four men from Portugal, the master gunner Andrés de Bristol was an Englishman, fifteen gunners from France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Among the seamen were Italians, Greeks, and Moors, plus several slaves from Africa and Malaya. There was a large number of *sobresalientes*, or men-at-arms, mostly soldiers and young men looking for adventure. Among this group was Antonio Pigafeta, from Lombardy. He became the chronicler of the fleet.
- Conflicts between the Portuguese and Spanish officers on board would lead to severe discipline problems.

MAGELLAN STRAIT

- On March 31, 1520, he reached Port Saint Julian (San Julián, Argentina), where on Easter day at midnight Spanish captains led a serious mutiny against the Portuguese commander. With resolution, ruthlessness, and daring, Magellan quelled it: he executed one of the mutinous captains and left another to his fate ashore when, on August 24, 1520, the fleet left Saint Julian.
- After reaching the mouth of the Santa Cruz River, near which the *Santiago*, surveying the area, had been wrecked earlier, Magellan started south again. On October 21, 1520, he rounded the Cape of the Virgins (Cabo Virgenes, Argentina) and at approximately 52°50' S entered the passage that proved to be the strait of his seeking.

MAGELLAN STRAIT

- At the news that the ocean had been sighted, the iron-willed admiral reportedly broke down and cried with joy.
- On November 28, 1520, the *Trinidad*, the *Concepción*, and the *Victoria* entered the "Sea of the South," from their calm crossing later called the Pacific Ocean.
- Until December 18 they had sailed near the Chilean coast; then Magellan took a course northwestward. Not until January 24, 1521, was land sighted, probably Pukapuka Atoll in the Tuamotu Archipelago (now part of French Polynesia). Crossing the equinoctial line at approximately 158° W on February 13, the voyagers on March 6 made first landfall at Guam in the Mariana Islands, where they obtained fresh food for the first time in 99 days.

INSTRUMENTS OF SCIENCE



The mariner's astrolabe was an important navigational tool for finding latitude. It is a simplified version of the traditional astrolabe – an instrument that could help tell time, find altitude, and find latitude. The mariner's astrolabe measures the height of the sun or a star above the horizon. Ruy Faleiro's notes were taken by the Portuguese when they took the *Trinidad*.

INSTRUMENTS OF SCIENCE

- Compass
- Telescope
- Divider
- Rope
- Sundial



FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD



6 SEPTEMBER 1522, THE VICTORIA ARRIVED AT SAN LUCAR DE BARRAMEDA

- Out of 268 mates of Magellan, only eighteen men returned to Spain after encircling the globe:
- Juan Sebastian Del Cano, Captain
- Francisco Albo, Pilot
- Miguel de Rodas, boatswain
- Juan de Acurio, boatswain
- Hernando de Bustamante, barber-surgeon
- Martin de Judicibus, man-at-arms



6 SEPTEMBER 1522, THE VICTORIA ARRIVED AT SAN LUCAR DE BARRAMEDA

- Maestre Anes, gunner
- Diego Gallego, mariner
- Nicolas de Nápoles, mariner
- Miguel Sánchez de Rodas, mariner
- Francisco Rodríguez de Huelva, mariner
- Antonio Hernández Colmenero, "
- Juan de Arratía, seaman
- Juan de Santander, seaman
- Vasco GómezGallego, seaman
- Juan de Zubileta, page
- Antonio Pigaffeta, man-at-arms
- Simon de Burgos, man-at arms
- And three men from the Spice Islands, who did not encircled the globe.
- One is listed in the pay records as Juan de Pegu, Indio de Maluco;
- the other two were Manuel
- and a slave named Francisco (Kesley, 2016, p. 32).

THE VICTORIA



*Prima ego velivisti antequam curvis Orbes,
Magellane, novo te dices dicta fredo.
Ambrosi meritis voce VICTORIA: sunt mi
Vela, ala; precium, gloria; pugna, mare.*

"I was the first to circle the globe, flying under sail, / Magellan, commander,
I took you through the new strait. / And by circling the globe, I earned the
name Victoria. / My sails are wings; my prize, glory; my battleground, the sea."
(Source: Abraham Ortelius, *Maris pacifici* (Antwerp, 1589))

MAGELLAN'S GEOGRAPHIC LEGACY

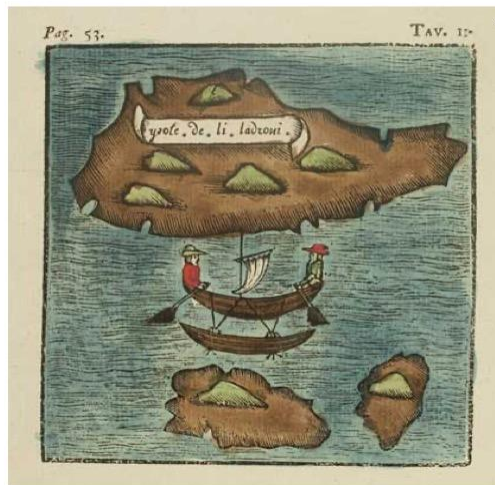
1. Ferdinand Magellan was the first European to confirm the passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans located at the southern extremity of South America. During his expedition's historic circumnavigation of the world (1519–22); he claimed to have seen such a strait on a chart in the treasury of King Manuel I of Portugal.
2. In the Treaty of Tordesillas the line was neither defined by degrees of longitude nor strictly enforced, different interpretations regarding its practical implementation resulted. After Ferdinand Magellan's expedition (1519–22), the area of the Pacific came into play, particularly the Spice Islands (Moluccas), which both countries claimed. On April 22, 1529, the Treaty of Zaragoza was signed and it provided an antemeridian to the line established by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

ANTONIO PIGAFETTA'S MAP

- Isla de los Ladrones map. From the codex of Antonio Pigafetta. Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milán.

Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation by Antonio Pigafetta. Translated and edited by Raleigh Ashlin Skelton from the manuscript in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969.

- Description of the Islands of the Ladrones (1:61).



GONZALO DE VIGO

- Gonzalo de Vigo was a member of Magellan fleet, a cabin boy in the ship *Concepción*. Once it was destroyed, he went to the ship *Trinidad*. Three men deserted in one of the Ladrones Islands when the *Trinidad* was in route to the Darien in 1522.
- Gonzalo de Vigo was the only survivor of the three men from the *Trinidad*. He was rescued in the Marianas by the expedition of Loaysa on 5 September 1526. He met the *Santa Maria de la Victoria* paddling an outrigger canoe.
- The *Victoria* remained in the Marianas for about two weeks and Gonzalo who learned the language served as interpreter.
- Gonzalo de Vigo was the 1st European to learn the language and had 1st hand observations on the customs of the people of the Marianas (Medina, 1920, p. CCCCLIII).

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Presentation Slides

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Omaira Brunal-Perry, MA, JD, earned a juris doctorate from Universidad Libre, Bogota, Colombia, and an MA in Library Science from Syracuse University, New York. She also received a certificate from the US National Archives - Modern Archives Institute, 2005. Currently, she is an associate professor at the RFT Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. Brunal-Perry also serves as the Spanish legal historiographer and librarian in charge of the Spanish Documents Collection and Manuscripts Collection at MARC.

Her research interests and publications concern documents related to the colonial Spanish administration in the Mariana and Caroline Islands. Brunal-Perry has done extensive archival research in Mexico, the Philippines, Spain, and the US. In addition, she directed the project “The Spanish Language Judicial Records of Guam.”

Garrison Folks and Reducciones

Bifurcating the Hagåtña Narrative in 18th Century Marianas History

By Michael Clement, Jr.

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Abstract: *Census data from 18th century Guam and Rota paints a picture of a segregated society in which different segments of the Chamorro population had radically different life experiences. The most obvious distinction was that between the ethnically mixed community of Agaña and the more homogenous indigenous communities of the surrounding barrios and rural villages. This presentation examines ways a dominant “Hagåtña narrative” obscures these differences. Utilizing Prasenjit Duara’s critique of nationalist history, I argue that a “bifurcated” history of the 18th century Chamorro experience brings greater understanding to processes of political and cultural continuity and change during these years.*



The above image is a photo of Rodrique Levesque's 20 volume *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents* on a reference shelf at the University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center. This massive collection of primary source documents begins with the 1521 accounts of Ferdinand Magellan's voyage to Guam and ends in the mid-19th century. I include this picture to highlight the power of a dominant narrative to shape historical inquiry. Note the taped-up bindings indicating heavy use. The tape ends with *Vol. 9, The Conquest of the Gani Islands* (the Northernmost Marianas) which was complete around 1700. The later volumes chronicle the 18th and early 19th centuries and, as the bindings reveal have until very recently attracted little attention.

The 'Long' 18th Century in Marianas History

As a student at the beginning of the 2000s, I had come to think of the Spanish Era of Marianas history as a 'black hole'. What was meant by this was not that the islands had no history during these years, but that the role of Chamorros in that history was either absent or irrecoverable. The culprits, it seemed, were a colonial government that denied Chamorros the official political power to 'make history', and 'Eurocentric' source material that generally disregarded evidence of Chamorro¹ agency that might have existed. These ideas still persist today.

In this presentation I attempt to correct this perception with a focus on what I will call the 'long' 18th century in Marianas history. This period begins with the late

¹ The first recording of the word 'Chamorro' that I know of was in 1789 (Plaza, 1971) and despite recent orthographic changes by the Government of Guam it remains the most commonly used spelling of the term on Guam, the CNMI and within the Chamorro diaspora. While it does not seem to have been a marker of indigenous identity during the early part of the period described in this presentation, I am of the opinion that it does derive from 'chamori', the name of the latte era upper class. Perhaps the first use of this term found in sources that emphasizes indigenous identity is a January 1839 account by one of Dumont Durville's officers. The officer encountered a Chamorro man in the vicinity of Inarajan and after complimenting him on his excellent Spanish, the Chamorro man replied "I am not a Spaniard nor son of one, and I would not wish to be one, but I am a Chamorro or, as you Europeans say, I am an Indian, and proud of it." (Levesque, vol. 23, 519). By the end of the 19th century all who descended from Chamorros would come to identify as Chamorro.

17th century establishment of Spanish colonial government and ends with the early 19th century transformation of island society sparked by the end of the galleon trade and the independence of Spanish America. I focus on this era because it is the period most obscured in the textbook narratives that powerfully ground popular historical consciousness to today and that guides historical inquiry and research agendas. These textbook histories tell a story of top down policies of Spanish governors and visits by foreigners. Although individual Chamorros are mentioned in the late 17th century, particularly as they either accept or reject the Spanish presence, they then disappear for most of the rest of the Spanish administration.²

There are multiple reasons why these sources have been ignored. The most obvious is that the professional practice of history in the Marianas is still in its infancy. Before World War II, access to education beyond primary levels was available only to a few Chamorros. Post-secondary education was almost unheard of. After World War II, compulsory K-12 education and the greater accessibility of post-secondary education meant that students could now make careers out of the study of history, but such pursuits initially attracted only a few individuals. The 1970s and 80s saw the rise of history writing and the development of a locally accessible archive at the University of Guam, but it would not be until 1999 that the first Chamorro historian earned a PhD in the field of history.³

There are also ideological reasons why the Spanish period has received limited attention. One compelling argument has been proposed by David Alienza who examined the influence of the “Black Legend” in Marianas Historiography. He has identified, in various ways, how a Protestant Anglo-American prejudice against Spain made its way into foreign accounts of the Spanish Administration of Guam. The early 20th century Naval American Administration, justifying its colonial rule

² These texts include Sanchez, 1989, Rogers, 1995 (updated 2011), Farrell, 1991, Farrell, 2011 (a significant update focusing on the period up to 1898), and the Government of Guam sponsored *Hale-ta* series of Guam History books from the mid-1990s. In my discussion I bring attention to PSECC 1993, 1994, 1996.

³ Dr. Anne Perez Hattori, PhD in History, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 1999.

on Guam, was able to draw on these accounts to shape the way 20th century Chamorros came to understand their pre-American past.⁴ This basic prejudice, fused with an early post-World War II faith in American notions of progress, was fundamental in informing Carano and Sanchez's *The Complete History of Guam* (1965). This book, written with the limited resources available to University of Guam History professor Paul Carano, produced a basic outline of Guam history that proved tremendously durable, especially in the way it treats the history of the 18th century.

Further developments in Marianas Historiography in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s occurred in the context of, and at times were part of, the movement for decolonization. The works of Robert Underwood and Vicente Diaz emphasized what could be called a “subaltern” Chamorro reality that existed below the surface of cultural adoptions and formally recognized colonial structures. Laura Souder was also tremendously influential in highlighting the role of Chamorro women in the maintenance of indigenous continuities throughout the Spanish era. The work of Carano and Sanchez, modified in various ways by these and other later scholars, laid the foundation for several textbooks produced in the 1990s that continue to shape the general understanding of the 18th century.

The Hagåtña Narrative

In this presentation, I bring attention to the streamlined version of the history of the 18th century that is central to the Government of Guam Political Status Education Coordinating Commission's (PSECC) *Hale-ta* textbook series. The key elements I outline can be found in Carano and Sanchez, but the *Hale-ta* books, written roughly 30 years later, today have a stronger claim to preeminence in any discussion of ‘dominant narrative’ of Guam history. While they don't diverge greatly from earlier and contemporary Guam history textbooks, they were the result of an unprecedented, and not since repeated, collaboration of local scholars, politicians, and community leaders. At the same time, the commissioning of the volumes as part of the movement for decolonization imbued the writing with

⁴ David Atienza, “A Marianas Islands History Story: The Influence of the Black Legend in Mariana Islands Historiography” *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Fall 2013.

undeniable ideological bias that had the effect of directing attention away from key aspects of Chamorro cultural and political history. As is common in nationalist histories, the intention of these books is to secure “for the contested and contingent nation the false unity of a self-same, national subject evolving through time.”⁵ In the case of 18th century Marianas history, the national subject is “the” Chamorro people who are presented as being locked in an antagonistic relationship with the Spanish government. Vince Diaz, a contributor to the *Hale-ta* series, expressed frustration that was obviously directed at the finished product:

In Guam...a cottage industry has emerged around history: a government commission revises public school history textbooks along more politically correct perspectives that while critically engaging foreign perspectives in anti-colonial mode, remain remarkably silent about local, Native-ordered gendered and class hegemonies”⁶

In this presentation I single out three key elements of the dominant narrative found in these books. I call this narrative the Hagåtña narrative to bring attention to the way the history of Hagåtña has come to stand for all of Chamorro history, including elements of Chamorro history that happened outside of Hagåtña. These narrative elements have become deeply ingrained in local popular consciousness. They are taught in schools and proliferate in a wide range of media sources.

The Reducción

The *reducción* (reduction) is generally presented as a universal Chamorro experience and perhaps even a foundational experience in modern Chamorro identity formation. The history of the 1670s -1690s is that of Chamorros who,

⁵ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4. The role of Chamorro nationalism in the desire to replace complex notions of identity with a more monolithic one is explored in depth by Laura Monnig (2007).

⁶ Vicente Diaz “To ‘P’ or not to ‘P’?: Marking the Territory Between Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7:3 (2004), 192.

village by village throughout the Marianas, were forced to abandon their homes and settle into church centered villages “designed to help control their behavior and further the process of civilizing them.”⁷ What is left out of the common telling is that Agaña, as it was spelled at the time, was not a reduction village, but the center of colonial government and exclusively the home of soldiers and their families.⁸ Agaña was actually the opposite of a reduction village. It was an old settlement that Chamorros were forced to leave as they moved into reduction villages.

Women as Culture Bearers and the Death of the Chamorro Male

The second element is as an emphasis on the central role of women in the perpetuation of Chamorro culture and identity as a result of ‘the death of the Chamorro male.’ 1994’s *I Ma Gobetna-ña Guam, Governing Guam Before and After the Wars*, states that “Since only a few Chamorro men survived the wars, Chamorro women began to marry non-Chamorro men. As wives, mothers, and homemakers, Chamorro women played a key role in the survival of Chamorros and their culture to the present day.”⁹ The 18th century is presented as a time when these anonymous Chamorro women created and maintained *Kostumbren Chamorro* traditions centered around Catholic obligations and webs of reciprocal relations within families and the larger island community. Implicit in this component of the narrative is that Chamorro history is the history of the *mestizo* progeny of foreign soldiers and Chamorro women. Chamorro female power is emphasized while

⁷ PSECC, 1994, 31

⁸ I have chosen to use the popular 18th century spelling ‘Agaña’ when discussing the long 18th century because the use of this spelling is so closely tied to documents produced at the time. In the early 19th century the spelling “Agaña” seems to have surpassed it and become somewhat official. By employing the 21st century spelling Hagaña, I place the dominant narrative in the present. I do so to emphasize that historical narratives are not the actual past, but the way in which the past is represented in a particular period of time.

⁹ PSECC, 1994, 35. This likely comes from Carano and Sanchez(1964) “Most of the natives who survived the Spanish Camorro Wars were women. After the conquest they married Spaniards and other off islanders. Through them much of the Chamorro heritage, especially the language was passed on from generation to generation”.

Chamorro male gender roles are left undefined, leaving one to assume that male gender roles were those introduced by foreign fathers. In reality, disease, displacement, and poverty, not actual warfare, were the main causes of death during the traumatic years of conquest, and colonization. The primary factors in the population collapse were therefore gender-neutral. There is undoubtedly much truth in the story of Chamorro women who kept language and cultural alive in multi-ethnic families. But in the 18th century, this is only the story of Agaña. A review of literature from 1995 through 2015 reveals various ways scholars have challenged elements of the death of the Chamorro male.¹⁰ This continued need to challenge it indicates that the myth still persists. This is in part because the role of Chamorro women as leaders in interethnic marriages is so central to the dominant Hågãña narrative of Marianas history.

The Disappearance of Chamorros in Political History

The Hågãña narrative almost completely ignores the role of Chamorros in the governing of the island during the Spanish era. The role of Chamorros in village leadership, and opportunities for Chamorros to participate in the local militia are mentioned in passing but these men are not integrated into the overall narrative of political history that connects the 17th century to the 20th.¹¹ Significantly, Chamorro leaders are not mentioned by name. The effect is that the government in the 18th century is presented as “Spanish” and Chamorro agency is erased. In *Hinasso’: Tinige’ Put Chamorro*, a collection of short articles about Chamorro identity, the editors included three entries from the period before 1700 and then skipped directly to the arrival of the United States in 1898. *IMa Gobetna-ña* Guam

¹⁰ Scholars including, Hattori, 2004, Monnig, 2007, Clement 2011, Atienza, 2013, Viernes, 2015 have in various ways dismissed or challenged this argument. See Stade, 1998 for analysis of some of the contradictions in the way this idea is employed in a modern-day political context and the gendered nature of tensions between *manggi Hågãña* and *manggi sengsong*. (Stade 65 -79).

¹¹ Souder and Beardsley do make a vague connection to the pre-colonial era by arguing that high ranking Spanish officers married native women of the chiefly class. Beardsley places specific significance on the paramountcy of Agana in Guam at the time of colonization and claims that it was the chiefly women of Agana who married Spanish soldiers.

focuses specifically on Chamorro leaders in government. A few Chamorro leaders are mentioned during the 17th century. But in the 18th century, Chamorros completely disappear only to reappear in the 20th century with dozens of named Chamorro men and women participating in government and many other areas of life. In the 18th century, Chamorro men are associated primarily with *lanchos*, small farms located at a distance from villages, that are presented as a refuge from the oppressive foreign colonial government: “At the *lancho*, away from the watchful eyes of priests and government officials, the Chamorros also told stories and sang songs about olden times, keeping alive some folklore.”¹²

Colonial Segregation and Bifurcated History

To fully appreciate the power of the Hagåtña narrative in obscuring the past, it is useful to point out that earlier historical texts say much about the deep divisions between Agaña and the rest of the island. Felipe De la Corte y Ruano de Calderon, who governed the Marianas from 1855 to 1866, is one of many observers who commented on the two distinct populations within Chamorro society:

In the villages, the aboriginal type is predominant... [appearance, and behaviors] distinguish them sharply from the city dwellers who are known as ‘garrison folk,’ that is to say, descendants of Spanish soldiery...the city people are insulted if you tell them they look like villagers, or ‘*poblanos*’ as they call the others, who for their part, seem convinced of their own inferiority”.¹³

While some textbook histories make note of these two elements of Chamorro society, the story of the people outside of Agaña is nevertheless integrated into a narrative of continuity that remains centered on the story of Agaña¹⁴ These

¹² PSECC (1994), 32.

¹³ Quoted in Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People* (New York: Greenwood Publishers, 1947), 32.

¹⁴ Rogers, (1995, 2011) and Farrell (1991, 2011) both include descriptions of the distinct way of life found outside of Hagåtña during the Spanish era.

peripheral areas are presented as integrating more slowly. In actuality, villages outside of Agaña, especially in Rota and the most isolated areas of Guam, have only minimal connections to the story of the garrison folk and their descendants.

Since the 1990s, and especially in the last decade, professional scholars, and members of the wider island community have begun to bring once ignored primary source materials to light through dissertations, books, scholarly publications and perhaps most influentially, through a wide range of online platforms.¹⁵ Among the most important primary sources now receiving attention are the complete 1728 and 1758 censuses which provide names of every Chamorro alive during those years and include a wealth of other data that is ripe for analysis.¹⁶

With so many more details now in conversation, a much more accurate understanding of the past is coming into view. As this work continues, getting deeper into the specificities of 18th century cultural and political changes and continuities in the Marianas requires moving away from abstractions to focus on

¹⁵ See especially, Deviana (2004) Tueller (2009), (Atienza (2013), Atienza (2014) Coello (2016) for scholarship that has incorporated individual Chamorros into the story of the 18th century. Other scholars who have contributed to a new understanding of the early Spanish era include, Mawson (2015), Madrid (2014), Clement Sr. (2014) and the numerous MARC publications of Omaira Brunal Perry and Marjorie Driver. Blogs, websites and Facebook have also become an important vehicle for the dissemination of historical interpretations and primary source materials. In addition to Guampedia.com, Father Eric Forbes' <http://paleric.blogspot.com> has for years disseminated a wealth of information about the lives of Chamorros during the Spanish era. More recently, CHamoru History Culture, and Courtesies also has emerged as a source of primary source data. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/616633032124663/>

¹⁶ In 1976 the University of Guam RFT-MARC completed a three year long transcription project that made the censuses of 1728 and 1758 easily accessible to the public and yet they were largely ignored for decades. (Brunal-Perry, Personal Communication, October, 2019) The lack of interest shown to these sources for so many years can only explained by the power of dominant narratives to steer research interests and agendas away from the 18th century. As a student in the 2000-2002, I walked by them many times, only realizing what they contained years later in 2008 while doing some genealogical research.

the lives of specific individuals and families in different types of communities that existed during those years. Far from being inaccessible, the story of the 18th century, in reality the history of a just a few hundred families, promises one day to provide a view of that century in micro-historical detail. To cut through the dominant Hagåtña narrative, I adopt historian of nationalism, Prasenjit Duara's call for "bifurcated history". This approach deconstructs the process, typical in nationalist histories throughout the world, by which a singular nationalist narrative can appropriate "dispersed histories according to its present needs."¹⁷

The Garrison Folk of Agaña

During the late 17th century conquest and colonization of the Marianas, Chief Kepuha gave the Jesuit mission rights to use the land that became San Ignacio de Agaña. San Ignacio became the capital of the colony with a church, a garrison, two schools, and housing for soldiers and their families. With the establishment of colonial rule, the Spanish government laid claim to all land on the island and in the rest of the Marianas. Orders sent to Governor Quiroga in 1680 established the segregation of the island population that would persist well into the 19th century:

22. Have particular regard for the married troops, and to bear in mind the number of persons in a given families, when distributing land and foodstuffs.
23. To allocate a special place apart from the Spanish troops for the *papangas*, in view of their inferiority... ¹⁸

The 'place apart' for the 'papangas' was just to the west, in the neighborhood that by 1758 had been christened 'Santa Cruz'¹⁹ The Jesuits encouraged the creation of

¹⁷ Duara, 5.

¹⁸Louis Claude de Freycinet. *An Account of the Corvette L'Uranie's Sojourn at the Marianas Islands, 1819*. Glynn Barrat trans. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2003), 200.

¹⁹The 1758 census refers to "Ciudad de San Ignacio de Agaña Capital y su Varrio Santa Cruz" as one town.

Agadña as a model Christian mestizo community to be an example to Chamorros living in surrounding towns and ranch districts. With indigenous Chamorros from throughout the Marianas restricted to living in the reduction villages, in central Guam, its southern coasts and in Rota, and until 1721, in Saipan, most of what had been indigenous Chamorro land was “freed” for the use and property of the colonists.”²⁰ At the same time Spanish soldiers were strictly prohibited from living in native villages.²¹ This set up a situation where distinct cultures would form, one the product of ethnic mixing, the other the result of ethnically homogenous communities adapting to the new reality of colonial rule.

For the soldiers of Agadña, life was for most, not easy. They often went without pay, had to work at times at the whim of the governor, and had limited opportunities for advancement or upward mobility in what was in the 18th century essentially a closed military economy. Some were so poor they couldn’t afford shoes or uniforms. Nevertheless, in relation to Chamorros from the reduction villages, they occupied a preferred place in Marianas society. The Spanish view of the role of soldiers and their families can be seen in a 1721 discussion about bringing Filipino settlers to the island who would be given “the privileges of settlers and conquerors, so that by their example those islanders would live in a civilized manner”.²²

²⁰ Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre, *Jesuits at the Margins, Missions and Missionaries in the Marianas, 1668-1769* (New York: Rutledge, 2016), 85.

²¹ There were a few exceptions to this rule, but they were extremely rare. Census data confirms the maintenance of this segregation through the early 19th century. However, legal enforcement likely ended much earlier. In the Philippines, from which many Spanish colonial policies affecting Guam derived, Governor General Raon declared in 1768 that “Old ordinances prohibiting Spaniards from taking residence in the villages are repealed. Spaniards are permitted to live among the Indians as long as they are good Christians...”Rodrique Levesque “Document 1768A: The Ordinances of Governor Raon for Good Government” *Vol. 14 Full Census of the Marianas*, 443.

²² Rodrique Levesque, “”vol 12, 593. This plan was apparently not acted on.

In 1704, Father Cundari, reported that “The married soldiers now number 100, and there will be a colony of half-breeds”²³ Twenty-four years later in 1728, roughly three generations after the first marriages between soldiers and indigenous women, we have the earliest complete census currently available to Guam researchers. The only people listed as residents of Agaña are “Spanish soldiers, their wives and children” and the “Filipino soldiers, their wives and children.” The failure of earlier histories of Guam to incorporate the men and women of Agaña, for whom records are plentiful, into Guam History textbooks may in part be due to confusion over ethnic classifications. Coming from a patriarchal Europe, priests and officials placed considerable importance on the identity of the father and would often classify the legitimate children of Spanish fathers and indigenous mothers to be Spanish or *criollo*.²⁴ The imposition of modern assumptions concerning racial identities is likely an important factor in why soldiers the Spanish listed as “Spanish” and “Filipino” have been overlooked in the story of Chamorro political and cultural changes and continuities.

In the 1728 census there are 64 married soldiers and 24 single soldiers identified as “Spanish” along with 39 married soldiers and 23 single soldiers listed as “Filipino”.²⁵ These men were not all from Spain or the Philippines. Most listed as Spanish were *criollos* or *mestizos* from Spanish North and South America. Among the soldiery of 1728 were surnames that are familiar to Chamorros today including: Mesa, Ramirez, Rios, Acosta, De la Cruz, Aguero, Tenorio, Cepeda, Guerrero, Santos, Toves, Salas, de Leon, Villagomez, Benavente, Sanchez, Espinosa, Ojeda, Leon Guerrero, Alvarez, Hernandez, Rodriguez, Delgado, Garrido, Diaz, Duenas, Guevara, Pablo, Aguon, Arceo, Torres and Castro. Among the wives of married soldiers we find many with maiden names shared with soldiers such as Leon Guerrero, Benavente, Salas, Espinosa, Mesa, de la Cruz, Fraguais [Franquez], Arceo,

²³ “Letter from Fr. Cundari to Fr. Francisco Maria Picolo, dated Merizo, 9 May 1704” in Levesque, *History of Micronesia vol. 48 – Supplementary Volume*, 2007.

²⁴ Coello de la Rosa, 235.

²⁵ *Padron General de las Personas que Habitan en las Islas Marianas*. Manila, 30 Junio de 1728[census]. Typescript copy, MARC., University of Guam (n.d.)

Rios, Ramirez, and Garcia.²⁶ Since there are no records of a large-scale migration of European or Filipino women, or evacuations of married soldiers, it is safe to assume that these wives, like some of their husbands, were the children of previous generations of soldiers.

This population of soldiers continued to reproduce itself in later generations by marrying from within the group and building *mestizo* Chamorro families. In 1758 the soldiery included 200 married couples but only 35 wives had indigenous surnames. Some of these were the same married couples alive in 1728.²⁷ By 1758, rather than marrying indigenous women from outside of Agaña, the more common practice appears to have been for soldiers to marry the daughters of fellow soldiers. By 1758, there were also several new Spanish and Filipino soldiers whose names seem to live on today. These include Camacho, Campos, Cabrera, Flores, Palacios, Pereda, Peredo, Palomo, Guzman, Martinez, De Leon, Ada, Pangilinan, De la Rosa, Quintanilla, Rivera, Sanchez, Baletto, Manalesay, Arriola, Blas, Dimapan, Manubusan, Lizama, Concepcion, Mendiola, Reyes, Balajadya, Sarmiento, and Diego. It must be pointed out that some of these family names may have died out and that later migrants established new families with these same surnames. Nevertheless, the connection between the names of these soldiers and modern day Chamorros is undeniable. Whether or not each of these names traces directly to modern day descendants is less important than the fact that these were Chamorro families and the type of ethnic mixing occurred in such families was

²⁶ I am intentionally singling out surnames that are common among Chamorros today although I have removed a few that I have confidence do not connect to modern day descendants. A more complete analysis would need to explore connections to the dozens of soldiers whose names died out but who are nevertheless forebearers of modern day Chamorros. There are a few names listed among the Spanish and Papampangan soldiers that are very likely Chamorro such as Taitiguan, Anai, Puga, Larga, and Acheigua. Further research may provide clues to the identity of these men. If they were in fact Chamorro, it is likely that their stories tie back to close allies of the Spanish that date even before 1680.

²⁷ *Documentos Relativos a la Micronesia: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Legajo Filipinas 480 "Año de 1758"* Prepared by MARC, University of Guam, 1974

fundamentally different than the cultural dynamics of communities outside of Agaña.

Skipping ahead to listings of Guam's military personnel in the late 1700s and early 1800s, new names appear but descendants of previous generations predominate. Textbook histories of Guam should incorporate stories of high ranking officers with names like Castro, Garrido, Torres, Guerrero, Quintanilla, Espinosa, Camacho and Arceo, "Spanish" officials who were second, third, and fourth generation *mestizo* Chamorros.²⁸ Also significant are the stories of the many non-Chamorro officers who married Chamorro women and raised families of Chamorro children. Just one example is that of Captain Don Juan de Ojeda, a Spanish soldier married to Dominga de Salas with at least three sons who was for a period in 1725, the acting governor of the colony. Such situations are common throughout Marianas history where the small population meant the softening of boundaries between people who never would have been in proximity in larger colonial societies such as in Latin America.²⁹ The hundreds of Chamorro/*mestizo* men and women documented in censuses and soldier rolls provide a stark contrast to the idea that there is no history of Chamorros during these years. Stories of *mestizo* families challenge assumptions of a sharp dividing line between Spanish rulers and a subjugated Chamorro population. They were subjects of the kings of Spain, who inhabited a range of social statuses, not unlike the populations of European Spain and the rest of the Spanish empire.

Growing up in San Ignacio de Agaña in the 18th century meant an incredibly diverse set of influences from Filipino, Mexican, Peruvian and Spanish fathers, uncles, *compadres*, *comadres*, and godparents. In Santa Cruz de Agaña, one can imagine that Kapampangan was heard every day in the streets and in the homes. And yet there has been little sustained interest in trying to determine the degree of

²⁸ "Documents 1792P" in Levesque Vol 16.

²⁹ Tina Taitano Delisle (2008) writes of ways people across social classes mixed in unexpected ways during the American Naval era. 25

influence Filipino languages has had on modern day Chamorro.³⁰ The prevalence of Spanish vocabulary in modern Chamorro also undoubtedly emerged in such a milieu. Outside of the two neighborhoods of Agaña, Chamorro cultural continuities were likely much more straightforward.

The Reducción Villages

For the entirety of the 18th century, the reduction villages of Anigua, Sinahaña, Mongmong, Assan, Apotguan, Tepungan, Agat, Umatac, Merizo, Pago, Inalahan and Rota experienced the suffering that the dominant narrative of Guam history implies was experienced by all Chamorros uniformly. Strained by overwork in government ranches, abused by officials, and subject to an endless onslaught of disease epidemics, their population declined precipitously through most of the 18th century while the population of Agaña grew. But this story of decline is not the only story worth telling of life outside of Agaña. While life was harder, these communities were never wiped out completely. Generation after generation, fathers, mothers, and relatives who lived their lives outside of Agaña raised families and passed down knowledge and cultural traditions amidst a fundamentally different family dynamic than that found in families of Agaña.

Spanish policies that forbid soldiers from living in native towns ensured a type of indigenous continuity completely ignored in the Hagaña narrative of Guam history.³¹ The Hagaña narrative focuses on the 17th century decline of the original “race”, thereby assuming *mestizo* families became the bearers of indigenous continuity. Bifurcating this narrative requires recognition that this notion of racial purity is a relic 19th century scientific racism that was replicated in 20th century histories. The history of consensual non-marital relationships between Chamorro women and non-Chamorro men is well documented, but genetic continuity is of

³⁰ Augusto DeViana (2004) is a notable exception who, while likely overstating the degree of Filipino influence in Chamorro culture, nevertheless brought attention to a topic that has not been adequately incorporated into the dominant narratives that shape Marianas history.

³¹ Coello de la Rosa, 85.

little relevance in this story of cultural continuity.³² Also documented is the resistance of Chamorro women and foreign soldiers to Jesuit pressure to formalize these relationships through marriage. Not all unions were consensual. There were a shocking number of documented and undocumented cases of rape, and even accusations of forced concubinage.

The fact of genetic admixture is at the heart of the 19th century myths of Chamorro ‘extinction’ but Jesuit missionaries recognized a key distinction that later observers and scholars would ignore. Mixed children raised in reduction villages among their mothers’ kinship group were considered indigenous (*indios*) by the missionaries and by the Spanish government.³³ These were therefore ethnically homogenous families and communities of a very different nature than that found in Agaña. Chamorro fathers as well as maternal uncles, so central to Latte era culture, would have perpetuated indigenous knowledge alongside Chamorro mothers who did the same.

One of the clearest signs of cultural difference between Agaña and the reduction villages is in naming practices. The census data confirms that at least a century into colonial rule, most Chamorros living in reduction villages had not adopted the practice of passing down patrilineal surnames. While European cultures recognized the importance of patrilineal descent, Chamorro culture had always recognized genealogy as passing through the mother. Resistance to the adoption of patrilineal surnames is just one example of how the culture of reduction villages was fundamentally different than that of Agaña, where all *mestizo* Chamorro children took their father’s names.

Close analysis of hundreds of indigenous surnames reveals that initially, they were not really surnames. They were personal names attached to Christian names. This practice was seen with one of the first converts in 1668 when Agaña Chief Kepuha became *Don* Juan Kepuha. The practice continued throughout the 18th century and in these names, we can learn something of the culture of the time. Pedro

³² See for example Souder(1992), “Chapter III”

³³ Coello de la Rosa, 235

Samailahi, living in Agat in 1728, was christened Pedro but very well may have gone by Samailahi. This apparently “beautiful man” shared with several other men in Guam and Rota names that are today easily identifiable as gender specific. For example, the 1728 and 1758 censuses include 19 men with “lahi” as part of their names and not one woman. Examining Chamorro names can lead to other insights as well.

The name Terlaje (Tadlahi) is the only name containing “Lahi” listed in the 1758 census that is familiar as a modern indigenous Chamorro name. But, this Agat man, Bernardo Tadlahi, married to Maria Simañoña with three children, Eleutario Etongo, Simon Pingañoña and Eulalia Chonañoña had not yet adopted the introduced custom of establishing a patrilineal surname. When, sometime in the 18th or 19th century, the first Terlaje of the modern lineage gave his son Terlaje as a surname, he either consciously or unwittingly left the old practice behind. In doing so, he also integrated his descendants into a type of western historical narrative. In 1758 in Agat, out of 58 families, there was only one boy, Julian Quedagua, who shared a surname with his father.

In other villages, especially those bordering Agaña, and among leaders of villages, the practice was becoming more common. Very likely, it is because these individuals had status in the colonial society that they wanted their children to inherit. Patrilineal surnames became important in the west with modernity because they track the progress of male genetic continuity, social status, wealth and political power in a patriarchal society.

The resistance to this identification with western “history” found in the names of many Chamorros throughout the 18th century points to a little recognized aspect of Chamorro cultural autonomy found in the reduction villages. It also explains why so few female specific names of the 18th century survive among the modern-day descendants of reduction villagers. The gendered nature of naming provides insight into a process of cultural change that was never part of the culture of the garrison folk. As awareness of the significance of reduction village naming practices grows, researchers fluent in the Chamorro language will likely uncover

much more interesting revelations concerning the meanings of indigenous Chamorro names of the 18th century.

A variety of Latte era knowledge and traditions must have been maintained in such settings well into the 19th century. In 1796 Governor Muro could still complain about Chamorros in the ranch districts who spent too much time in slingstone competitions.³⁴ In 1818, French explorer Louis Claude de Freycinet noted that indigenous militiamen, in case of war, could be called to fight alongside the Agaña soldiers but for lack of enough guns, they would have to use their slingstones and spears.³⁵ This continuity in the Latte era warrior culture of Chamorro males is at odds with the Hågatña narrative's assertion of the death of the Chamorro male. Freycinet, also observed cultural differences between the "*métis* or *criole* class [which] follows very much the lifestyle to be found in Manila or in Mexico" and the "natives."³⁶ Among differences he notes are preferred foods such as corn *tortillas*, Mexican 'atole' and *tamales* which were a staple for the city folk, while native foods he described included breadfruit cooked in a variety of ways and root crops. Corn was also eaten but prepared as a porridge rather than as tortillas. Freycinet was also able to observe and hear Latte era dances and songs which come down to us today in his accounts.

Certain Chamorro singing practices, kept alive in Rota and in southern Guam into the 20th century were, like slinging, perhaps never integrated into the culture of

³⁴ Levesque Vol 16, 657

³⁵ Levesque, Vol. 19, 465.

³⁶ Louis Claude de Freycinet. *An Account of the Corvette L'Uranie's Sojourn in the Marianas 1819*, translated by Glynn Barratt, (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2003). 108.

the garrison folk at all.³⁷ Indigenous practices, kept alive outside of Agaña, may have come to shape the culture of the capitol as that population began to embrace the nationalism of the 19th century.³⁸ If that was not the case then, then it is undoubtedly the case now. Claude de Freycinet and other foreign observers of the early 19th century could complete rich surveys of Latte era cultural continuities because the prominent Agaña *mestizo* Chamorro Major Luis de Torres shared not the culture of his own family, but his knowledge of cultural continuities that existed outside of Agaña. Much of the recent movement to integrate aspects of Latte era culture into modern day Chamorro identity is possible because of these detailed 19th century sources.

Speech was likely another clear marker of difference between cosmopolitan Agaña and the other parts of the island. The “singsong” intonation in Chamorro speech, found today primarily in Rota and to a lesser extent in Humatak, aligns most closely with pre-colonial and early colonial era descriptions of the Chamorro language.³⁹ Undoubtedly this greater cultural continuity existed in these two areas because of their distance from Agaña. During the 19th century Agaña expanded and migration of villagers into town was no longer restricted. Later in the 19th century the people of Agaña themselves began to move out, to settle Saipan, Sumay, new areas in northern Guam and in some cases, into the old reduction villages.

³⁷ See Michael Clement, “Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance: The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music” unpublished PhD dissertation, UH Manoa, 2011; Michael Clement Sr. “The Ancient Origins of Chamorro Music, unpublished MA thesis, University of Guam, 2001; Judy Flores “Art and Identity in the Mariana Islands: Issues of Reconstructing an Ancient Past” Ph. D. dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1999. and William Peck *I Speak the Beginning, Anthology of Surviving Poetry of the Northern Marianas*, Saipan: Commonwealth Council for Arts and Culture. 1982.

³⁸ Governor Olive complained about how Agaña Chamorros in the 1880s were losing fluency in Castilian and identifying more as Chamorros. Such a move is in line with criolle nationalism that led shaped the early 19th century Spanish American independence movements. Marjorie Driver, trans. *The Mariana Islands 1884-1887: Random Notes of Francisco Olive y Garcia* (Mangilao: MARC, 1984), 25.

³⁹ Topping, 1973, x.

While the Hagåtña narrative tends to emphasize the role of the mothers in multiethnic families of the garrison as the perpetuators of indigenous cultural continuity in the Marianas, in Rota and in southern Guam, there are undoubtedly still families that have little to no connection to the culture of 18th century garrison folk at all. We must also consider that women from outside of Agaña, could have influenced *mestizo* families without ever marrying soldiers. Studies from Latin America have shown how indigenous cultures shape colonial culture through female roles as servants and nannies.⁴⁰ Children, fed and taken care of by village women, sung lullabies and fed indigenous food and medicines, could have learned about the culture outside of Agaña without even leaving their house.

There were also important roles played by specially selected indigenous men and women who were recruited for the college of San Juan de Letran and the accompanying school for girls. For boys, admission to the school could mean boarding in Agaña for a period of time and associating with the sons of garrison folk. It also meant extra training in religious doctrine, Spanish language, music, and trades that would position them as future leaders of their villages.⁴¹ Apparent evidence of the acculturative effect is that it is in the college students we see an earlier adoption of patrilineal surnames. For women, attending school could be a pathway to marriage with a soldier or a future village leader. In such cases, upbringing by priests may have meant they entered these mixed marriages with a different view of Chamorro culture and Catholicism than if they had not been raised as college girls. Questions about the dynamics of such families can only be answered when historical inquiry is guided by awareness that these diverse communities produced different cultures.

Continuity in the reduction villages was not only cultural. The conquest and colonization of the islands succeeded because enough Chamorro leaders remained

⁴⁰ For an example of how such processes worked in Spanish America, the homeland of many of the “Spanish” soldiers who ended up on Guam, see Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2008.

⁴¹ Levesque, Vol 18, 107.

loyal to the Spanish. These leaders were rewarded economically and politically. In the same set of 1680 orders to Quiroga that established segregated living spaces for Spanish and Filipino soldiers, Quiroga was told “To treat the natives who take the Spaniards’ side as favorably as possible, and to reward them by granting them sufficient cultivable land to meet all their subsistence needs”.⁴² 17th century Spanish allies such as Ayihi, Soon, and Hineti have been documented in numerous history books, but more recently, David Atienza has begun to look at the role of Chamorros of the 18th century who managed reduction villages. He proposes that among the leaders we can assume some continuity with the pre-colonial chiefly class since the Spanish recognized the value of such status in maintaining control of reduction villages. In tracing the names of dozens of indigenous soldiers, Atienza brings attention to Anigua chief Joseph Antonio Muña who was Maestro de Campo General in 1758. In this position he was in charge of all the chiefs of the reduction villages of Guam.⁴³ Muña, a graduate of the college and the highest ranked indigenous village leader on the island, was “the political heir of the privileges and duties conferred on don Antonio Ayihi back in 1686”.⁴⁴ Sargento Mayor Francisco Taitano, a classmate of Muña and apparently also his brother in law, was in 1758, second in command of Anigua.

The political power held by the leaders of reduction villages was never equal to that of the garrison folk. Despite getting a chance to live in Agaña as college students, it seems that it was extremely rare that such men could gain entrance to the soldiery of Agaña alongside their *mestizo* classmates. Their loyalty may have benefited their descendants though, as Muña and Taitano stand out as rare examples of indigenous surnames among the soldiery of Agaña at the end of the 18th century. In 1790, Ignacio Muña, perhaps a grandson or nephew of Muña, is listed as ‘squad corporal’ in the Second Company of the Spanish Infantry alongside the *mestizo* sons of soldiers, Squad corporal Antonio Palomo and Squad

⁴² Barrat, 200

⁴³ Atienza, 2014, 40.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 41.

corporal Mariano Delgado.⁴⁵ There is also a Juan Taitano listed as a soldier in 1795, one of only three indigenous names among 75 men serving that year.⁴⁶ While participation in the soldiery for Taitanos and Muñas seems to have been minimal, both families stand out for continued prominence in the Chamorro community up through the present day.

The success of these men from Anigua points to a hierarchy among reduction villages in which villages closest to Agaña had more status in the colonial society. For example, boys from these villages are disproportionately represented in the college of San Juan de Letran in the early 1700s. Closer ties through intermarriage with indigenous women from these villages and through godparenthood may have been ways the privileges of the garrison folk were at least partly extended to the neighboring towns. Proximity to Agaña likely also increased opportunities for employment as servants and laborers for Agaña families. The isolation of Rota and Guam's southern ranch districts would have made such ties less likely.

The prominent role of women from these villages in the consolidation of Catholic hegemony during the 18th century is highlighted in Alex Coello's discussion of the Congregation of Our Lady of the Light and their first public procession in San Ignacio de Agaña on May 10, 1758. In his description of the appointment of officers who would lead the congregation in their mission to promote loyalty to the Church in villages across the island, he presents an ordered snapshot of the colonial class and ethnic hierarchy of the time:

They were all prominent personalities on the island, beginning with the founder, directors, and first Elder Sister, Ignacia Medrano, the governor's wife. The following are then named:

⁴⁵ Levesque, Vol 16, 2000, 601.

⁴⁶ The other soldiers with indigenous surnames in 1795 were Rafael Achuga and Francisco Anungi. <http://paleric.blogspot.com/2016/08/Chamorro-soldiers-in-1795.html> Achuga and his father were the Teniente and Alguacil of Sinajana in 1791. <https://www.facebook.com/holaguam/photos/a.810841499041189/1430104690448197/?type=3&theater>

Maria de Agüero (Wife of Captain Francisco del Carmen Baletto) and Angela de Arceo (widow of Lieutenant Domingo Manuel Garrido) as vicars, Gertrudis de la Peña, Lorenza Paula de los Rios (wife of Captain Francisco Javier de la Cruz), Marcela de la Cruz (wife of soldier Miguel de los Rios), Micaela de Acosta (wife of Lieutenant Fernando de Agüero), Pascuala Taitano (wife of Captain Jose Granados), Petronila Arceo (wife of Captain Antonio Pangilinan), Teresa de la Peña (wife of Lieutenant Francisco Gutierrez), and Teresa Tenorio as advisors, and Ana de Agüero as secretary. The following were named guardians of the towns: Ana Mañonsong (wife of Fieldmaster Jose Antonio Muña) of Aniguag; Teresa Aya (Wife of Captain Blas Babao) of Mongmong; Melchora de la Cruz (Wife of Prosecutor Rafael Taguigui) of Sinahaña; Manuela Masangan (wife of Prosecutor Ignacio Cheboc) of Asan; Rosa Taiangan (wife of Captain and Prosecutor Pedro Ano) of Apurguan, and Dominga Laata (wife of Prosecutor Manuel Lafña) of Tipungan.⁴⁷

Here we can see at the head is the wife of the governor, most likely the only woman listed with no indigenous ancestry, followed by Angela Arceo, the daughter of the Filipino Maestro de Campo Andres de Arceo and wife of Domingo Manuel Garrido, a ‘Spanish soldier who had been on the island for over thirty years. Following them are more sons and daughters of earlier soldiers of Agaña with the wives of the Spanish soldiers listed before the wives of the Filipino soldiers. Pascuala Taitano, married to Captain Granados stands out for her indigenous name among the *mestiza* wives of soldiers. Following the ‘garrison folk’ are the representatives of reduction villages seemingly in order of proximity to Agaña, and perhaps also in importance. The ranch districts of southern Guam are not represented at all.

In 1818, at the end of the long 18th century, although no longer enforced, the segregation of the island into what was now called Agaña’s ethnically heterogenous population and the more ethnically homogenous reduction villages

⁴⁷ Coello de la Rosa, 312-313.

seems to have remained largely unchanged. The officers in charge of the island were almost all *mestizo* Chamorro men descended from earlier generations of soldiers: Major Luis de Torres, Deputy Adjutant Major Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, Captain of the First Company of Spanish Infantry, Justo de la Cruz⁴⁸, Lt. of the First Company Antonio Palomo, Captain of the Second Company, Antonio Guerrero, Lt. of the Second Company, Jose Garrido, Captain of the Pampangan Infantry Ignacio Espinosa and Lt. of the Pampangan Infantry Jose Ulloa. The management of the island outside of Agaña (by then usually spelled Agaña) was also led by garrison folk, who served as district administrators. Here we can see the political and economic organization of the island. These district administrators oversaw indigenous village *gobernadorcillos* who in turn ensured villagers would complete compulsory labor requirements. Retired Captain and Commandant of the Town as well as Chief of Police, Don Jose de Leon Guerrero, oversaw the administration of the five reduction villages that had by that time come under the jurisdiction of the capitol.

Anigua

Gobernadorcillo [first name missing] Gofslagi
Alguazil - Lauriano Taytano
Alguazil Jose Laguana
Zelador Jose Manglona

Assan

Gobernadorcillo Pedro Taytano
Alguazil Francisco Mafnas
Alguazil Jose Megofsna
Zelador Jose Atao

Tepungan

Gobernadorcillo Andres Chargualafo

⁴⁸ Although a rare practice in the 18th century, De la Cruz is a name that seems to have been given to some Chamorros through baptism. But there were also Filipino soldiers with that name. According to Arago, a not entirely reliable source, Justo de la Cruz was a ‘pure’ Chamorro and a descendant of chief Matapang. Given the difficulty Chamorros seem to have faced in rising to leadership among the central authorities of Agaña, de la Cruz’s story, if true, is quite impressive.

Alguazil Mateo Taygito
Alguazil Juan Abolleyo
Zelador Jose Chargualafo

Sinahagna

Gobernadorcillo Jose Quidachay
Alguacil Jose Gogo
Alguacil Ignacio Finona
Zelador Nicholas Aschuga

Mongmon

Gobernadorcillo Ignacio Ninaysin
Alguazil Pedro Naputi
Alguazil Favas Quiguma
Zelador Antonio Charfauros

The southern villages, all former ranch districts and reduction villages along with Rota, were governed in the same way, with prominent Agaña men overseeing indigenous village leaders:

Agat

Administrative Alcalde (Mayor) Second Lietenant (Ret.) *Don* Juan Taytano
Gobernadorcillo Antonio Anungui
Alguacil – Calletano Guigilog
Alguacil – Francisco Eñao
Zelador – Francisco Napuña

Uma-ta (and Merizo)

Administrative Alcalde (Mayor) Second Lieutenant (Ret.) *Don* Jose de Castro

Umata

Gobernadorcillo Juan Topasña
Alguacil Domingo Quinata
Alguacil Manuel Gofhigam
Zelador Tomas Chaguiña

Merizo

Gobernadorcillo Francisco Tedpaogao

Alguacil Luis Tinartico

Alguacil Francisco Espinosa

Zelador Felipe Charguani

Inarahan (and royal farm of San Jose of Dandan)

Administrative Alcalde (Mayor) Second Lieutenant (Ret.) *Don* Jose

Joaquin de la Cruz

Gobernadorcillo Dionicio Meno

Alguacil Juan Charguani

Alguacil Felipe Nineng

Zelador Cipriano Naputi

Pago (and royal farm of Tachuña)

Administrative Alcalde (Mayor) Second Lieutenant (Ret.) *Don* Jose de

Torres

Gobernadorcillo Jose Lazo

Alguacil Jose Tanoña

Alguacil Juan Alig

Zelador Juan Fegurgur

Rota

Administrative Alcalde (Mayor) Second Lieutenant (Ret.) *Don* Juan de

Rivera

Gobernadorcillo Juan Emilig

Lt. Gobernadorcillo Felipe de la Cruz

Alguacil Simonillo Namña

Alguacil Juan Soo

Zelador Apolinario Orpuz⁴⁹

The story of the 19th century is much different than the 18th. The island would no longer be a closed military economy. The end of the galleon trade and the

⁴⁹ Levesque, Vol. 19, 2002.

independence of Spanish America prompted reforms that freed up the government's monopoly on business and land and encouraged immigration.⁵⁰ A salary as a soldier or government official had been the primary source of income in the 18th century. While government salaried continued to play a role in the 19th century, reforms meant the birth of a private sector based on commercial agriculture and trade. Some descendants of garrison folk were able to take advantage of these new opportunities, but new immigrants would play an outsized role as entrepreneurs in the new century. New settlers occupied a wide range of social classes and ethnic origins and they integrated into Marianas society of Agaña as well as reduction villages. Distinctions between the city and the villages slowly began to blur as people spread out into surrounding villages, to lands in northern Guam and Saipan which was opened for resettlement.

When one looks at the surnames of prominent leaders who met the United States in 1898, it is evident that descent from the original Spanish soldiery of the long 18th century was no longer the most obvious marker of status. Among the leaders who in 1901 petitioned the United States for more rights, we see the old soldiers' names Torres, Martinez, Rasario (Rosario), Palomo, Cruz, Sablan, Diaz, Guerrero, and Cepeda, but they are joined by the names of 19th century arrivals Duarte, Stimpson, Aflagire, Perez, Joauino, Comadro, Lazeiro, Untalan, Herrera, Roberto, Calvo, Hover, and Suarez. Demetrio Quiligua stands alone among the petitioners as the carrier of an indigenous surname.⁵¹ While most of these later leaders did have 17th and 18th century soldiers among their forebearers, the privileges stemming from descent from the 'garrison folk' had by then significantly diminished.

US bombardment during World War II and the subsequent forced resettlement of the population erased much of the history of old Agaña. Today, the distinction

⁵⁰ This topic is discussed in depth by Omaira Brunal-Perry "An Overview of the Laws Regulations Affecting Land Distribution and Ownership in Guam During the Spanish Administration" in *Guam History Perspectives Vol. 1*. And "Nineteenth Century Administrative Development on Guam" in Lee Carter, Rosa Roberto Carter and William Weurch, Eds. *Guam History Perspectives Vol. 1* (Mangilao: RFT-MARC, 1998) 81.

⁵¹ PSECC. 1994, 84.

between garrison folk and reduction villagers has lost much of its meaning. Nevertheless, the processes of Chamorro political and cultural continuity and change during the Spanish era cannot be explained by a single narrative. A bifurcated history, that recognizes distinctions and relationships between these communities will lead to a much clearer picture of the past.

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The Archaeological Remains of Early Spanish Colonialism on Guam

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Abstract: *The historical record of Early Modern Spanish Colonialism on Guam is reasonably well detailed when using primary and secondary literature to reconstruct significant events, policies, and personalities that affected the general population from 1521 to 1700. It is however, biased from the perspective of the only witnesses who could leave a written record at the time – early maritime chroniclers, later Jesuit priests, and eventual colonial administrators. The historical record of what exactly was exchanged between Spanish clergy or government officials, Philippine or Mexican military, and Chamorro inhabitants is far less explicit in the literature. This vacuum, if indeed it can be partially filled by archaeological inquiry, is the topic of this paper.*

Introduction

The period between Ferdinand Magellan's initial landfall in Guam on March 6, 1521, and the establishment of a permanent Spanish presence in Hagåtña on June 16, 1668, is sometimes called the Contact Period in the archaeological literature of the islands, although the material record of such early interaction is quite sparse. Earlier maritime contact with mainland Asia or the islands of Southeast Asia

before 1521 has been hinted at over the years (Farrell 2011:109), as the brisk exchange of food and fresh water by native Chamorro inhabitants for bits of Spanish iron to be fashioned into utilitarian tools suggests (Quimby 2011:3). And there can be no doubt that culture contact between indigenous inhabitants and settlers, both peaceful and bellicose, continued after 1668 at least until the end of *La Reduccion* circa 1700.

The historical record of Early Modern Spanish Colonialism on Guam is reasonably well detailed when using primary and secondary literature to reconstruct significant events, policies, and personalities that affected the general population from 1521 to 1700; albeit biased from the perspective of the only witnesses who could leave a written record at the time – early maritime chroniclers, later Jesuit priests, and eventual colonial administrators. The historical record of what exactly was exchanged between Spanish clergy or government officials, Philippine or Mexican military, and Chamorro inhabitants is far less explicit in the literature. This vacuum, if indeed it can be filled by archaeological inquiry, is the topic of this paper.

What was Being Exchanged during this Contact Period Interaction?

Initial 16th century exchange between Spanish sailors and Chamorro inhabitants of the Mariana Islands before the Manila Galleon Trade appears to have been largely spontaneous and unplanned, although some objects were deliberately stored in quantity for native trade. When Magellan supervised the storing of cargo in his flagship *Trinidad* in 1519, he ensured provisioning it with “looking-glasses, beads, knives, fish-hooks, red caps, ivory, quicksilver, brass bracelets, and 20,000 bells carried for trade” (Russell 1998:259). In 1526, when Legaspi arrived on Guam, he well knew what to expect from his pilot Urdaneta, hence “the Spanish offered playing cards, clothing, small bells, beads and glass objects, which the Islanders accepted by offering a little of the food they had brought. The next day, Islanders asked specifically for iron through signs, gestures and the Spanish word *hierro* and traded everything they had brought when iron was offered. When nails were

shown, the Islanders bartered only for those. Some also tried to extract nails from a ship's rudder post.” (Quimby 2011:8)

With the establishment of the Manila Galleon visit to Guam and Rota every year after 1568, Chamorro inhabitants “traded woven pandanus mats and baskets, coils of coir sennit, dove-like birds in wooden cages and small turtle-shell boxes.” And after the wrecks of galleons *Santa Margarita* on Rota in 1601 and *Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion* in 1638 on Saipan, “some Islanders also offered gold neck chains and ivory figurines salvaged from the wrecks, causing observers to marvel that the islanders valued iron more than gold.” (Quimby 2011:11). In 1995, items recovered from the salvage of the *Santa Margarita* included a few gold pieces, ivory, porcelain, and gemstones including garnets (Ty 1995:16-17). Beginning in 1989, 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 from *Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion* (Mathers et al. 1990:529), but only a single silver coin in the denomination of one *Real* was among the recovered items (Moore 2013:2).

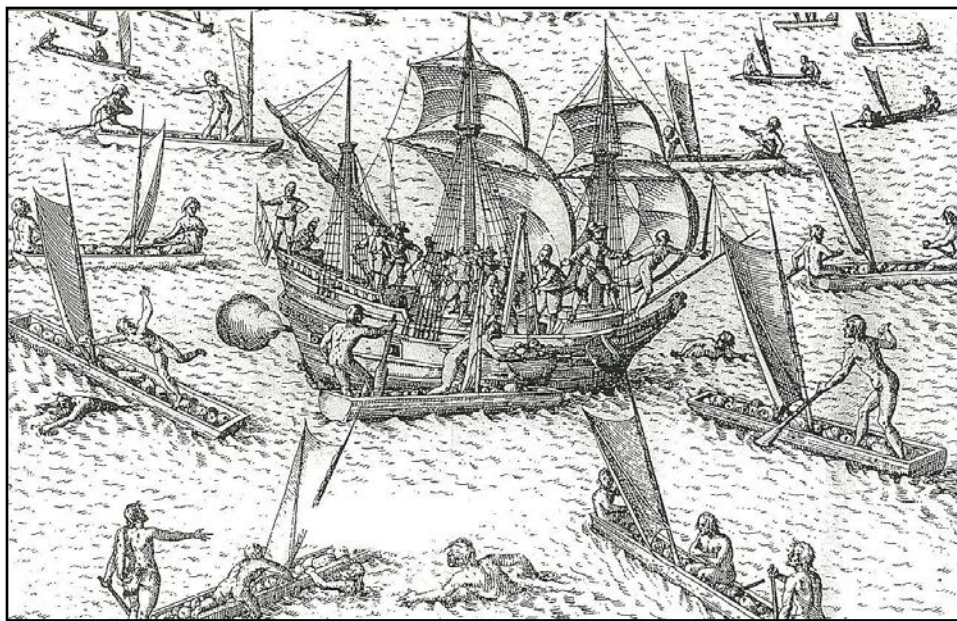


Figure 1. Dutch Trade between Oliver van Noort and Chamorros on Guam in 1600 (after Farrell 2011:137)

In return for these riches both native and foreign (Barratt 2003:82), the sailors aboard the Spanish galleons and the English and Dutch privateers (Figure 1) hunting them exchanged nails, knives, hatchets, scissors, and cask hoop iron, plus occasional machetes and cutlasses, but not swords or arquebuses. In fact, “Knowing the Islanders’ preference, westbound galleons carried extra quantities of iron goods.” (Quimby 2011:12). Much of this iron appears to have been refashioned by Chamorros into carpentry tools for the manufacture of canoes and outriggers which were increasingly valuable as coastal trade became more predictable. It is probably fair to assume that some objects also entered the traditional exchange system today called *chenchule*, in which objects of value or labor obligations were given to individuals of higher age or social status to repay their generosity or social indebtedness (Flores 2011:103).

After Sanvitores settled in Hagåtña in 1668 with about 50 individuals, including six Spanish clerics, an interpreter, several Philippine lay helpers, and 32 soldiers mostly from the Philippines, access to iron and other European trade goods became more circumscribed. The high ranking families of Hagåtña and nearby Tumon expected differential treatment and trading privileges when Spanish vessels arrived, and the clergy and soldiers expected acquiescence from Chamorro inhabitants for the imposition of religious and secular policy in return (Farrell 2011:157). Cross-cultural relations soon soured as neither side was receiving what they had expected, and it is safe to assume that the spontaneous exchange of iron and trinkets for labor and food eventually gave way to coercion and deceit.

Over the next three decades the native population of Guam and the Mariana Islands reeled from what was rapidly becoming a one-way exchange of Chamorro souls, labor, and lives for the Spanish right to maintain a growing military and religious mission, first in Hagåtña and then in smaller villages around the islands. Indigenous residents who accepted religious conversion were introduced to textiles and metal tools from Asia, maize and sweet potatoes from Mexico or Peru, smoking tobacco and the fermentation of coconut *tuba* from the Philippines, and both Old World and New World diseases for which they had no natural resistance.

By the end of *La Reduccion* and the impacts of a generation of warfare circa 1700, it has been estimated that only 4,500 Chamorros had survived mostly on Guam from a population perhaps as large as 30,000 across the archipelago (Farrell 2011:195). The loss of labor was so evident to the colonial administration that interim governor Francisco Medrano suggested moving the Guam garrison and remaining Chamorros to the Philippines to be placed on royal *haciendas* there (De Viana 2004:69). By the first Spanish census in 1727, the indigenous population had dropped to under 2,000 and their former native villages and way of life had largely entered the archaeological record.

Archaeological Evidence of Contact Period Interaction on Guam

Like the Contact Period material record of the CNMI, the archaeological evidence of interaction between native Chamorros and early modern Spanish clergy, military, and colonial administrators on Guam prior to 1700 is very sparse. At first glance this seems improbable given the almost yearly visits of over 100 sailing vessels to the island after 1521 (Quimby 2011:1), and the number of small chapels and churches constructed across the island after 1668 before completion of *La Reduccion*. Just the presumed social and economic impact that several hundred Spanish, Mexican, and Philippine men must have had on a native population estimated to be at least 12,000 (Farrell 2011:156) should have been considerable. It is also clear that almost all the coastal villages with Jesuit chapels (Figure 2) were native Chamorro habitation centers during the preceding Latte Period to judge from the archaeological record (see for instance Hornbostel 1923-24; Thompson 1932; Osborne 1947a; Reed 1952; Reinman 1966), although their place names may not reflect those today.

In Ritidian for instance, located on the northern tip of Guam, virtually the entire coastal plain within the protected reef was inhabited or used as a planting and forest production area, with numerous sets of *latte* stones or house supports, human burials, utilized rock shelters, caves with rock art, fresh water wells, grinding stones called *lusong*, and acres of traditional artifacts scattered across the surface even today. The crumbling remains of a cobblestone church called Casa Real were also recorded by Reed (1952:102), a structure that Hans Hornbostel felt

was built in part with former *latte* stones in the 1920s (Jalandoni 2011b:41), but later destroyed during Cold War US military construction (Jalandoni 2011a:42). Excavations at that site have revealed the probable foundation of a *mamposteria*, stone-and-mortar, church believed to have been built in 1683 after a previous wooden church and two religious schools were burned and two Spaniards killed by



Figure 2. Contact Period Churches and Villages on Guam
(after Le Gobian 1700:75)

local inhabitants in 1675, angry at Jesuit insults to members of a traditional men's house or *guma uritao* (Jalandoni 2011a:35). Besides the buried remnants of a cobble and burned limestone mortar alignment (Figure 3), other artifacts of non-traditional manufacture included a fragment of handmade fired clay brick with mortar residue (Figure 4) and a small rim fragment of Asian porcelain (Jalandoni 2011b:69).



*Figure 3. Possible Ritidian Casa Real Wall Foundation Remains (after Jalandoni 2011a:69).
Figure 4: Ritidian Hand-Made Brick Fragment with Lime Mortar (after Jalandoni 2011a:93)*

Found in close association were large fragments of Latte Period pottery with *mamposteria* residue (Figure 5), stone slingstones (Jalandoni 2011b:87), and human bone spear points (Jalandoni 2011b:92). Also implying Contact Period exchange at Ritidian was the recent discovery of a Venetian glass bead, forged iron nails, and a Chinese porcelain sherd in two *latte* sets excavated by a joint University of Guam and University of Hawaii field school (Bayman et al. 2013:263).



*Figure 5. Ritidian Latte Period Pottery and Lime Mortar
(after Jalandoni 2011a:82)*

Archaeological investigations completed on the north side of Pago Bay, where Ritidian residents were moved during *La Reduccion*, did not encounter shaped building stones or foundations of the former stone and thatch church recorded there in the 1700s, nor the range of perishable objects used at the time (Figure 6). But “historic materials recovered include bottles, glassware and porcelain fragments dating to the 1700s and 1800s, broken clay tiles, and fragments of large kiln-fired storage jars of the type commonly carried on the galleons... [and] Pieces of three different griddles made of basalt...” (Moore 2013:5). Also recovered was a silver coin worth two *Reales*, minted in Mexico City in 1779 during the reign of Spain’s King Carolus III (Moore 2013:7). Across the island at excavations around the late Colonial-era Rosario House in Hagåtña, a probable 1737 Dutch copper *duit* (Figure 7) with embossed VOC logo of the Dutch East Indies Company was recovered in mixed contexts predating the structure (Moore 2013:15).

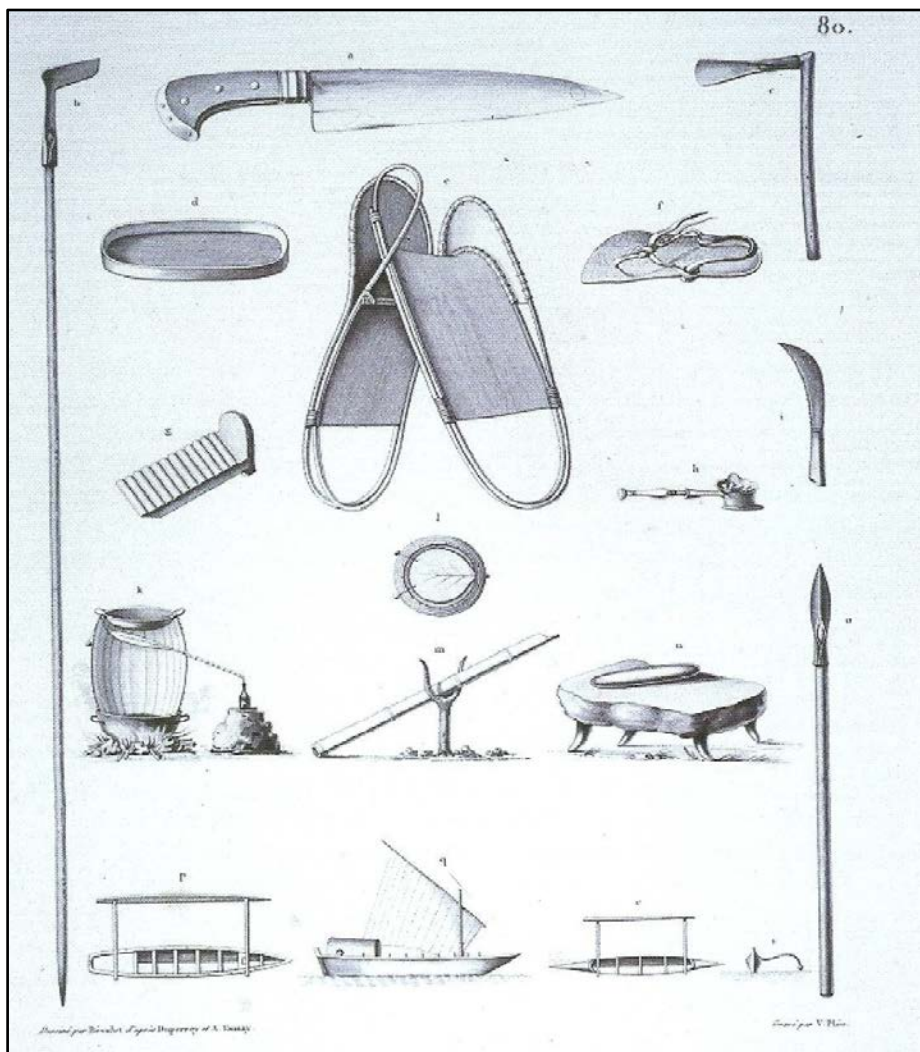


Figure 6. “Various Objects Used by the Present Day Inhabitants
(after Freycinet 2003:338 in Flores 2011:80)

While similar buried remains could be expected in many coastal villages at which Jesuits constructed chapels and churches, few such remains have been unearthed although none have been searched for archaeologically in such a diligent manner as at Ritidian. In nearby Tarague for instance, decades of pre-WWII coconut plantation development and later US military disturbances have left the forested coastal plain largely devoid of intact *latte* structures such as those recorded by Hornbostel in the early 1920s (Athens 1986:35). Instead, remnants of the Latte Period and Contact Period cultural landscape are preserved in the slopes above the coastal plain, where low boundary walls (Figure 8), stone clearing or planting piles,

pedestrian trail alignments, and *lusong* imply extensive use of shallow soils for traditional agriculture (Liston 1996:117), up to and presumably post-dating the arrival of Magellan's ship *Trinidad* that would have been seen passing offshore from the Tarague cliff line in 1521.



*Figure 7. 1737 Dutch Duit from Rosario House in Hagåtña
(after Moore 2013:15)*

Besides plant foods, which generally leave a poor record archaeologically, other artifacts of early modern exchange between native Chamorros and their Contact Period visitors were two round white and green glass trade beads found at Pulantat in upland southern Guam and one round white glass bead with red stripes at Inarajan on the southeast coast of the island (Reinman 1966:123). Rumored fragments of copper *tachuelas* or tacks (Darlene Moore, personal communication 2011) and a possible brass crucifix from the site of Pagat (Jennings Bunn, personal communication 2013) have yet to be recorded in the literature. Glazed “Spanish ware” ceramics found in Latte Period collections such as the Gogna site in Tumon (Osborne 1947b:521) and at Umatac and Cetti Bays (Osborne 1947a:11) likely reflect a later period of interaction after permanent settlement in 1668, when Jesuit priests and their lay workers traversed the island on foot to maintain far-flung mission outposts. Such ceramics have especially been noted in southern Guam where northern inhabitants and their cousins from Gani were moved after *La Reduccion*, specifically in Merizo (Reinman 1966:39), Pa`a (Reinman 1966:38), Inarajan (Reinman 1966:29), Ylig (Reinman 1966:18), and Pago (Reinman 1966:17). Pre-

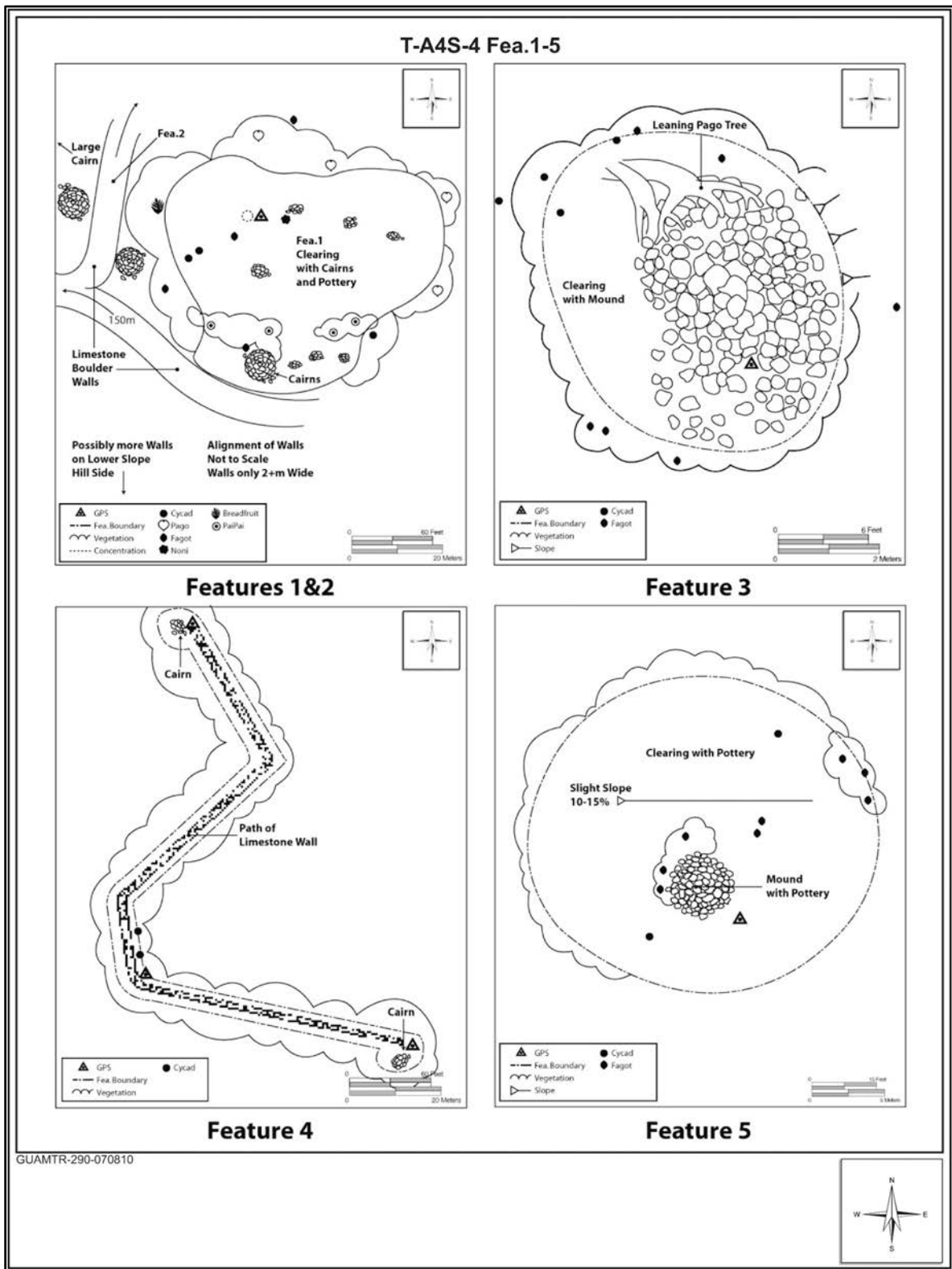


Figure 8: Agricultural Feature Types (after Dixon et al. 2010:307)

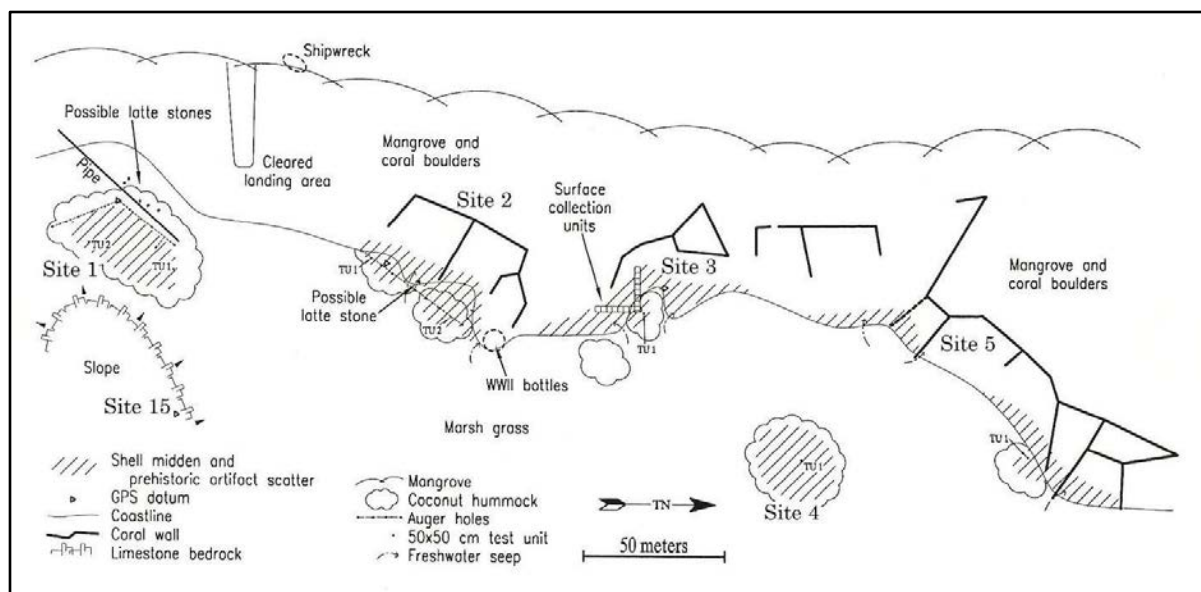


Figure 9: Stone Fish Weir Walls in Outer Apra Harbor (after Dixon et al. 2013:360)

Japanese porcelain was also noted at Pulantat and found to be similar to Philippine collections from Asia (Reinman 1966:125). Sherds of 18th century English transfer print, Mexican *majolica*, and Asian celadons from excavations of the Governor's Palace or *Palacio* in Hagåtña (Scheutz 2007:130-134) are tantalizing evidence of colonial occupation of the structure begun in 1744, if not of the town before. The occasional recovery of lead musket balls and chert gunflints such as near Pulantat (Williams 1991:23) are likely an even later reflection of hunting after deer and pigs were introduced to the island.

In addition to the remains of terrestrial subsistence activities that may have supported both native Chamorro and early Spanish clergy, military, and colonial administrators on Guam prior to 1700, *gigao* or stone fish weirs (Cunningham 1992:36) recently recorded within the unique estuarine environment of Apra Harbor on the southwest coast may represent the intensification of a traditional technique for acquiring fresh and easily dried fish for exchange with galleons and other vessels. While these stone-walled fish weirs (Figure 9) were never mentioned by early visitors to the island, when the French Corvette *L'Uranie* anchored off Apra Harbor in 1819, its captain Louis Claude de Freycinet was told of the former presence of *gigao* while surveying the island (Freycinet 2003:162). Controlled archaeological excavation of small sites adjacent to one of these complexes yielded

Latte Period pottery and wood charcoal radiocarbon dated to 1645-1725 (Dixon et al. 2017). This time span is well within the plausible memory of the oldest generation of Freycinet's informants who may have built or used the fish weirs to feed local populations and visiting sailors long after Ferdinand Magellan's visit in 1521.

Another maritime archaeological signature of the Contact Period comes from the *Nuestra Senora del Pilar* that sank off southern Guam in 1690 en route to the Philippines, where salvage work in the 1990s "recovered 36 silver coins with marks indicating that they had been minted in Mexico City, Lima (Peru), and Potosi (Bolivia). Iron nails, cannon balls, musket shot, fragments of storage jars and stone ballast were also recovered" (Moore 2013:2).

Conclusions

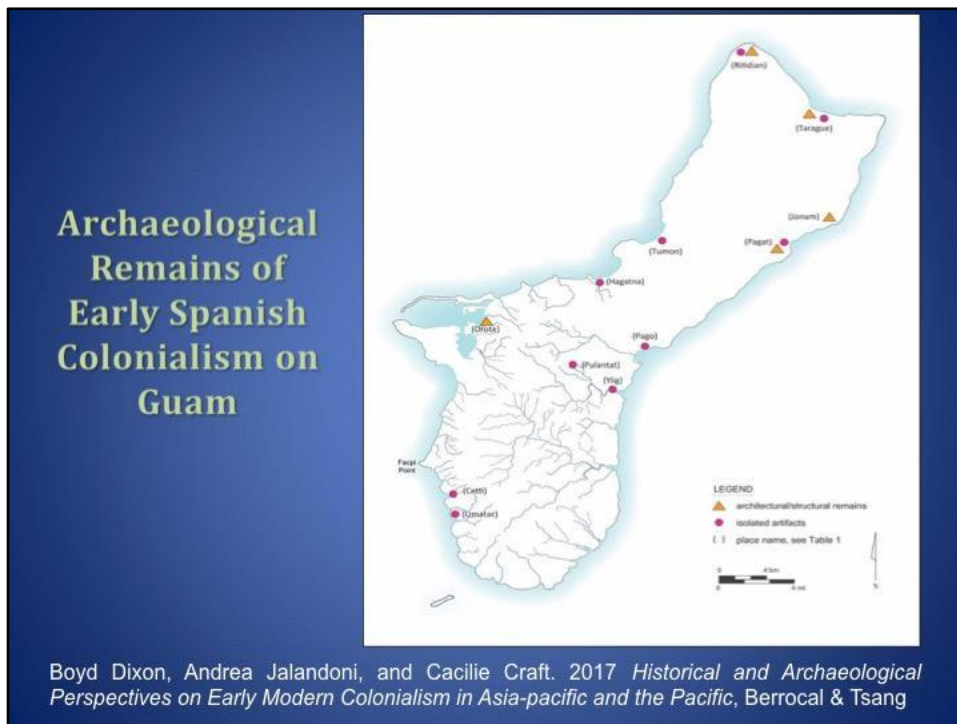
What is apparent from this examination of early modern colonial impacts on indigenous society in Guam between 1521 and 1700, and visa versa, is that the effects are measurable not on an archaeological scale alone, but rather as a measure of the success at which the local Spanish, Mexican, Philippine, and Chamorro cultures accommodated each other to form a unique experience. Family names, language, religion, inheritance, land tenure, diet, folk beliefs, natural medicine, and respect for elders and female authority are all encoded in *inafa'maolek* (interdependence within the kinship group), *chenchule'* (gift giving), and *ayuda* (providing assistance or help) Micronesian practices that still resonate today in the Mariana Islands. The few copper bells, iron nails or metal artifacts, Venetian glass or Carnelian beads, English transfer print ceramics, Mexican *majolica*, Asian celadons or porcelains, and foreign coins are still kept alongside Latte Period *lusong*, pottery, slingstones, and stone or shell adzes by certain families on Guam. In all these cases then and now, what is shared is not just material goods, but a sense of spiritual and communal continuity perpetuated by having shared this heritage for generations, beginning in the 16th to 18th century.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Si Rosanna Barcinas, who more than anyone we know on Guam personifies all the best in this cultural tradition and in our lives.

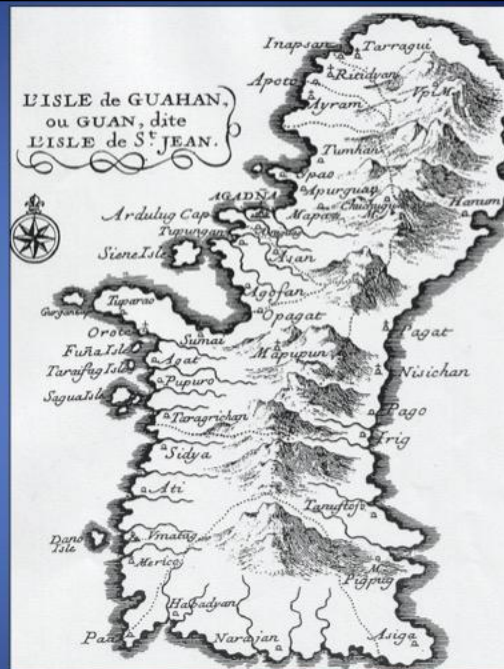
This paper is based on a recent publication by Dixon, B., A. Jalandoni, and C. Craft in 2017, titled “The Archaeological Remains of Early Modern Spanish Colonialism on Guam and their Implications. In M. Cruz Berrocal and C. Tsang, *Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on Early Modern Colonialism in Asia-Pacific and the Pacific*, Volume 1:195-218, University Press of Florida, Gainesville.”

Presentation Slides



Spanish Colonial Pueblos with Churches and Native Villages on Guam

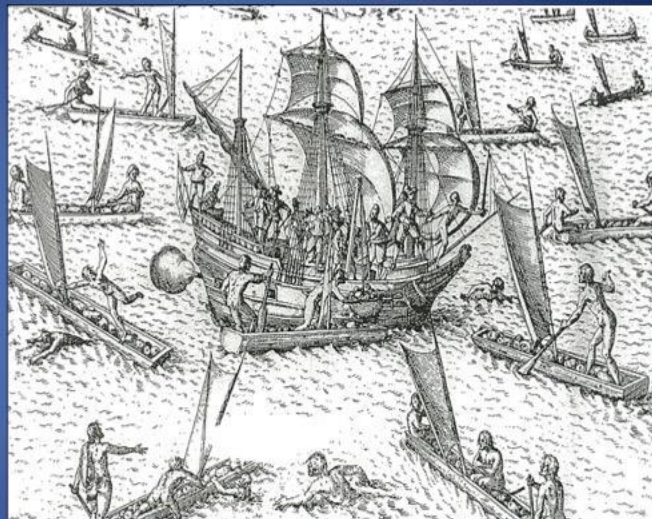
Connected by
Traditional Trails
and Footpaths



(after LeGobian 1700)

Dutch Ship Trading with CHamorus in their Native Proas

Oliver van Nordt
in 1600



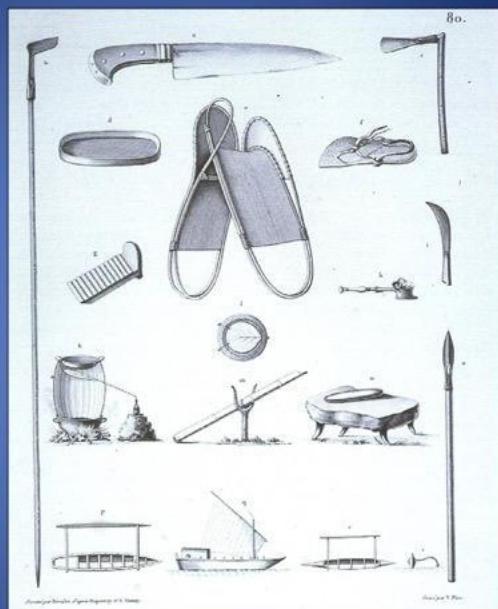
(after Farrell 2011:137)

1737
Dutch
Duit from
the Rosario
House in
Hagåtña,
Guam



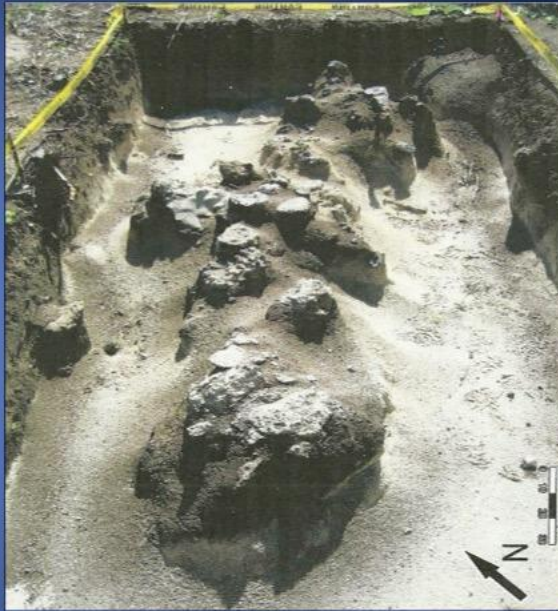
(After Moore 2013:15)

**“Various
Objects Used
by the
Present Day
Inhabitants”**



(After Freycinet 2003:338 in Flores 2011:80)

Possible
Mampostería
Wall
Foundation
near the *Casa*
Real, Ritidian
(Litekyan),
Guam



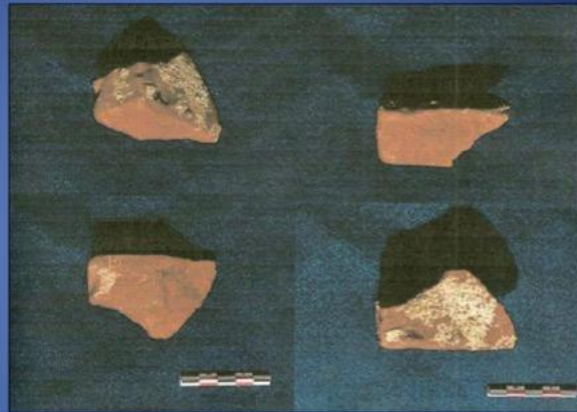
(After Jalandoni 2011:69)

Latte Period
Pottery and
Lime Mortar
near *Casa Real*,
Ritidian
(Litekyan),
Guam



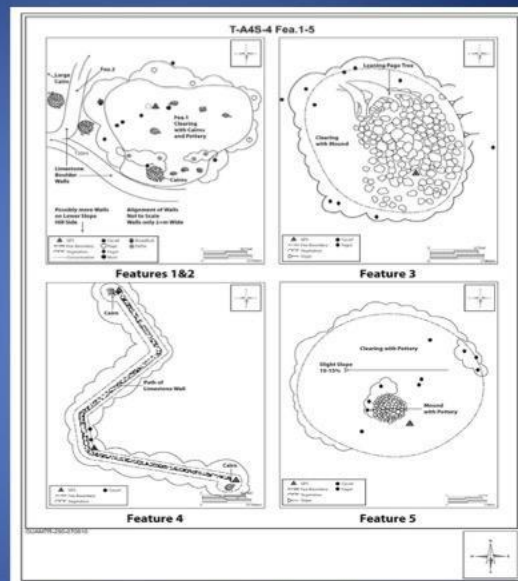
(After Jalandoni 2011:82)

Handmade
Brick
Fragment
with Lime
Mortar near
Casa Real,
Ritidian
(Litekyan),
Guam



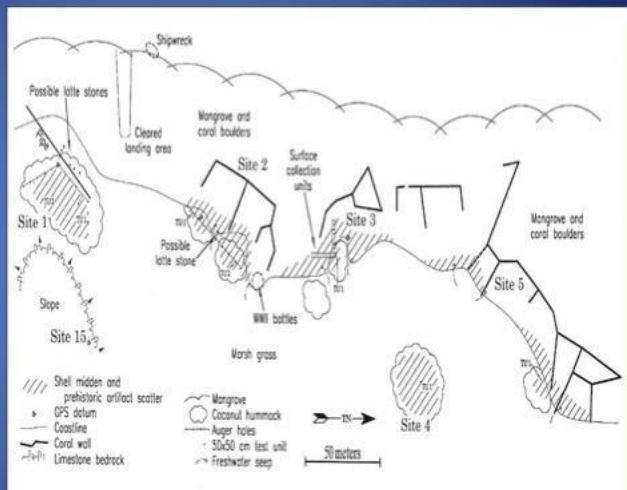
(after Jalandoni 2011:93)

Agricultural
Walls and
Clearing Piles
Above Ritidian
(Litekyan),
Guam



(after Dixon and Schaefer 2014)

Fish Weir (Gigao) Walls and Coastal Sites in Apra Harbor, Guam

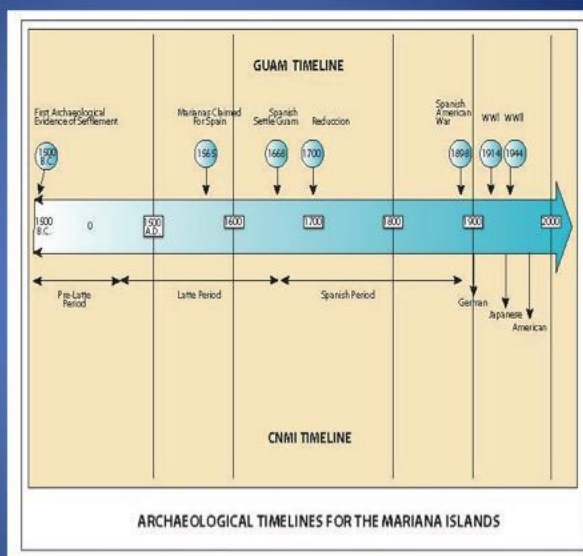


(after Dixon et al. 2011)

Timeline

Guam and the CNMI

Si Yu'os Ma'ase'



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Deconstructing Pigafetta's Account of First Contact

By Frank Quimby

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Abstract: *Antonio Pigafetta's narrative of Magellan's circumnavigation has been the primary source for all subsequent accounts of this seminal event in world history. Unfortunately, his pejorative description of the expedition's March 7-9, 1521, visit to Guam has been uncritically accepted and generally repeated in most histories of this historic first meeting of Pacific Islanders and Europeans. Other eyewitness accounts of the expedition's visit differ substantially from Pigafetta's Guam narrative, offering an alternative view of this meeting. Moreover, the pervasive pro-Magellan bias guiding Pigafetta's selection and interpretation of the circumnavigation's significant events underscores the need for a critical approach to his depiction of Chamorro interaction with the expedition. This article attempts to place Pigafetta's account of the Guam visit in the larger context of the expedition's politics and his Boswellian view of Magellan and to suggest why he chose to cast the encounter in such a stereotypically negative light.*

Antonio Pigafetta's telling of Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation has been a primary source for virtually all subsequent accounts of this seminal event in world history. Unfortunately, the pejorative appellation *Isla de los Ladrones* [Island of Thieves] framing his account of the expedition's March 7-9, 1521 visit to Guam has been uncritically accepted and generally repeated in most histories of this first meeting between Pacific Islanders and Europeans.

Other eyewitness accounts of the expedition's Guam visit differ substantially from Pigafetta's narrative, offering an alternative view of this historic cross-cultural meeting. In particular, the account attributed to Gines de Mafra, an officer on Magellan's flagship *Trinidad*, recalled extensive, peaceful exchange, despite the violence initiated by Magellan's men, noting that the Chamorros repeatedly came

to the ships in their outrigger canoes, bringing fish, coconuts, plantains and yams as barter and gifts for the starving, scurvy-ridden crews.¹

Other accounts confirm multiple peaceful trading sessions with Chamorros and some expedition officers noted that Magellan initially christened the islands *Islas de las Velas Latinas* [*Islands of the Lateen Sails*], a positive appellation that was used in some primary eyewitness accounts and official documents and appeared on some European maps.

Moreover, the pervasive pro-Magellan bias guiding Pigafetta's selection and interpretation of the circumnavigation's significant events underscores the need for a critical approach to his depiction of Chamorro interaction with the expedition. This article places Pigafetta's account of the Guam visit in the context of the expedition's politics and his Boswellian view of Magellan and suggests why he chose to cast the encounter in a stereotypically negative framework.

A Joyous Landfall

De Mafra's account begins with a joyous celebration on the *Trinidad* when the starving, scurvy-ridden crews finally make landfall at the Marianas:

“It was the 7th March 1521, the lookout on the mainmast began shouting ‘Land Ho! Land Ho!’ and as the word spread among the ships, the men went so wild with joy, it looked as if the ones who took the news calmly were the most foolish, as anyone who has ever experienced a moment of emotion of this kind will understand. The lookout presently exclaims he sees a sail. And for being the herald of this two-fold good news they rewarded him with a piece of jewelry worth a hundred ducats.”²

The sighting of canoe sails was especially welcome news because it meant the islands were inhabited and there would be food and water and possibly information about the Spice Islands sought by the expedition. The *Trinidad's* officers and crewmen had been disappointed earlier when they had come across

two other islands in their difficult mid-Pacific crossing; these landfalls were uninhabited and lacked safe anchorages, so the expedition had been unable to provision.³

It may have been during the Marianas landfall that some officers on the *Trinidad* christened Guam and Rota *Islas de las Velas Latinas*. RA Skelton, who translated into English, edited and annotated a French version of Pigafetta's narrative (the Beinecke-Yale manuscript), notes that according to the Genoese pilot's diary, Magellan first gave the islands this name because of the welcome sight of the canoe sails. James Alexander Robertson, who did the English translation and editing/annotation of the Italian version of Pigafetta's *Relation* (the Ambrosian manuscript), says the Spanish historian Antonio de Herrera maintained the islands first received the name *Las Velas*.⁴

The first published account of the circumnavigation by Maximilian of Transylvania, who had interviewed captain Juan Sebastian Elcano and two of his Spanish companions after the *Victoria* completed the circumnavigation, does not use the term *Ladrones* or mention the visit to the Marianas, but names two islands the expedition reported, *Inuagana* and *Acaca*, which historian FHH Guillemard identified with *Hagatna* on Guam and *Soso* on Rota. Most historians of the expedition, however, believe these were uninhabited islands in the Leyte-Samar region of the Philippines.⁵

The first official use of *Las Velas* for the Marianas appeared at least as early as 1529 in the Treaty of Zaragoza, in which Spain pawned its rights in the Moluccas to Portugal for 250,000 ducats. In the treaty, *Las Velas* were said to be east of the Papal Line of Demarcation in the Pacific (the anti-meridian), running between Guam and the Philippines and thus were on the Spanish side of the line, while the Moluccas were west of the line, in the Portuguese demarcation.⁶

The crewmen's joyous reaction to the Guam-Rota sighting, which signaled salvation for many of them, can be readily appreciated because of the exceptional difficulties that preceded it. As Pigafetta declared in his off-quoted account:

“We were three months and twenty days without getting any kind of fresh food. We ate biscuit, which was no longer biscuit, but powder of biscuits swarming with worms, for they had eaten the good. It stank strongly of the urine of rats. We drank yellow water that had been putrid for many days. We also ate some ox hides that had covered the top of the mainyard to prevent the yard from chafing the shrouds, and which had become exceedingly hard because of the sun, rain and wind. We left them in the sea for four or five days, and then placed them for a few moments on top of the embers, and so ate them; and often we ate sawdust from boards. Rats were sold for one-half ducado apiece, and even then we could not get them.”⁷

This extended privation led to scurvy, an extreme vitamin deficiency, which ravaged the crew so thoroughly, Pigafetta noted, that the expedition was in danger of disintegrating:

“But above all the other misfortunes the following was the worst. The gums of both the lower and upper teeth of some of our men swelled, so that they could not eat under any circumstances and therefore died. Nineteen men died from that sickness, and the giant [who the crew had captured in Patagonia] together with an Indian from the country of [Brazil]. Twenty-five or thirty men fell sick [during that time] in the arms, legs or in another place, so that but few remained well.”⁸

The crossing was so horrendous that Pigafetta attributed the expedition’s survival to divine intervention and thought the voyage would never be repeated: “Had not God and His blessed mother given us so good weather we would all have died of hunger in that exceedingly vast sea. Of a verity, I believe, no such voyage will ever be made again.”⁹

Given the depleted and sickly condition of the crews and Pigafetta’s admission of how tenuous survival appeared, the joyous landfall reported in de Mafra’s account

makes perfect sense. Though Pigafetta also served on the *Trinidad*, the highly emotional event garnered not a single mention in his narrative. With a bland understatement, his account reported: "...[W]e discovered on Wednesday, March 6 a small island to the northwest, and two others toward the southwest, one of which was higher and larger than the other two."¹⁰

The Offshore Encounter

Equally puzzling is the contrast between de Mafra's and Pigafetta's accounts of the initial encounter between Chamorros and the expedition's crews. De Mafra recalled the ships entered a bay, probably on Guam's western (leeward) coast.¹¹

"Drawing near the shore, the ships anchored. The people ashore, who all the while stood watching, now began to come out in great numbers on their small boats, gazing at the ships and soon started coming on board completely unawed. So many of them crowded on deck, especially on the flagship [*Trinidad*], some of our men urged the captain to order them off. The captain either gave the order, or someone jumped to the conclusion that he had given it—at any rate, the flagship's bosun boxed a native for some slight misdemeanor and the native hit him back at once. The affronted bosun whipped out his cutlass and wounded the native on the shoulder. Thereupon, the entire mob fled in panic over the side and scrambling on to their canoes began hurling bamboo spears at the ship. Those on board replied with crossbows, yet the natives were so numerous some sailors were wounded."¹²

The next event de Mafra described (but Pigafetta did not) is the key to an alternative view of this historic encounter:

"A curious thing happened during this affray. While some natives were busy fighting with our men, others came out from the shore with boats loaded with food, and paddling past their

neighbors gave the food to our men, and then joined their neighbors in fighting against us. When Magellan noticed how the number bringing food was increasing, he ordered the men on the ships not to fire at them. As a consequence the natives attacking also stopped, so that eventually **all of them turned once more to selling us food as they had begun in the first place – coconuts and fish in abundance just for a few Castilian glass beads.**” [Emphasis added.]¹³

As Martin J. Noone, SSC, a historian of the Philippine’s Spanish contact era, has noted, this reported sequence of trading, interrupted by fighting, followed by a cease fire and renewed trading/gifting is “skipped over by Pigafetta, not being very complimentary to his hero Magellan.” Perhaps this was because, as one eyewitness reported, “...[T]hose in the *naos*, with little effort defended themselves and killed many [islanders] until they outdistanced them.”¹⁴

Instead, Pigafetta offers a condensed, conflated, and confusing description of the encounter:

“The captain-general wished to stop at the large island and get some fresh food, but he was unable to do so because the inhabitants of that island entered the ships and stole whatever they could lay their hands on, so that we could not protect ourselves. The men were about to strike the sails so that we could go ashore, but the natives very deftly stole from us the small boat that was fastened to the poop of the flagship. Thereupon, the captain-general in wrath went ashore with forty armed men, who burned some forty or fifty houses together with many boats and killed seven men. He recovered the small boat and we departed immediately pursuing the same course.”¹⁵

The scenario that likely occurred, according to de Mafra’s and other accounts, over the course of three days, was this: when the first canoes reached the weather-worn

and storm-beaten Spanish vessels, some Chamorros began gifting/trading with the three ships from their canoes, while other Islanders immediately boarded the Spanish ships “without any shyness as if they were good acquaintances”, another account noted. The boarders, who were generally as tall or taller and more robustly built than Europeans of that time, would have seen the crewmen, many of whom were so ill they could not stand and then “with the same boldness [boarders] began taking what they came across as if it were theirs, in such a way that they [crewmen] could not stop them peacefully”.¹⁶

The ensuing violent clash ended when other Chamorros from the same coast brought more food and gave it to the crews, inducing Magellan to call a cease fire. Both sides then resumed peaceful trading. Hence, the expedition was able to acquire fresh food “coconuts and fish in abundance just for a few Castilian glass beads” and likely other anti-scorbutic fruit and root crops (plantains, bananas, citrus, yams, and taro) as gifts and barter in the initial encounter as well as in subsequent trading sessions. However, during the melee, some Islanders had taken the skiff tethered to the *Trinidad’s* poop deck.

Contrary to the implication in Pigafetta’s account, Magellan did not go ashore in the initial encounter and the expedition did not leave “immediately” to resume its westward course. Other accounts describe how the expedition spent that night tacking out to sea (doubtless consuming the food they had acquired) and returned to an offshore anchorage the next morning. At that point, Magellan organized a heavily-armed shore party to punish those who had taken the *Trinidad’s* skiff, the theft of which he may have regarded as an affront to his authority. According to the Genoese Pilot’s account, “...he ordered two boats to be got ready with a matter of 50 or 60 men, and he went ashore in person and burned the whole village [40 to 50 houses], and they killed 7 or 8 persons between men and women, and recovered the skiff and returned to the ships.” The shore party also burned several canoes and seized food stores from the village, according to another account.¹⁷

Significantly, this premeditated, vengeful incursion did not prevent Islanders from other villages along that stretch of coast from bartering with the Spanish visitors. As Magellan’s men were returning from their onshore attack, they saw 40 to 50

canoes “which came from the same land [coast]” going to the vessels to trade, and those Islanders “brought much refreshment”.¹⁸ Another eyewitness recalled that Islanders “came many times to us” during the three-day visit.¹⁹ On the third day March 9 when Magellan sailed away, an estimated 100 canoes followed the vessels more than three miles out to sea, and the Islanders held up fish, offering trade. When the expedition rebuffed the proffer of trade and the ships did not stop, men in the canoes hurled sling stones at the crews.²⁰

While the brutal retaliation Magellan inflicted on some villagers seems a gross overreaction by any standards contemporary or modern it was not uncharacteristic of the expedition’s *modus operandi* when dealing with indigenous populations. As Urs Bitterli, a noted European historian of colonialism, remarked in his *Cultures in Conflict*:

“There is no denying that on some occasions they [Europeans] fired at the natives without provocation or even treated them with an unrestrained violence that suggests sadistic motives. This occurred, for example, in most of the 20 or so cultural contacts during Fernando Magellan’s voyage round the world. ... Antonio Pigafetta, the ships’ chronicler, reports a succession of encounters which, despite friendly approaches from the natives, ended in blood-baths, pillage and destruction. ... [O]n the island of Cebu in the Philippines, this reckless and tactically indefensible conduct ... cost Magellan his life.”²¹

Pigafetta as Renaissance Ethnographer

While a man of “strong and fixed loyalty” and “passionate admiration” for Magellan, Pigafetta was a product of the Italian Renaissance a Christian gentleman-scholar and member of the minor Italian nobility.²² He clearly felt sympathy for the Chamorros and compassion about the expedition’s treatment of them, which he expressed in a memorable passage:

“Before we landed some of our sick men begged us if we should kill any man or woman to bring the entrails to them, as they would recover [from scurvy] immediately.”²³

While Pigafetta does not record whether members of the shore party brought their shipmates such grizzly remedies, his mention of the request seems to underscore the desperation and primitive mentality of some crew members *vis a vis* the indigenous people they encountered.

In the same passage, Pigafetta notes that “When we wounded any of those people with our cross-bow shafts, which passed completely through their loins from one side to the other, they, looking at it, pulled on the shaft now on this and now on that side, and then drew it out with great astonishment, and so died. Others who were wounded in the breast did the same, which moved us to great compassion.” And finally he recalled, “Those people seeing us departing, followed us with more than one hundred boats for more than one legua [three miles]. ... We saw some women in their boats who were crying out and tearing their hair, for love, I believe, of those whom we had killed.”²⁴

Pigafetta’s empathy for the Chamorros also may have been a function of his admiration for them, which shines through his passages on their appearance and constructed environment. However superficial his notes may seem today, they were the first ethnographic description of Pacific Islanders by a European observer:

“Each one of those people lives according to his own will, for they have no seignior [superior]. They go naked and some are bearded and have black hair that reaches to the waist. They wear small palm-leaf hats, as do the Albanians. They are as tall as we and well built. They have no worship. They are tawny but are born white. Their teeth are red and black, for they think that is most beautiful.”²⁵

He seemed especially impressed by the women:

“The women go naked except that they wear a narrow strip of bark as thin as paper, which grow between the tree and the bark of the palm, before their privies. They are good-looking and delicately formed, and lighter complexioned than the men; and wear their hair, which is exceedingly black, loose and hanging quite down to the ground. The women do not work in the fields but stay in the house, weaving mats, baskets and other things needed in their houses from palm leaves. They eat coconuts, camotes, birds, figs one palmo in length, sugarcane and flying fish, besides other things. They anoint the body and the hair with coconut and beneseed oil.”²⁶

The uniqueness of Chamorro houses and boats also won his praise:

“There houses are all built with wood, covered with planks and thatched with leaves of the fig tree two brazes long; and they have floors and windows. The rooms and the beds are all furnished with the most beautiful palm-leaf mats. They sleep on palm straw which is very soft and fine. ... Their amusement, men and women, is to plow the seas with those small boats of theirs ... [that] resemble *fucelere* [oared craft used on Venetian lakes for hunting] but are narrower and some are black, [some] white and others red. At the side opposite the sail, they have a large piece of wood pointed at the top, with poles laid across it and resting on the water, in order that the boats may sail more safely. The sail is made from palm leaves sewn together and is shaped like a lateen (triangle) sail. For rudders they use a certain blade resembling a hearth shovel which have a piece of wood at the end. They make the stern, bow, and the bow, stern at will and those boats resemble the dolphins which leap in the water from wave to wave.”²⁷

Reflections on First Contact

A number of historians have proposed explanations for the Chamorros' seizure of items from Magellan's ships during the initial interaction with the expedition. These interpretations range from Islanders not understanding western concepts of private property rights, to Europeans not understanding the Chamorro concept of reciprocity (balanced exchange of food for Spanish goods), to rituals of possession, i.e., asserting local authority by seizing property from unknown visitors who had entered offshore areas controlled by high-status village lineages. All of these explanations have merit and clearly, because there were no effective interpreters on either side, cultural misunderstandings were inevitable.²⁸

However, a few facts from the eyewitness accounts quoted here may shed additional light on the Islanders' appropriation activities. In the first place, the Chamorros who sailed out to meet the ships reportedly brought food stuffs, including fish, coconuts, and other readily available fruit and root crops. Arguably, these were intended as gifts/succor and/or barter/exchange, suggesting the Islanders intended to welcome and/or trade with the visitors, not plunder them. (Later 16th century offshore encounters reported between Chamorro mariners and Spanish explorers testify to the Islanders' avid desire for trade and the aggressive *caveat emptor* tactics they often used to acquire iron, even while other Islanders were fighting with Spanish shore parties.)²⁹

Moreover, some eyewitness accounts of first contact also recalled that many Islanders immediately climbed aboard the vessels "completely unawed" by the Europeans "without any shyness as if they were good acquaintances," as one account noted. There was not the slightest hint in these reports that the Chamorros viewed the Europeans as deities or mythical or supernatural beings, as some other Pacific Islanders reportedly did in later centuries. This may have been a result of the Chamorros' previous interaction with foreign vessels arriving unexpectedly off their shores.

The Marianas' archaeological and historical record provides evidence that the islands were not an "isolate," completely cut off from outside contact, interaction,

and influence. Rather, there is evidence that Chamorros had contact with iron-age Southeast Asia, and possibly other East Asians, as well as Caroline Islanders centuries before they encountered the Spanish. Some historians suggest that these interactions could have provided the impetus for changes in maritime, building, and agricultural technologies.³⁰

Some of this pre-Spanish interaction with outsiders likely occurred through contact with vessels hit by storms in the Philippine Sea which then drifted onto the reefs and shores of the islands. These drift voyagers seeking refuge and/or to refit their vessels could account for the “familiarity” the Chamorros exhibited with Magellan’s crews. (Between 1568 and 1648, three east-bound Spanish galleons and a sampan plying the Manila-Ternate trade fetched up damaged on Guam, Rota and Saipan, respectively, in not dissimilar fashion to Magellan’s vessels.)

Perhaps, when some of the Chamorro traders were able to make a close-up examination of the weather-beaten vessels and depleted, scurvy-ridden, and severely weakened crewmen – many of whom must have appeared near death – it may have encouraged a belief that the expedition was *in extremis* – on the verge of dying and hence subject to a traditional equivalent of today’s seizure/salvage protocols. In any case, once the expedition’s crew resisted the Chamorro’s impositions and drove the Islanders back onto their canoes, killing many in the process, other Chamorros quickly demonstrated how anxious they were to resume trading and reportedly adjusted to the expedition’s terms of trade.

Finally, the discrepancies in Pigafetta’s narrative compared with other eyewitness accounts beg the question why he chose to include some events but exclude others to shape his chapter on Guam. The answer lies, I suggest, in Pigafetta’s close relationship with Magellan and the politics of the expedition, especially the tension between Portuguese and Spanish officers.

Though Magellan was the architect and driving force behind the expedition, he was Portuguese, while the funding, expedition ships, and vast majority of other officers and crewmen were Spanish. Officially known as the *Armada de Molucca*, the five vessels carried about 250 men (accounts vary from 234 to 270) of whom 30 to 40

were Portuguese, mainly officers and pilots, including some of Magellan's relatives. (Charles I had ordered Magellan to reduce the number of Portuguese mariners to 12, but the captain-general evaded this directive.) From the outset, many Spanish officers resented the appointment of a Portuguese refugee/immigrant as commander of the Crown's expedition and his favoritism toward Portuguese officers. Some of them may have been planning a mutiny even before the expedition left Spain. Once underway, they chafed at his arbitrary management refusing to consult with them on navigational decisions and his authoritarian style, making unilateral decisions and course changes that angered them.³¹

For Magellan, the expedition was primarily a voyage of discovery to find a westward route to Asia via a South American strait and secondarily a commercial venture to obtain cargoes of valuable spices. Many leaders of the Spanish opposition motivated in general by the traditional animosity toward Portuguese viewed the enterprise primarily as a commercial effort to enrich the Spanish crown and themselves. Mounting dangers and hardships increased their disenchantment. As Magellan relentlessly probed for a strait and the expedition experienced increasingly harsh winter weather, damaging storms and severely reduced rations, these officers and many crewmen believed Magellan was leading them on a doomed voyage.³²

They conspired to seize the ships and either make for the Indian Ocean route to the Moluccas for cargos of spices or return directly to Spain to mount a new expedition. While wintering in Port Saint Julien (along the Patagonian coast of Argentina) Magellan quickly suppressed the Easter (1520) mutiny by brutally executing two of its leaders, marooning two others on the uninhabited coast and converting the death sentence imposed on 40 others to a term of hard labor while wintering at Port Saint Julian. This group included the master of the *Conception* Juan Sebastian Elcano, who had joined the mutineers. Nevertheless, the officers and crew of the supply ship *San Antonio*, the largest of the fleet's vessels carrying most of the food stores, deserted in December 1520 and returned to Spain by May 1521. (Another vessel, the caravel *Santiago* was wrecked on the Patagonian coast shortly after the mutiny.)³³

The deserters brought the first news of the expedition's situation and some of the *San Antonio's* Spanish officers launched the initial effort to discredit Magellan with the Crown, labelling him a tyrannical leader who had disobeyed the King's directives and murdered royal appointees. The campaign was heightened when the *Victoria* returned in 1522 with Juan Sebastian Elcano at the helm.³⁴

Throughout the course of these events, Pigafetta consistently identified with Magellan. As a citizen of the Republic of Venice and non-Spaniard, he bonded with the captain-general, serving as his gentleman-companion as well as the expedition's chronicler. Pigafetta saw Magellan as a mentor in maritime matters, a confidant and protector in adversity and a hero in geographical discovery. His fulsome admiration for and the depth of his attachment to the captain-general is exemplified by the eulogy he wrote for his *Relation*, memorializing Magellan after his death in the Philippines:

“...[T]hey rushed upon him with iron and bamboo spears, and with their cutlasses, until they killed our mirror, our light, our comfort and our true guide. ... I hope through [the efforts of] your Lordship **that the fame of so noble a captain will not become effaced in our times.** [Emphasis added] Among the other virtues which he possessed, he was more constant than ever anyone else in the greatest adversity. He endured hunger better than all the others, and more accurately than any man in the world did he understand sea charts and navigation. And that this was the truth was seen openly, for no other had had so much natural talent nor the boldness to learn how to circumnavigate the world, as he has almost done.”³⁵

... the Fame of so Noble a Captain

This effusive praise underscores one of Pigafetta's major motives for shaping his account—to counter the efforts to discredit Magellan, restore his reputation and honor and advance his fame. The “Lord” to whom the above passage refers is Pigafetta's patron, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Grand Master of the Knights of

Rhodes, who Pigafetta hoped would help disseminate the narrative, perhaps by funding its publication. After returning to Spain on the *Victoria*, Pigafetta had spent nearly three years visiting Europe's royal courts to relate his account of the voyage, draft his narrative and seek help to publish it. As a member of the prestigious Knights of Rhodes (aka Order of St. John of Jerusalem), Pigafetta dedicated his *Relation* to the Grand Master. However, his full narrative was never published in his lifetime (or in the 16th century), though many condensed versions in French and Italian were printed in the three decades after the *Victoria's* triumphant return.^{[36](#)}

The shaping of the narrative to justify and glorify Magellan was spurred when Crown officials convened commissions at Valladolid in 1522 to interview selected officers about the voyage of discovery, and to conduct an inquiry into the conduct of the *Armada de Molucca*, specifically relations between its senior officers, i.e., to address the charges against Magellan. Though Pigafetta was interviewed about the discoveries, he was not called to give testimony at the inquiry.^{[37](#)}

Contrary to Pigafetta's statement in his *Relation* that he recorded "all the things that had occurred day by day during our voyage," he was far from a disinterested observer, and colored his narrative to paint Magellan in the best possible light. This motivation surfaces, for example, in his treatment of Juan Sebastian Elcano, who captained the *Victoria* on its long and dangerous voyage from the Moluccas to Spain but is not mentioned anywhere in Pigafetta's account. R.A. Skelton, translator of the French manuscript, refers to this glaring omission as Pigafetta's "unexplained animosity toward Elcano".^{[38](#)}

However, Pigafetta's animosity is quite understandable: Elcano had been a leader of the mutiny but was pardoned by Magellan; escaped death or injury at the battle of Mactan and the Cebu massacre because he was ill on the *Conception*; did nothing of note to gain the captaincy of the *Victoria* after three previous captains had been killed; and presented a damning indictment of Magellan at the Valladolid inquiry, persuasively arguing the Spanish officers' case for opposing the "reckless" captain-general. Elcano was now fortune's favorite, receiving the plaudits and laurels for the circumnavigation – an unintended outcome of the voyage Magellan had

conceived, executed and largely accomplished. The Crown also awarded Elcano a payment from the royal share of the *Victoria's* profits, an annual life pension of 500 gold ducats, a knighthood and a coat of arms declaring him the First Circumnavigator.³⁹

Yet Magellan's reward appeared to be calumny and disgrace, regarded by many as a traitor to both Portugal and Spain. As the historian Noone noted, "A hostile view of Magellan and his Portuguese associates began to take hold in public opinion [in Spain]." This construction of events was sparked and encouraged by many of the *Victoria's* Spanish officers as well as important Crown overseers of the expedition, such as Archbishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, head of the *Casa de Contratacion* (House of Commerce), who had lost his natural son (Juan de Cartagena) and two loyal allies (Luis de Mendoza and Gaspar de Quesada) in the mutiny.⁴⁰

Pigafetta summed up that gruesome uprising in five brief sentences that confused the names of the principal actors – a strange lapse of memory for a chronicler who prided himself on his precision elsewhere in the narrative. His cursory account of the mutiny conveniently glossed over such unsavory details as the drawing, quartering and disembowelment of two of the mutiny's leaders, display of their body parts as warnings to the crew, torture of other mutineers, and the death sentence (of wilderness exile) for the well-connected Cartagena and a priest who had spoken out against Magellan, refused to reveal crewmen's confessional admissions and continued to conspire with the mutiny's leaders. Cartagena's death sentence was especially condemned by Crown officials due to his noble parentage and royal appointment as Inspector General of the *Armada* and captain of the *San Antonio*. Spanish officers had regarded him as co-commander of the expedition. Pigafetta pled ignorance of the mutiny's causes, other than acknowledging that the Spanish officers "hated him exceedingly, I know not why, unless because he was a Portuguese, and they Spaniards."⁴¹

Similarly, when he penned his account of the expedition's Guam visit, his motivation would have been to paint the best possible picture of the man he idolized. If Magellan was to be the hero of the narrative, his actions needed to be consistently justified, especially in this case because the Crown's final orders to the

Armada's leaders had specifically called for humane treatment of the indigenous people they encountered: "You shall not consent in any manner that any wrong or harm be done to them."⁴² Maintaining the myth of the bold explorer and wise leader, as the historian Noone noted, required Pigafetta to skip over some events at Guam and to justify other actions because they might have cast a shadow over "so noble a captain."

As Magellan's Boswell, Pigafetta omitted any mention of the joy the crews experienced at reaching the Marianas, the original positive appellation bestowed on the islands which some *Armada* officers continued to use, as well as the extensive peaceful exchange that provided food, water and anti-scorbutic fruit to the starving, scurvy-ridden crews. Clearly, the expedition could not have found large quantities of rice, flour, beef and pork that the crews may have wished to replenish their stores, but they reportedly were provided fresh food "in abundance" that began to cure the scurvy and restore their strength after the horrendous Pacific crossing.

Pigafetta's construction of the Guam narrative rationalized his hero's abusive treatment of the indigenous people, especially the brutal onshore killings and the destruction and looting of an entire village. In effect, his account blamed the Islanders for Magellan's reckless behavior by stereotyping the entire population as "ladrones" prejudicially implying they deserved such punishment. This appellation gained widespread use as Pigafetta's narrative, in abbreviated versions and later complete form, gradually restored Magellan's reputation and advanced his fame over the centuries. Moreover, by putting the archipelago on European maps, Pigafetta had begun a process that located the islands in the stream of empire, with all the lethal dangers, cultural and demographic disruptions and socio-economic challenges and opportunities that this presented.

Posterity has made up for the bad press Magellan originally received in Spain, enhancing his reputation, especially since the concept of "globalization" and analyses of its origins began to influence historical reflection. Near universal acceptance of Pigafetta's *Relation* "as the final authority regarding the actual events with which it deals" has made it the dominant historical narrative of the *Armada's*

visit to Guam, seemingly impervious to criticism and/or revisionist views that question its long-accepted interpretations.⁴³

As Magellan's achievements and legacy are marked during the quincentenary of the *Armada de Molucca* and since globally oriented history has paid little attention to what his voyage meant for the indigenous people he affected, it is important to embrace islander-oriented perspectives, to ask new questions about the course and significance of these events, and to reinterpret the important encounters that have shaped Marianas history.

Endnotes

1. The edited log of Gines de Mafra, a pilot on the *Trinidad*, was published in Antonio Blasquez y Delgado Aguilera, *Tres relaciones ...* (Madrid: Real Sociedad Geographica, 1920). The visit to Guam is on pp. 196-7. The English translation of this account is from Martin J. Noone, SSC, *The Islands Saw It: The Discovery and Conquest of the Philippines*, (Dublin: Helicon Press, 1980), p. 60. (Noone's history also was published in Manila under the title *General History of the Philippines: the discovery and conquest of the Philippines (1521–1581)*, part 1, vol. 1, Manila 1986). Historian Rodrique Levesque believes this eyewitness account is genuine but probably the work of Andres San Martin, the *Trinidad* navigator. Correspondence with author.
2. Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, p. 60. Most primary accounts say March 6 was the day the ships reached the Marianas, but de Mafra's narrative says March 7. The discrepancy is due to the expedition leaders not realizing until after the *Victoria* returned that by circumnavigating the world on a westward heading, the fleet had lost a day. Some accounts, such as de Mafra's, later made the correction.
3. James Alexander Robertson, *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta: The original text of the Ambrosian MS., with English translation*. Volume I, p. 85. (Originally published in 1906 by the Arthur H. Clark Company in Cleveland, the version quoted in this article is the facsimile edition published by Forgotten Books in 2012.)

4. RA Skelton, *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation by Antonio Pigafetta*. English translation of the French (Beinecke-Yale) manuscript. Volume I, p. 158, chapter XIV, footnote 7. (Originally published by Yale University Press, New Haven, in 1969, the version quoted in this article is the unabridged and unaltered reprint issued by Dover Publications, New York, in 1994). He cites Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general*, Madrid, 1601-15. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 248, note 191, cites Mosto, Andrea da, *Il primo viaggio intorno al globo di Antonio Pigafetta* (Rome, 1894) (*Racolta Colombiana*, part 4, volume III) p. 67, note 7.

5. For English translation of Maximilian's account, which was written in Latin and published under the title *De Moluccis Insulis*, see Charles Edward Nowell's *Magellan's Voyage Around the World: Three Contemporary Accounts*. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962) pp. 269-309. His reference to the two islands is on p. 293. Francis HH Guillemard's statement is in his *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan*, (London, 1896), p. 223. For consensus view of historians, see Rodrigue Levesque, *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents* (Quebec: Levesque Publications, 1992), Volume I, p. 258, note 3.

6. English text of the Treaty of Zaragoza in Levesque, *Source Documents*, Volume I, pp. 529-539. *Las Velas* discussed on p. 532. The name *las Velas* to designate the Marianas appeared on a Portuguese map, circa 1545, that correctly identified 14 islands in the archipelago by their indigenous names. Levesque, *Source Documents*, Volume I, p. 332, believes the Portuguese obtained this information from survivors of the *Trinidad* when it was captured in the Moluccas after its unsuccessful 1522 attempt to find a north-eastward return route to New Spain via the Northern Mariana Islands. That would suggest that some officers on the *Trinidad* continued to identify the islands as *las Velas*, rather than *los Ladrones*. The map was published in A. Cortesao and A. Teixeira da Mota's *Portuguese monumenta cartographica*, Volume I (Lisbon, 1960), as Plate 52D. It is reproduced on page 333 in Levesque. Since *las Velas* is specifically mentioned in the Treaty of Zaragoza, the name also may appear on the chart that was to designate the Line of Demarcation in the Pacific (the anti-meridian) to accompany Portugal's copy of the pact.

7. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 83.
8. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 85.
9. Ibid.
10. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 91.
11. Chamorro oral histories have long held that Magellan anchored off Guam's southwest coast in front of Umatac (*Humåtak*) village – an anchorage the Legaspi expedition used in 1565 and that served many Manila galleons after the trans-Pacific line was established. However, some historians believe the expedition may have anchored off the northwest coast and interacted with villagers of *Hagåtña* or *Tumon*. See Robert F. Rogers and Dirk Anthony Ballendorf, “Magellan's landfall in the Mariana Islands,” *Journal of Pacific History*, 24 (1989), pp. 193-99.
12. Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, p. 60.
13. Ibid. The “curious” phenomenon of some Chamorros trading with Spanish ships while other Chamorros were simultaneously fighting with these ships' crews also was reported in subsequent encounters, especially the 1565 visit of the Legaspi expedition. See Frank Quimby, “The Hierro Commerce: Culture Contact, Appropriation and Colonial Entanglement in the Marianas, 1521-1668”, *Journal of Pacific History*: (Volume 46, No.1, June 2011), pp. 1-26.
14. Ibid for Noone quote. For eyewitness report of “many islanders” killed during the melee, see Levesque, *Source Documents*, volume I, pp. 249-251.
15. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 91.
16. Anonymous Portuguese eyewitness account from Levesque, *Source Documents*, volume I, p. 249.
17. Genoese Pilot's account, Levesque, *Source Documents*, volume I, p. 248. For food stuffs taken, see Robertson, *Magellan*, note 185, pp. 247-248.
18. Levesque, *Source Documents*, volume I, p. 248. Levesque notes that the Paris manuscript, one of three French manuscripts of Pigafetta's complete *Relation*, says “much refreshments of fruit.” p. 248, note 3.

19. Francisco Albo's account, in Levesque, *Source Documents*, volume I, p. 229.
20. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 93.
21. Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492-1800*. Translated by Ritchie Robertson. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), p.22.
22. Skelton cites these qualities in Pigafetta, *Narrative Account*, pp. 7-8.
23. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 91.
24. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 93.
25. Ibid.
26. Robertson, *Magellan*, pp. 93-95.
27. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 95. Shelton says in the French (Beinecke-Yale) manuscript, Pigafetta reports that Chamorro houses were about 6 fathoms wide about 36 feet or 12 yards and one story. See Shelton, *Narrative Account*, p. 61.
28. See Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, p.136, note 272. Also Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: a History of Guam* (Honolulu 1995); Pedro Sanchez and Paul Carano, *The Complete History of Guam* (Vermont and Tokyo 1964), 33-53; Pedro Sanchez, *Guahan Guam: the history of our island* (Hagåtña 1989); and Scott Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na: ancient Chamorro culture and history of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan 1998). Rituals of possession described in Robert Borofsky and Alan Howard, "The early contact period," in Robert Borofsky and Alan Howard (Editors), *Developments in Polynesian Ethnology* (Honolulu, 1989), pp. 241-75. And "The dynamics of contact," in Robert Borofsky (ed.), *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* (Honolulu 2000), pp. 101-11.
29. Quimby, *Hierro Commerce*, pp. 1-26.
30. For contact with iron-age Southeast Asia, see Boyd Dixon, Andria Jalandoni and Cacilie Craft, "The Archaeological Remains of Early Modern Spanish Colonialism on Guam and Their Implications" in *Historical Archaeology of Early Modern Colonialism in Asia-Pacific: Volume I: The southwest Pacific and Oceanian Regions*. Editors. María Cruz Berrocal and Chenghwa Tsang, Chapter 8. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2017), pp. 195 and 201. Also, Rosalind I.

Hunter-Anderson, Gillian B. Thompson and Darlene R. Moore, “Rice as a Prehistoric Valuable,” *Asian Perspectives*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Spring 1995), pp. 69-89, deals with Marianas contact with Island Southeast Asia. And Glynn Barratt, *Carolinean Contacts with the Islands of the Marianas: The European Record*. Saipan: The Micronesian Archaeological Survey, Division of Historic Preservation, Department of Community and Cultural Affairs, 1988. Caroline Islanders contact with the Marianas also is discussed in ML Berg, “Yapese politics, Yapese money and the *sawei* tribute network before World War I”, *Journal of Pacific History*, 27 (1992), 158-9. Regarding early iron contacts with Southeast Asia, Chamorros had indigenous words for nails (*ruro*) and iron (*yrzo*), probably indicating that these items were known before contact with the Spanish. Historic, if sporadic, canoe contact with the Philippines is also inferred from the presence of similarities in material culture, language and customs. See Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society*, (Honolulu 1992), pp. 165-76, 191-6; Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, p. 33, and Don Farrell, *History of the Mariana Islands to Partition*. (Saipan: Public School System, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, 2011) p. 109. Moreover, AC Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1997), pp. 412-421, argue that the similarities among the single outrigger, lateen rigged canoes of Micronesia – a class of canoe they believed reached its highest refinement in this region – occurred through inter-archipelagic contact and reciprocal influences. Adaptive and dynamic aspects of pre-Spanish contact Marianas are described in Rosalind L. Hunter-Anderson and Brian M. Butler, “An overview of Northern Marianas Prehistory,” Micronesian Archaeological Research Service (Guam 1991), pp. 1-5. Paul Rainbird, *The Archeology of Micronesia*, pp.101-33, discusses Marianas prehistory in terms of “flux and fluidity”.

31. The Spanish-Portuguese tensions and difficulties are detailed and analyzed in Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, pp. 29-57; and Nowell, *Three Accounts*, pp. 65-70 and 331-334. For early plans for a mutiny, see Laurence Bergreen, *Over the Edge of the World: Magellan’s Terrifying Circumnavigation of the Globe*. (New York: HarperCollins, 2004), p. 55. The genesis of the mutiny may have been sparked by the powerful Archbishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, who had headed the *Casa de Contratacion* (House of Commerce) since Columbus’ voyages and oversaw all

aspects of exploration and trade with the New World. Fearing undue Portuguese influence on the expedition, Fonseca had appointed his illegitimate son, Juan de Cartagena, as Inspector General of the *Armada de Molucca* as well as captain of the *San Antonio* and two protégé allies (Luis de Mendoza and Gaspar de Quesada) to captaincies of other vessels in the fleet to protect Spanish interests by counter-balancing Magellan's attempt to exercise sole command of the Spanish enterprise. See Bergreen, *Over the Edge*, p. 55 and Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, p. 45.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Ibid.

35. Robinson, *Magellan*, p. 177.

36. Skelton, *Narrative Account*, p. 9, believes Pigafetta completed his *Relation* in 1524 and probably presented it to the Grand Master in 1525. Pigafetta had earlier (in 1522) presented a written account of the voyage to the Spanish monarch Charles I, who also was the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

37. Skelton *Narrative Account*, p.3, note 5.

38. Skelton, *Narrative Account*, p. 8.

39. Mairin Mitchell, *Elcano: The First Circumnavigator* (London: Herder Publications, 1958), pp. 178-182 appends an English translation of the 13 questions the Valladolid inquiry asked Elcano and his complete responses. Nowell, *Three Accounts*, summarizes Elcano's testimony on p. 333; Elcano's coat of arms is described on p. 332. Magellan's proposal was to reach the Spice Islands by sailing west and return by retracing that route or finding an alternate eastward course, remaining within the Spanish demarcation. He did not propose circumnavigating the globe, which would have required trespassing through the Portuguese demarcation, which Charles I had forbidden. Noone, *The Islands Saw It*, p.45.

40. Noone's quote, *The Islands Saw It*, p.101. Bergreen, *Over the Edge*, p. 55. For Archbishop Fonseca's role, see note 31 above.

41. Robertson, *Magellan*, p 27, for Pigafetta's quote.
42. Bergreen, *Over the Edge*, humane treatment of indigene, pp.48-49; quote, p.49.
43. Robertson, *Magellan*, p. 13, asserts this near universal acceptance.

Figures



A French manuscript of Pigafetta's Relation contains this colored sketch of Guam and Rota to illustrate the expedition's 1521 visit to the Marianas. There are a total of 23 of these map-sketches in the narrative, but the Guam-Rota depiction is the only one to contain human figures – two “islanders” in the first European representation of a Chamorro outrigger canoe (sakman), though the men are dressed in European attire. In this depiction, probably based on a Pigafetta draft sketch, land is colored dark brown and the sea blue, flecked with darker blue and gold to represent waves. The illustration is enclosed in a gold border. According to RA Skelton (Narrative Account, p. 13), the sketches are reminiscent of the contemporary island atlases of the Mediterranean (isolarii) and in the style of the time, are oriented with south at the top and north at the bottom. Rota is depicted as two separate islands, the way it may have first appeared to the expedition from sea level, according to the Rogers/Ballendorf article, Magellan's Landfall. Rodrique Levesque (Source Documents, volume I, p. 201) notes “the mysterious third island shown next to Rota [in the lower right corner] is probably Taipingot Peninsula” – a highland linked to Rota by a low-lying sandspit.



The Coat of Arms awarded to Juan Sebastian Elcano by the Spanish Crown contained a world globe over a knight's helmet and a shield whose top half had a gilded castle on a red field and bottom half held a field with crossed cinnamon sticks, as well as cloves and nutmeg. The shield is flanked by Malay chiefs holding branches of spice plants. On the globe, a banner declares Primus circumdedit me (You were the first to voyage round me).



Many historians laud Pigafetta's account of Magellan's voyage as a work of genius, in a class of European travel literature with Marco Polo's Travels. Others view it more critically: Though a detailed record of the voyage and ethnologically valuable account of Southeast Asian indigene, the narrative is heavily biased, highly selective and at times factually flawed. Historian Laurence Bergreen concluded, "As a Magellan loyalist, [Pigafetta] resisted the temptation to hear or repeat any ill concerning his beloved captain. He eloquently presented the Magellanic myth of the great and wise explorer but at the same time he turned a blind eye to the scandals and mutinies surrounding Magellan throughout the voyage." (Bergreen, Over the Edge, p. 137.)



The vessels that visited Guam – the Trinidad, Victoria and Concepcion – were known to the Spanish as naos, a general nautical term for “ships.” Various accounts describe the fleet’s major vessels as three-masted and multi-decked with a high stern “castle” and low waist. They were complex machines – the products of Renaissance maritime technology. The Victoria replica pictured above is an example of what this type of vessel may have generally looked like. Typically, two of the masts (the main and foremast) would hold square-rigged sails while a third (the aft-most or mizzen mast) would hold a lateen (triangular) sail. The ships reportedly appeared pitch-black due to the tar that covered exposed surfaces, including the hulls, masts and rigging (but not the sails) to protect against the highly corrosive marine environment.



Ferdinand Magellan was as polarizing a figure in his time as he is today. His admirers lionize him as the incomparable navigator and greatest explorer in history; his critics disparage him as a tyrannical megalomaniac who left a trail of bodies in his wake. His genius, passion and tenacity helped him not only discover the long-sought strait through the American continent, but also cross the largest ocean on earth. Yet his pride and recklessness cost him his life before he could reach his ultimate goal – the Spice Islands. The 500th anniversary of his voyage will doubtless generate an equally mixed legacy.

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4th Marianas History Conference

US Naval Era

Settler Insurgents

Filipino Exiles and the 1901 Chamorro Petition

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Abstract: *This presentation will historicize Filipino revolutionary hero Apolinario Mabini's incarceration on Guåhan from 1901-1903, and the simultaneous drafting and petitioning for a civilian Guamanian government by Chamorro elite in 1901. Guåhan's role as a penal colony demonstrates the transition of Spanish and American imperial regimes. During the Philippine Revolution, the United States deported Filipino revolutionaries to Guåhan. Meanwhile, the Chamorro people of Guåhan sent the first petition for a civilian government in 1901. Some of the signers had direct relationships with Mabini. We can only speculate if they discussed American colonialism in the Philippines and Guåhan, if they made plans to aid each other's anti-colonial struggles, or if they were silenced by the guards standing outside the prison. Yet, that they did meet disrupts notions of the completeness of imperial power, and shows how even in spaces of dominance and incarceration, there can be, too, places of resistance.*

In the early months of 1901, a few dozen Filipino revolutionaries arrived at Apra Harbor, Guåhan to begin their exile at the orders of the US military in the Philippines. They had been deemed the most dangerous men of the Philippine Revolution, and their exile to Guåhan sought to curtail the resistance against American forces that sought to subdue the Filipino population.¹ In December of the same year, 32 men of Hagåtña signed a petition to the United States president asking for a civilian government as opposed to the Naval government that had

¹ "Mabini Folder" in Record Group 80: General Records of the Department of the Navy, 1804-1983. MSS 930 Box #3, Folder #28. University of Guam, The Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area research Center.

taken over the island as a result of the Spanish-American War.² Both of these moments signify a new age for US imperialism in the Pacific, and also the continued resistance from its colonial subjects. When these two moments are viewed together, we see a powerful set of relationships built between Filipino Revolutionaries and the Chamorro elite at this crucial point in Philippines, Guam, and United States history.³

After annexing the Philippines as a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States had adapted the Spanish penal system of exiling of some important revolutionaries to far-flung prisons, including the Marianas.⁴ In line with this policy, Apolinario Mabini was a Filipino revolutionary exiled to Guam in 1901. Mabini was known as “The Brains of the Revolution,” producing not only cogent political philosophies, but strategies in warfare. Even in captivity, he was able to send orders to Filipino fighters resisting the US’s presence in the archipelago.

² For more information on the 1901 petition as well as other petitions in the later years see, Penelope Bordallo, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam, 1899-1950*. Occasional Historic Papers Series; No. 8. Saipan, CNMI: Division of Historical Preservation, 2001.

³ Keith Camacho in “Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and American Empire” discusses the need for more Filipino-Chamorro histories to gain a greater understanding of how the US empire operates Camacho, Keith L. “Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and the American Empire.” In [The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History](#). Oxford University Press, 2016. Other texts that have influenced my understanding of this period include Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico during US Colonialism* (Duke University Press, 2008), Paul Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, The United States, and the Philippines* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁴ Carlos Madrid, *Beyond Distances: Governance, Politics, and Deportation in the Spanish Marianas from 1870-1877* (Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities, 2006); Greg Bankoff, *Crime, Society, and the State in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1996); Augusto De Viana, *In the Far Away Islands: The Role of Natives from the Philippines in the Conquest, Colonization and Repopulation of the Mariana Islands 1668-1903* (University of Santo Tomas, 2004); *Chronicle of the Mariana Islands: Recorded in the Agaña Parish Church 1846-1899* eds. Majorie Driver and Omaira Brunal-Perry (Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1998).

Thus, he was exiled to Guam to thwart his efforts. While he was on Guam, Mabini wrote *La Revolución Filipina*, his interpretation and perspective of the events of the Philippine Revolution.⁵ In addition, he kept a diary in which he noted some important aspects of his stay on the island. They included the unhealthy food provided by the US Navy, and rights the Filipino exiles demanded. Significantly, Mabini also noted some Chamorro people he met during his stay, including Chamorro cooks who supplemented the exiles' meals with fresh meat and vegetables, Padre Jose Palomo who celebrated Mass with the prisoners, and Justo Dungca who often visited the camp. The local families who supported the Filipino revolutionaries were vital to the exiles' survival.⁶

Some Chamorro families also invited the Filipino revolutionaries to parties and celebrations, and some also welcomed the revolutionaries to stay with them in their homes. When interviewed by Tony Palomo in 1961, Maximo Tolentino fondly remembered that the Filipino revolutionaries had "hob-nobbed with island society and were accepted into some of the most prominent families."⁷ Mabini wrote about *lechonadas* and weddings, and of evenings of music and singing. The Chamorro names that Mabini mentioned in his diaries also appear in the 1901 petition that was sent to the US Congress and the president.⁸

⁵ Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina (con otros documentos de la época)*. Documentos de la Biblioteca nacional de Filipinas; no. 4-5. Manila: Bureau of printing, 1931. Available at the UOG MARC.

⁶ Apolinario Mabini, *Testament and Letters of Apolinario Mabini. [Letters and Documents in This Book Translated from "Cartas Politicas de Mabini,"* Mabini Centennial Ed. Limited to 500 copies. Toro Hills, Quezon City [Philippine Islands: Asvel PubCo, 1964. The diaries are also included in Apolinario Mabini, *La revolución filipina (con otros documentos de la época)*, Documentos de la Biblioteca nacional de Filipinas; no. 4-5 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1931). Although incomplete, an online set of Mabini's diaries is available at [Philippine Diary Project](#).

⁷ Tony Palomo, "52 Filipino Exiled Here Included an Elite Group of Intellectuals," in *Territorial Sun*, 22 May 1961.

⁸ "[1901 Petition](#)," *Guampedia.com*.

The relationships extended beyond politics. Three Filipino exiles decided to stay on Guam including Leon Flores, Pancrasio Palting, and Maximo Tolentino.⁹ The men found employment with the US Naval government as lawyers and as a servant, respectively. But the jobs were not the only reason they stayed. They all married local women and became part of their families. Leon Flores married Felicita Dungca and Pancrasio Palting married Soledad Dungca, both daughters of Justo Dungca.¹⁰ Their descendants became prominent members of Guam society. For instance, the first Chamorro Archbishop of Guam, Felixberto Flores, was the son of Leon Flores and Ana Camacho. Tolentino married Tomasa Crisostomo Lizama of Hagåtña.¹¹ The Filipino exiles created kinship relations and became integrated in Guam society.

The relationships formed between Filipino revolutionaries and Chamorro families at the turn of the 20th century challenge our understanding of the Philippine revolution and the long history of Chamorro self-governance. They are not separate sequences of events in history, but connect to each other on the island of Guam. We could surmise they discussed political philosophies and the political trajectories of each of their peoples. We can also speculate if Filipino revolutionaries and the signers of the petition discussed American colonialism in the Philippines and Guam, if they made plans to aid each other's anti-colonial struggles, or if they were silenced by the guards standing outside the prison. The fact that they did meet disrupts notions of the completeness of imperial power and shows how even in spaces of dominance and exile, there can be, too, places of

⁹ In 1961, historian Tony Palomo published a weekly series in the *Guam Daily News* chronicling the lives of the Filipino Revolutionaries exiled to Guam in both the Spanish and American eras. They include: "Among the Exiles a Sublime Paralytic," May 7, 1961; "Governor Called Mabini 'Most Influential' Exile," May 14, 1961; "Former PI Political Prisoner Recalls Massacre in Agaña," May 21, 1961; "52 Filipinos Exiled Here Included an Elite Group of Intellectuals," May 22, 1961; "Mabini Marker at Asan Pt. Dedicated in '4th' Ceremony," July 5, 1961; "Last of the PI Insurgents Exiled to Guam Dies," May 14, 1964.

¹⁰ Letter from Justo Dungca to Lt. Governor William Safford, 1904, William Safford Papers MSS 980 Folder 1, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam.

¹¹ Mary Ellen Cook, *A Survey of Exiles in the Mariana Islands* (University of Guam, 1980).

resistance. By placing Philippine Revolutionary history and Chamorro self-determination history in conversation with each other, we find incredible stories of friendship and kinship despite processes of imperialism and colonialism.



Kristin is a history PhD candidate at Harvard University studying United States and Pacific History. Her research explores Filipino and Chamorro relations on Guam over the 20th century. Her work is supported by various Harvard research centers and the Fulbright US Student Program. On Guam, she is the Secretary of Guåhan Sustainable Culture, a non-profit organization dedicated to food sovereignty on Guam. She received her BA in history and American Studies from Occidental College in 2016.

4th Marianas History Conference

Recent History

An Gumupu Sakman (When the Proa Flies) History of the Chamorro Sakman

By Arthur A. De Oro

Director

Community Development Institute

Northern Marianas College

arthur.deoro@marianas.edu

Abstract: *The one Chamorro technological achievement that was revered by European explorers of the 16th through 18th centuries was the Chamorro flying proa or sakman. From Magellan's first sighting of the Marianas to Anson's drawings of 1742, the sakman was regarded as the Ferrari or Porsche of the sailing world. It was a thing of beauty, speed, and craftsmanship. Chamorros were highly regarded as expert boat builders, sailors and fishermen. That knowledge, skill and innovation was nearly lost when colonization of the Marianas was complete. Fast-forward to the 21st century to find the Chamorro renaissance of the celebrated sakman. 500 Sails, a Saipan based non-profit organization is writing a complete history of the sailing traditions of the Marianas. It includes European accounts, a Chamorro lexicon of nautical terms and parts of the sakman, a sailing curriculum, and the people and organizations that are leading the revival of the Chamorro flying proa.*

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


Presentation slides on following page.

Presentation Slides


An Gumupu Sakman

"When the Proa Flies"

Arthur De Oro



History of the Chamorro Flying Proa




Northern Marianas Humanities Council
Navigating the Human Experience

ANA Administration for Native Americans
An Office of the Administration for Children & Families









- 500 Sails – Swim Build Sail
- Train-The-Trainer Program
- "An Gumupu Sakman" History Book

Lâyak Lima Na Gatos



500 Sails is a cultural restoration project to bring back the indigenous sailing traditions of the Marianas islands, both Chamorro and Carolinian.

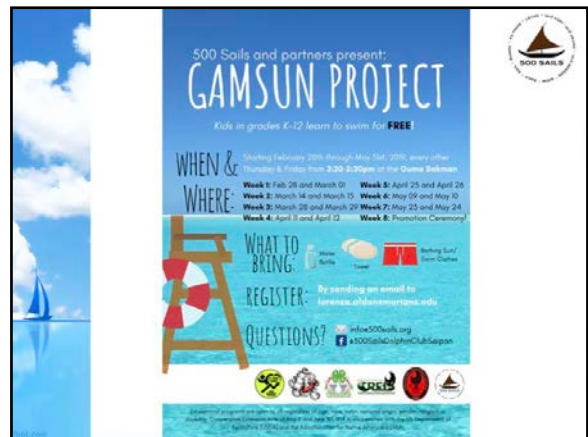
Have you heard?

FREE ADULT SWIM LESSONS!

Every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday from 6-7am
Beach front of the Guma Sakman









**SSO SAILS IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE
INDIGENOUS AFFAIRS OFFICE PRESENTS THIS
SUMMER'S**

CANOE CAMP

OPEN TO ALL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
JUNE 24 THROUGH JULY 26
12:30PM - 4:30PM
AT THE SSO SAILS BOATYARD IN
LOWER KASE

During this five-week program, participants will be introduced to the basics of sailing and the process of building traditional canoes using modern materials.



LIMITED SLOTS AVAILABLE!
To register please contact Vicente T. Salas II at 664-2664 or email at vt.salas@gmail.com

SSO Sails does not and shall not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, gender, gender expression and identity, sexual orientation, ancestry, marital status, marital status, sexual orientation, or military status, in any of its activities or operations. SSO Sails will accept no special requests for accommodations.



60 participate in Tinian Sakman Summer Camp

By Aug 10th 10:10 AM by [Luis C. Lora](#) [@luisclora](#) [luisclora.com](#) [luisclora.com](#)

60 participants participated in the first Tinian Sakman Summer Camp hosted by SSO Sails, 4th Marianas, and Tishon Sports at Tishon Beach on Tinian from July 20 to Aug. 5.

SSO Sails co-founder Vicente Perez said the first three days of the camp were focused on swimming, basic sailing instructions and canoe rides. They divided the participants into four groups based on their ages.

"The older groups had the opportunity to work with two different sailing instructors," Perez said in an interview.

Two canoes — SSO Sails' team and another named by the Indigenous Affairs Office — were utilized for the camp.



SSO Sails, 4th Marianas and partners hosted the Tinian Sakman Summer Camp from July 20 to Aug. 5. Contributed photo.

"On the first day, four kids sailed the canoes. The youngest in the group is 14," Perez said.

SSO Sails executive director Peter Perez said the children's parents and other adults joined the camp.

He said most events for the children were scheduled in the morning while the parents joined the children in the afternoon.

He said this had a discussion with Tishon Sports about having a canoe for the island. "People really want canoes. So we talked specifically about getting a canoe — we have some individuals come to SSO Sails, they build the canoe and sail back to Tinian."


Did he said they will reach these individuals to sail that? "We are always thinking about safety. They might be tempted to take the canoe out of water once they don't have enough experience."

SSO Sails said there is no specific plan and "but it is a possibility — we have the facilities, we have the materials and they [Tinian residents] are ready to canoe and sail back to canoe with us."



Summer Swim & Sail Program



- 4H Marianas Camp Maga'lahi
- Project PROA Summer Camp
- Joeten Kiyu Public Library Summer Camp
- OIA Canoe Camp
- Tinian Summer Camp





Build and Sail – 3 Sakman

Richard Seman Jun (OIA)

Neni

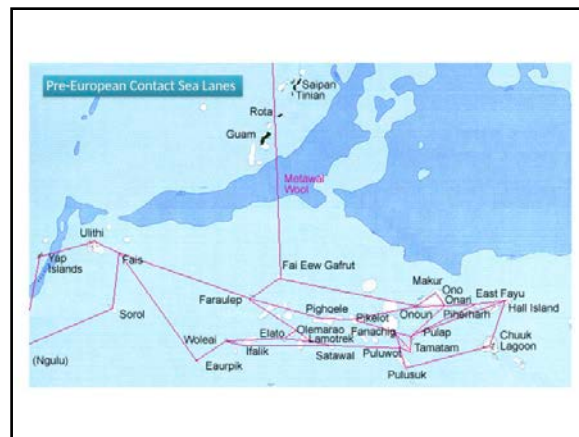
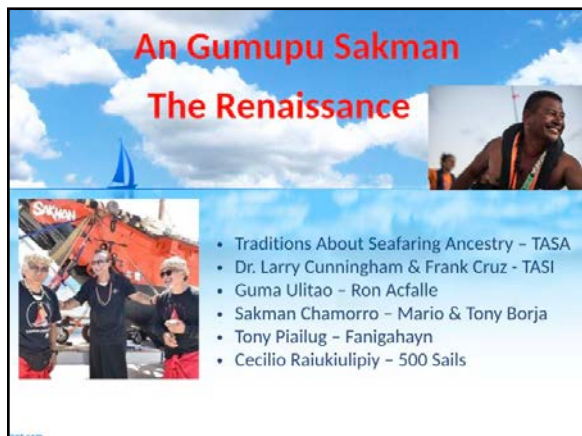
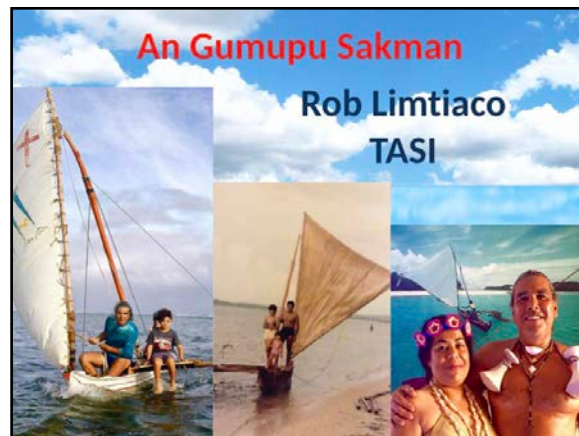
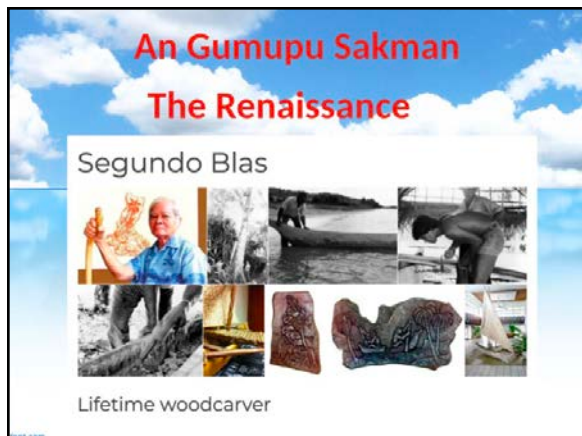
Build

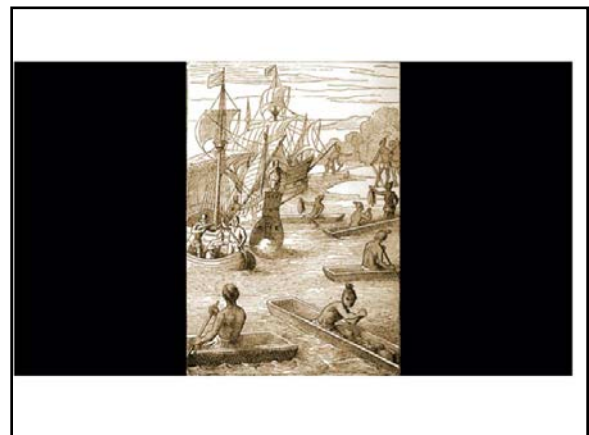
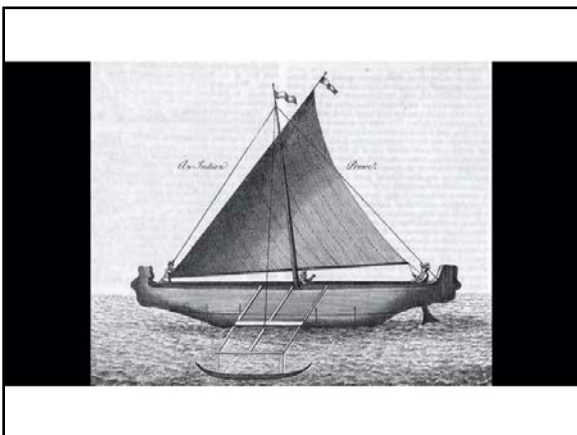
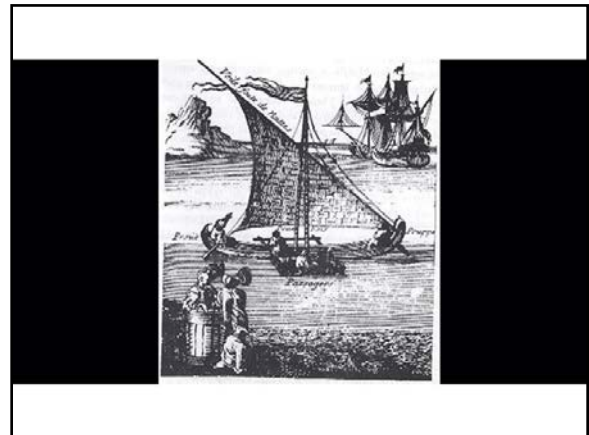
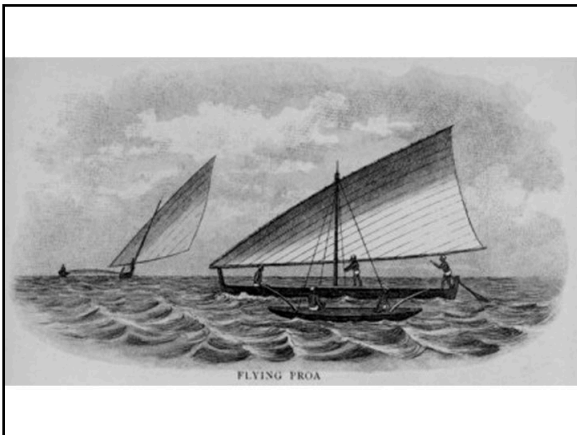
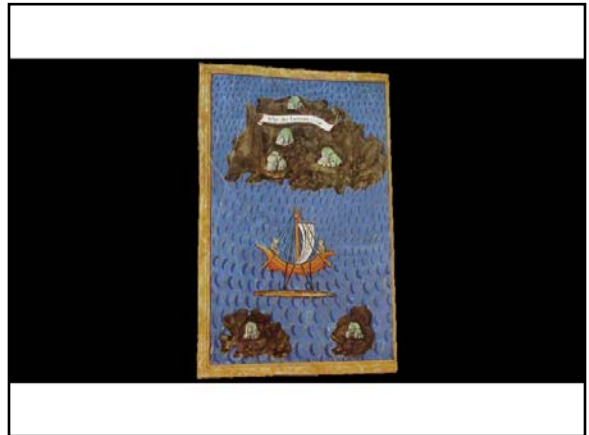
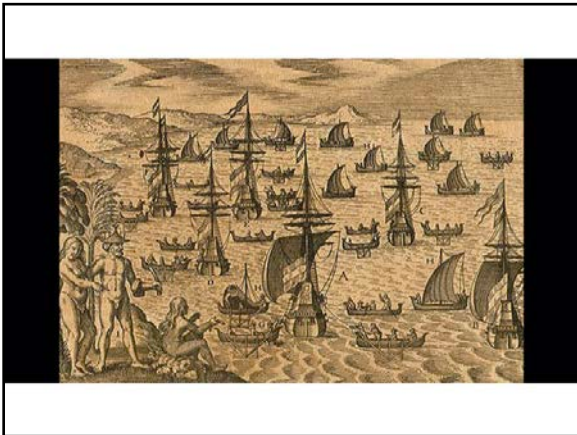



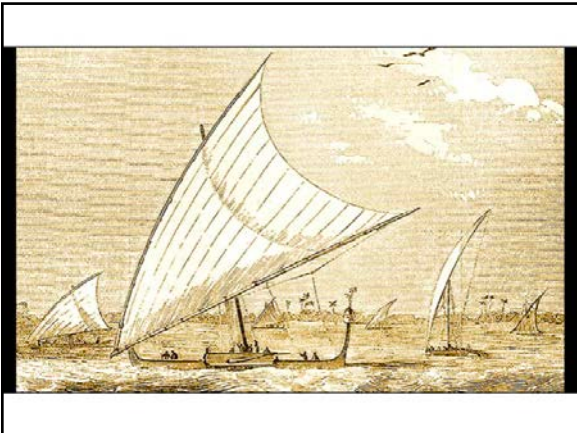
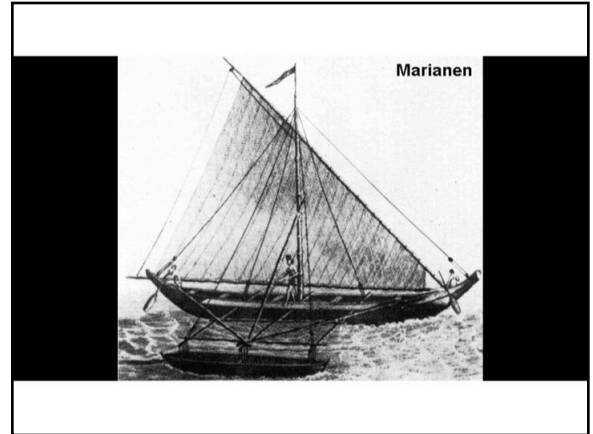
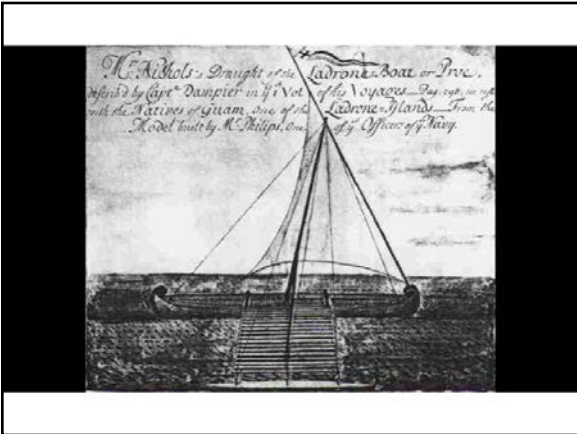
An Gumupu Sakman

"When the Proa Flies" History of the Chamorro Flying Proa


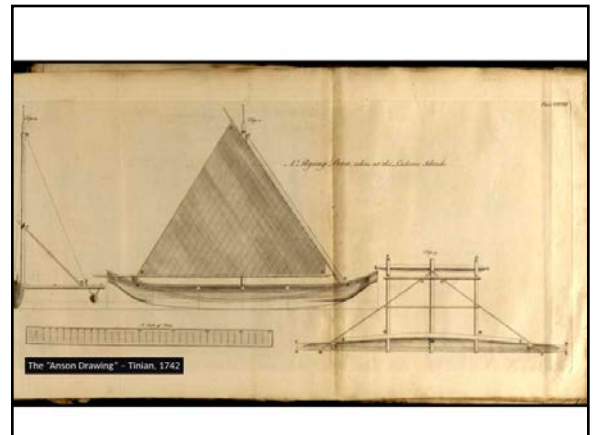
The Renaissance







But all was not lost...

Building Chelu

47 feet long
Completed March 2011



sakmanchamorro.org - an early Saipan nonprofit



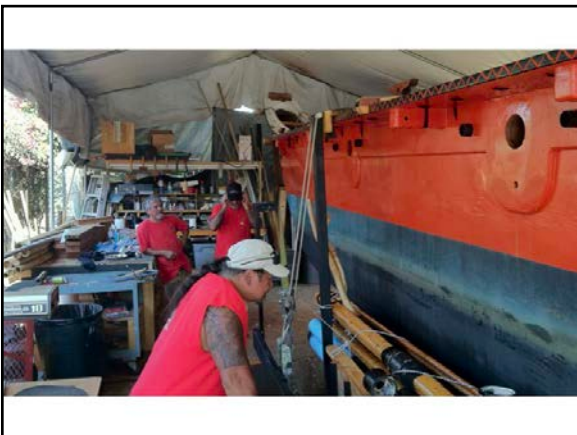
Members of the Chamorro Flying Proa Relay Team (all Chamorro/all family)
Crossed English Channel in 2007 to raise funds for building Chelu



The Original Dreamers and Builders



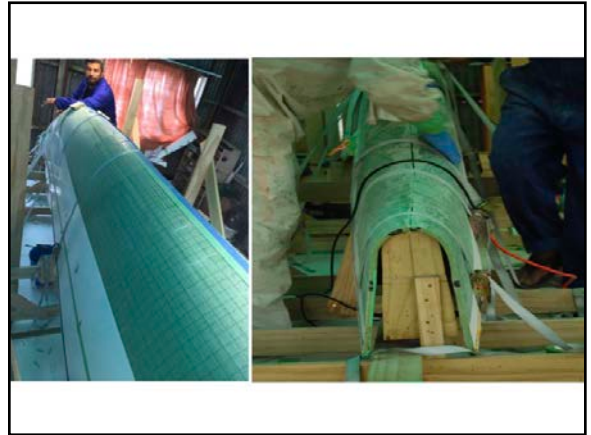
San Diego, CA





New Zealand







Neni

26 feet long
Launched June 2017





Ladahao

41 feet long
Refurbished and launched February 2018



- Roberto L built in 1960's
- Found for sale on [craigslist.org](https://www.craigslist.org)
- Donated to 500 Sails
- Refurbished and given Chamorro name: *Ladahao*





Boat Nights





Richard Seman

26 feet long
Launched and Sailed to Tinian with Neni
February 2019



Co-op Program & Canoe Camp



Train the Trainers





HISTORY IS MADE
To celebrate Women's Month - March 1,
2019, the first woman of Chamorro
descent teaching another woman of
Chamorro descent to sail Chamorro
canoe in about 300 years - 6.5 mile sail.



Visualize







OUR PROGRAMS



SWIM

Dolphin Club Saipan is the swim program of 500 Sails, includes:
Gamsun Project - youth
Sirena Project - women/girls



BUILD



SAIL



Questions?

info@500sails.org
Facebook: 500 Sails & Dolphin Club Saipan
IG: 500Sails
670-285-4268
www.500sails.org



- - -



Arthur De Oro is the Director, Community Development Institute, Northern Marianas College. He has a Master's in Public Administration and Bachelor's in Business Management from the University of Guam. De Oro moved to Saipan in 2018, after learning at the 3rd Marianas History Conference he could learn to build and sail a *sakman*. He started as a volunteer with 500 Sails & Dolphin Club, then was asked to join the Board as its Treasurer. De Oro recently finished helping to write the first Chamorro Sakman Sailing Curriculum, and has started work on the Northern Marianas Humanities Council sponsored "An Gumupu Sakman (When the Proa Flies): History of the Chamorro Sakman" in partnership with the University of Guam Press.

Lessons from Lesser Laguas – Stories of Aguiguan

By Moñeka De Oro

Our Islands Are Sacred

moneka.deoro@gmail.com


Abstract: *The four main islands of the Marianas are all located in the southern end of the archipelago. Together Rota, Saipan, Tinian, and Guåhan and the lone uninhabited island of Aguiguan/Aguijan make the “Lâguas” portion of the Marianas. All islands north of Saipan collectively create “Gåni.” This presentation will provide vignettes of history focusing on Aguiguan. There are so many significant historical and ecological stories that are not widely shared about Aguiguan. For example, Aguiguan island is the location of one of the last major battles in the Chamorro-Spanish Wars. Aguiguan is also the only place where the endangered Marianas Sheath Bat and countless other plant and animal species still exist today. Commonly referred to as “goat island”, there is so much more to know about this island than the invasive goats that inhabit it today.*

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

Presentation slides on following page.

Presentation Slides

Lessons from Lesser Laguas- Stories of Aguiguan



MOÑEKA DE ORO
4TH MARIANAS HISTORY CONFERENCE
AUGUST 30, 2019
UNIVERSITY OF GUAM

What's in a name? Hafa taimanu masangan?

AGUIJAN?
SANTO
ANGEL?
AGUIHAN?

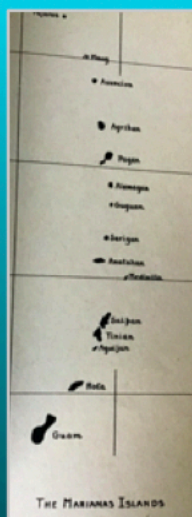


AGUIGAN?
AGUIJON?
AGRIGAN?

GOAT ISLAND? AGUIGUAN?



Geology and Geography



Mt. Tapochau, Saipan



North Western Aguiguan

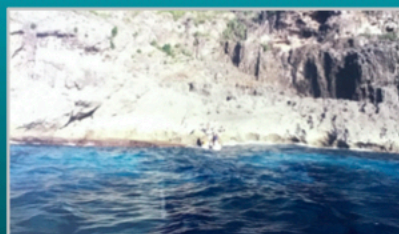
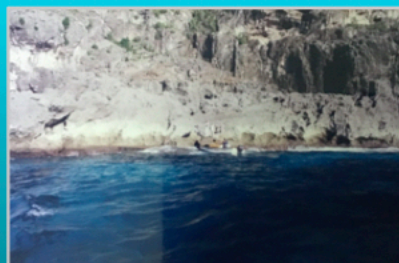


San Jose, Tinian

Landing on the island

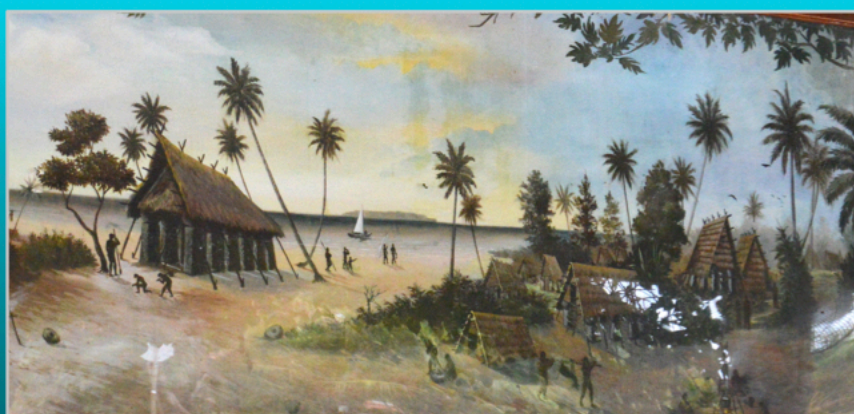


PHOTOS BY DAVE LOTZ





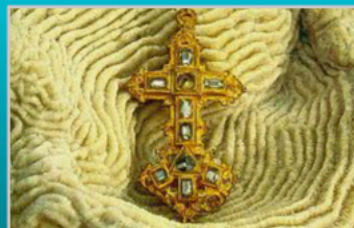
PHOTOS OF RENE STEFFY @MAGAHAGA71



Latte Life in Aguiguan



DAVE LOTZ IN 2004



Trading with Europeans - 1600s



Spanish Mission 1670



Quiroga buried Esplana in the Agat church and then set off in September 1694 with fifty soldiers to subdue the Chamorros in the islands north of Guam. He went first to Rota to consolidate control, build roads, and intimidate any remaining rebel Chamorros before returning to Guam. On Rota, he left Father Johann Tilpe, who would serve the Rota mission until 1702. With Rota secure, Quiroga set sail again in July 1695 to the north with a strong force in a fleet of twenty proas and the frigate constructed on Guam from the remains of the *Pilar* wreck. When the Chamorros of Tinian saw the Spanish fleet, they sent their women and children to the small rugged island of Aguijan.

DESTINY'S LANDFALL, ROGERS

Quiroga and Maga'låhi Inocu siege



sometimes spelled as Aguijan, and now known as Guam Island for its only inhabitants.

The Spanish, however, began to Tamar and landed on Saipan, where the remaining Chamorros quickly capitulated. By this time, Joseph de Quiroga had a famous reputation as a land man to appear. He put Father Beaumont in charge of the larger mission, where the Spanish priest would serve until 1705, when he returned to Guam. Quiroga disembarked on Tinian only to find the island empty; the warriors had fled to join their families on Aguijan. Sailing on to Aguijan a few miles south of Tinian, Quiroga tried to negotiate with the Chamorros there. They defiantly rejected all peace offers.

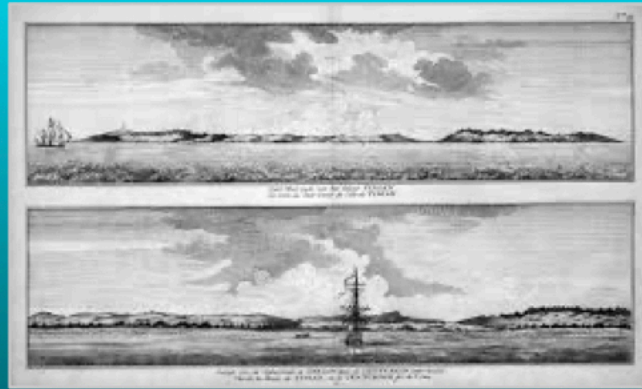
The island of Aguijan has no beaches. It rises directly out of the sea, with steep high cliffs covered by a flat top. Quiroga's men landed and started on two narrow paths that led to the crown. One path was blocked, and the Chamorros tenaciously defended the other by falling boulders down on the invaders. The Spanish and their Chamorro allies led by a converted Chamorro named Antonio first pressed heavily up the cliff to reach the hostile Chamorros in numbers at the top. The defenders were finally overwhelmed after several of their men were killed. Some defiant Chamorros continued suicide by jumping from the cliffs. The value shown in this last stand symbolized the des-

tiny of the Chamorros as a people they had to resist in order to be governed. The surviving Chamorros were taken to Guam for resettlement.

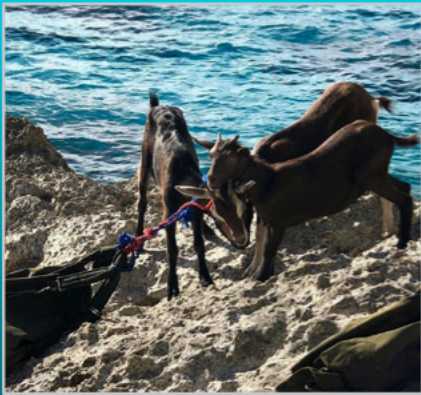
In 1698, the new governor, José Maldonado, dispatched a final expedition of 600 Spanish and Chamorro troops to the far northern islands of the Marianas. There the last Chamorro refugees, about a thousand people, were rounded up and sent to Guam. Many died en route when some of the boats were swamped by a typhoon. Thereafter, the Spanish required of Chamorros to reside only on Guam, Saipan, or Rota. A tiny mission remained on Saipan until 1710, but from then on Aguijan, Tinian, Saipan, and the far northern islands would remain uninhabited until the nineteenth century, except for occasional fishermen and parties of hunters of cattle and hogs for meat to supply the garrison on Guam.

So ended the reduction of the Chamorros, thirty blood-drenched years after Father San Vicente stepped ashore at Agaña. During those years, which spanned an entire generation of Chamorros, the destiny of Guam was fixed as a small outpost in the worldwide empire of Spanish masters. The parallel of the silence was fulfilled for the Chamorro people. The Marianas Islands now entered a twilight period of 200 years of silence until the next invasion, when new conquerors would make Guam part of a different empire.

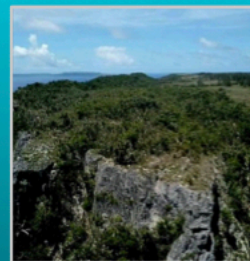
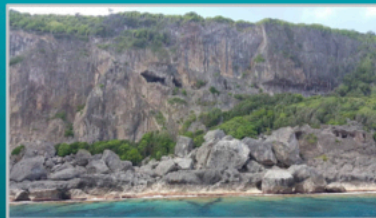
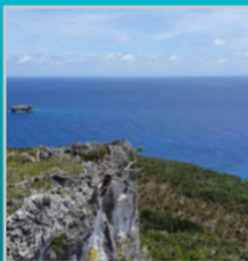
1695 The Last Stand Chamorro - Spanish Wars and the Reduccion



George Anson visit to Tinian 1742



Chiba Take over



German Period



Japanese Era- Sugar Cane



WWII- Japanese Surrender September 1945



Today- Nature Conservation



Winged Friends



Sailors rescue stranded hunters on Aguijan

Staff Reports, news@guampedia.com Published 6:40 p.m. CST Aug. 28, 2017 Updated 7:22 p.m. CST Aug. 28, 2017



Medical Technicians Royal Australian Air Force and U.S. Navy and Marine Corps personnel rescued two hunters who became stranded on the island of Aguijan, about 10 miles south of Saipan, when the boat they were on was unable to return to the mainland. With the hunters' lives in danger, the U.S. Coast Guard cutter USCGC 22010, the USCGC 22011, and the USCGC 22012, along with the USCGC 22013, USCGC 22014, and USCGC 22015, rescued the hunters and brought them to the mainland.

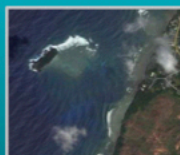
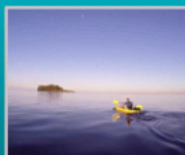
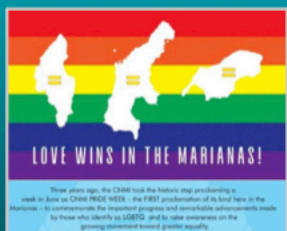
Sailors. They work in extreme conditions, round-the-clock, ensuring there are safe aircraft available to respond in a moment's notice," said HSC 25 Commanding Officer, Cmdr. Ed Walker.

Information was provided in a press release. Missing fisher emerges from jungle during search. Search-and-rescue mission for Marines suspended.



Ecotourism and other hunting

Aguiguan the forgotten sister



Other Lesser Gani Isles

- - -



Moñeka De Oro is a proud daughter of the Marianas. *Niyok*, *hiyok*, and other resources from the land and sea are magical to her. She envisions ancestral future where the Mariana Islands are united, Micronesia peaceful and thriving interdependently with the rest of oceania.

The Japanese Migration to Guam and Legacy of Kazuji Shimizu

By Monica Okada Guzman

Galaide Group

monicaguzman@galaidegroup.com

and Frank SN Shimizu

Chairman, Guam Nikkei Association

fsns@ambrosguam.com

Abstract: *On May 3rd, 1868 a British ship left Japan bound for Guam. Aboard were 43 individuals who ranged in age from teens to adults. On June 8th, 1868 they arrived in Agaña as the first Japanese immigrants to Guam. In the late-1800's 53 Japanese individuals settled in Guam, assimilating to the culture and intermarrying. Their CHamoru-Japanese descendants include prominent figures in the island.*

Although a majority of these descendants have lost touch with their Japanese families, there is a desire to rekindle these familial relationships and to become reacquainted with their Japanese heritage. The Guam Nikkei Association provides an avenue for this connection. The legacy of Kazuji Shimizu lives on in the family and business enterprises that have contributed to Guam's economy and furthering Japanese American CHamoru ties. This presentation will focus on migration to Guam, the Guam Nikkei Association, and the contributions of the Japanese-CHamoru family of Kazuji Shimizu.

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

Presentation slides on following page.

Presentation Slides

4th MARIANAS HISTORY CONFERENCE

UNIVERSITY OF GUAM

HAFA ADAI

KONNICHIIWA

OHAYO GOZAIMASU



WELCOME

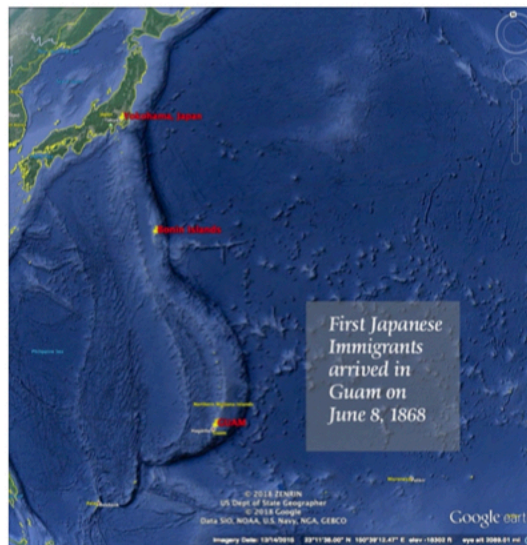
OGENKI DESU KA?

AUGUST 31, 2019

The Japanese in Guam

The first known record of Japanese immigrants to Guam is the arrival of 42 Japanese nationals aboard British ship “EM Trader” on June 8, 1868.

Later in the 1800s came Japanese farmers, fishermen and individuals looking for adventure and a better life overseas.



Guam Japan Association 1910-1920

53 made Guam their home,
learning the CHamoru
language, marrying local
women and starting
families.

Descendants include
prominent business men,
educators, career
government employees and
elected officials.



G2

GUAM NIKKEI ASSOCIATION



Guam Nikkei Association meeting at the Japan Consul Office - 2013
Officially chartered as the Guam Nikkei Association (GNA)

G3a

PURPOSE of the Guam Nikkei Association

- Perpetuate the history and lineage of those born of Japanese ancestry who are presently bona fide residents in and of the territory of Guam.
- Educate the community about the impact of first generation Japanese.
- Promote and foster cultural and social goodwill.

G4a

PURPOSE of the Guam Nikkei Association (continued)

- Learn and teach Japanese culture, art, traditions, history, and customs to succeeding generations of Japanese-Chamoru-Guamanians.
- Develop outreach programs as a means of promoting the purposes of the organization.
- Raise the necessary capital to achieve the purposes of the organization.

G4b

Activities and Events of the GNA

GNA organized several activities to raise awareness and instill pride in our Japanese CHamoru heritage, which include



G5

Issei Memorial Unveiling

28 November 2015



Memorial features the names of 53 Issei who came to Guam in the early 1900s and made Guam their home.

G6

Issei Memorial Unveiling

28 November 2015



G7

Issei Memorial Unveiling



Meaning and significance of the design:

1. Rough broken edge on one side of the monument. Signifies the group's separation or breaking away from the mainland of Japan.
2. Tori Gate. Signifies their passage from the homeland to a new land ... in this case the island of Guam. The Tori Gate is a recognizable icon known worldwide.
3. Size/height is intentional. About the height of a person; friendly in scale. When walking up to it, feeling is of humility, not imposing.
4. Black color. Is for solemnity and dignity.

Designer-Architect: Andy Laguana. Also designed the GUAM MUSEUM. Andy's wife is a 4th-generation (Yonsei) descendant of Kazuji Shimizu, one of the ISSEI whose life history will be covered next.

G8

2019 Events

- Nikkei Family Exhibits
- Guam Okayama Student Exchange Program
- Floating Lantern Ceremony
- Soba and Sake Night

G11

Family Exhibits



G9

Guam Okayama Student Exchange Program



G3b

Floating Lantern Ceremony



G3c

Soba and Sake Night



G10



Inetnon Taotao Guam Ni Manggaihaga' Hapones
www.guamnikkeiassociation.org
P.O. Box 12961 Tamuning, Guam 96931

G12

KAZUJI SHIMIZU (1873-1944)

- Koga City, Ibaraki Prefecture
- Jose-Maria Katsuji Ogawa Shimizu
- Tatan Kacha
- JKS



JKS (CIRCA 1910; 37 YO)

S1

LIFE EVENTS OF JKS

- 1892: Tokyo, Japan (19 y/o)**
+ Apprenticed at Wholesale Medicine (Pharmacy) Shop
- 1896: Saipan, Northern Mariana Islands (23 y/o)**
+ Branch Manager "Nan'yo Hiki Trading Company"
+ Married: Magdalena Arriola
+ Children (Sons): Jose "Ichang" Shimizu (1899 - 1979)
Antonio Arriola Shimizu (1901 - 1992)
+ Coconut Plantation; Land Leased from Saipan Chamorros.

S2

LIFE EVENTS OF JKS

(Cont.)

1902: Tragic Events (29 y/o)

- + Saipan Wife (Magdalena Arriola) Died
- + Coconut Plantation Badly Damaged by Typhoon
- + Relocated to the Island of Guam

S3a

CONCEPCION TORRES (1873-1909)

1903: Guam (30 y/o)

- + Married: Concepcion Martinez Torres;
Children:
 - Carmen Shimizu Franquez (1905 - 1985)
 - Jesus (Jim) Torres Shimizu (1906 - 19??)
 - Joaquin (Jack) Torres Shimizu (1907 - 1949)
 - Ambrosio (Bocho) Torres Shimizu (1909 - 1988)

1909: Concepcion Torres Shimizu died

- * 36 years old
- * Child birth complications
- * Infant Ambrosio fostered by the Leon Guerrero "Paquito" family
- * Mariana Pereira Leon Guerrero: 'nursing mom'



Concepcion Torres
(CIRCA 1900; 21 y/o)

S3b

1906 - 1939: Guam Businesses of JKS

- **IMPORT:** Rice, Canned Goods, Soy Sauce, Beer, Clothing, Cement, Building Materials
- **EXPORT:** Copra (dried meat or kernel of the coconut); Sugar (unrefined)
- **SHIPPING:** “Marianas Maru I”(116 tons); “Marianas Maru II” (195 tons); other schooners
- **COPRA & SUGAR PLANTATIONS:** now Country Club of the Pacific (CCP) Golf Course.
- **GENERAL MERCHANDISE STORE:** JKS Store

S4



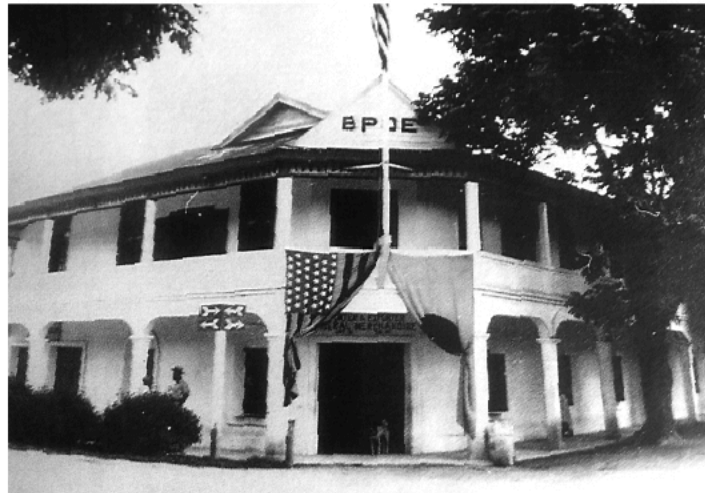
Marianas Maru

S5



CCP Golf Course (2018)

S6a



Source: Farrell, Don A. "The Pictorial History of Guam: The Sacrifice 1919-1943".
Micronesia Productions: San Jose, Tinian CNMI. 1991, p. 68.

S6b

1941 - 1944 : World War II (WWII)

December 8 - 10, 1941:

First Battle of Guam → Japanese Occupation

July 21 - August 10, 1944:

Second Battle of Guam → American Recapture

S7a

JK SHIMIZU STORE

Before WWII



Source: Farrell, Don A. "The Pictorial History of Guam: The Sacrifice 1919-1943". Micronesian Productions: San Jose, Tinian CNMI. 1991, p. 68.

After WWII (1944)

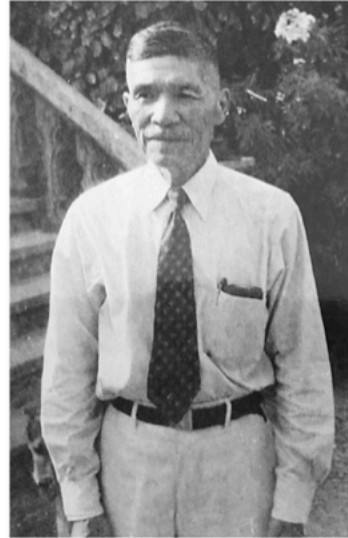


1944: Agana - AK Shimizu Store.
Source: Sanchez Collection

S7b

KAZUJI SHIMIZU

- CIRCA 1944
- 71 Years Old



S8

POST WWII EVENTS

1948 **AMBROS, INC.** unofficial "BORN ON DATE"

Military Surplus

Initial Partners

- * Ambrosio Torres Shimizu
- * Vance O. ("VO") Smith
- * Vicente Palomo

1949 **August 30 - AMBROS, INC.** officially incorporated/
registered

- * Articles of Incorporation
- * By-Laws

S9a

AMBROSIO TORRES SHIMIZU (1909 - 1988)

- * Youngest son of Jose Kazuji Ogawa Shimizu and Concepcion Martinez Torres
- * Ambrosio 'n KACHA
- * "BOCHO"
- * ATS

CHILDREN:

- * Frank SN Shimizu
- * Concepcion "Connie" Shimizu Wilson
- * Joseph SN Shimizu
- * Paul SN Shimizu

1972 ATS Retired
Frank & Joe
Paul (1982)



ATS (CIRCA 1970)

S9b

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS

MALT BEVERAGES

- * Anheuser-Busch InBev (1949): Budweiser, Bud Light, Michelob, Stella Artois, Becks
- * Kirin (2007)
- * Craft (2014): Kona Beers, Shock Top, Goose, Red Hook

TOBACCO PRODUCTS

- * B & W Tobacco (1961)
- * Commonwealth Tobacco (2006)

SPIRITS

- * Hiram Walker (1973)
- * Beam (2006)
- * Bacardi, Grey Goose, Bombay, Dewars (2012)

WINES

- * Wente (1973)
- * Ironstone (2000)
- * Justin Paso Robles

S10a

PRINCIPAL PRODUCTS

(Cont.)

KIMBERLY-CLARK Products (1993)

MEAD JOHNSON NUTRITIONAL Products (2001)

DIVERSEY Products (2011)

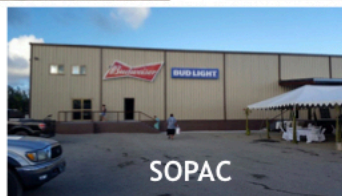
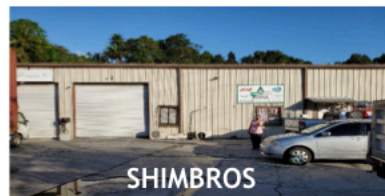
JUICES/NON ALCOHOLIC Aloha Maid Juices; ITOEN TEAS (1998)

FIJI ARTESIAN WATERS (2006)

S10b

1974-present: expansion, new branch openings

- 1974: SAIPAN - Marianas Pacific Distributors, Inc. (MARPAC)
- 1990: REPUBLIC OF PALAU - Shimbros Int'l. Inc. (SHIMBROS)
- 2013: AMERICAN SAMOA - South Pacific Distributors, Inc. (SOPAC)



S11



AMBROS, Inc. (Harmon Industrial Park - Relocation Grand Opening) May 9, 2014

Designer : Andy Laguana

Builder : Sumitomo Mitsui Construction Co.

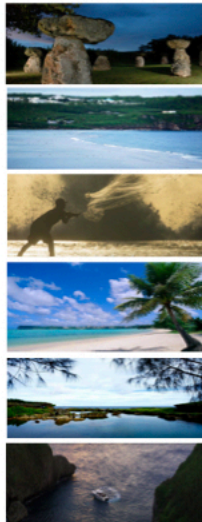
Features : Constructed entirely of cement ; 175-200 mph winds ; 203 miles of rebar.

S12

ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR (104) YEARS !!!



S13



THANK YOU
ARIGATO GOZAIMASHITA
SI YU'US MA'ASE'



AUGUST 31, 2019

BISITA GUAM - COME VISIT US!



SI YU'US MA'ASE'

THANK YOU



- - -



Frank SN Shimizu is a nissei, a 3rd generation Japanese CHamoru. He is President and CEO of Ambros, Inc., a family run company. Shimizu began working at Ambros which was started by his father, as a high school student in the 50's. Mr. Shimizu has served on many community organizations including the Guam Business Partners for Recycling where he is a Board member and president. He has served on many government boards and commissions and was acknowledged in the International Who's Who Society in 2010. In 2017, he was honored by Japan's Foreign Minister with a commendation for "promotion of mutual understanding between Japan and the United States, the first CHamoru to ever receive this designation. He is currently Chairman of the Board of the Guam Nikkei Association. He is married to Meming Gumataotao Shimizu and they have 4 sons, 1 daughter, 15 grandchildren and 7 great grandchildren.



Like Frank, Monica Okada Guzman is also a nissei and is currently Vice President of the Guam Nikkei Association (GNA). Her desire to learn more about her Japanese ancestry led her to join the GNA. This Japanese-CHamoru-American woman is CEO of Galaide Group, a 21 year old public relations, management and business consulting company that currently operates the Guam Museum. She believes she has inherited her focus, hard-work ethic and politeness traits from her Japanese father, the CHamoru custom of inafa'maolek from her mother and the American way of self-help, competition and free enterprise. She is married to Clifford Guzman and they have 3 daughters and 3 granddaughters.

I Maga'taotao Siha

The Elders Who Inspire Us to Decolonize

By Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero

Independent Guåhan

victoria.lola@gmail.com

and Monaeka Flores

Independent Guåhan

mflores.guam@gmail.com

Abstract: *At each General Assembly, Independent Guåhan honors a maga'taotao: a hero or notable figure that has helped guide the island and the CHamoru people on their quest for self-determination. Independent Guåhan draws from a diverse array of CHamoru leaders and community members, highlighting the historic and political context that informed or provoked their wisdom and work to further broaden or complicate conversations about self-determination. Family members of each maga'taotao share their insight and reflect on the lives and contributions of each individual. A wide range of critical issues are examined and demystified through their stories including environmental stewardship, political autonomy, protection of historic and cultural resources, economic development, land use, sustainable agriculture, security, CHamoru language advocacy, education, CHamoru identity and survivorship to name a few. This presentation will highlight the maga'taotao celebrated in the Independent Guahån series and the important roles they have played in the progress of our people.*

For as long as Guam has been colonized, there have been people in our history who have actively fought for freedom, who lived self-determined lives, raised their voices against injustice and the continued denial of rights to the CHamoru people, and worked diligently in their respective areas of expertise to make our island a better place. They are our *maga'taotao* – as Eddie “Ed” LG Benavente would call them – our heroes. Uncle Ed was himself a *maga'taotao* as the co-founder of Nasion CHamoru, executive director of the Commission on Decolonization, co-founder of

Sagan Kotturan CHamoru, and lifelong CHamoru language and history educator and writer. Inspired by his lifework and his reminders to always acknowledge those who came before us, every month, Independent Guåhan honors a *maga'taotao* from our history.

Independent Guåhan (IG) is the larger organization that supports the efforts of the Independence for Guam Task Force – one of three Government of Guam task forces assigned to educate the community about the three political status options legally recognized as options in Guam's decolonization plebiscite (independence, free association, and statehood). There are seven official members of each task force, and the chairpersons of the task forces serve as board members on the Commission on Decolonization. Recognizing that effectively educating the community about the possibilities of independence would require more than seven members, a group of independence supporters formed Independent Guåhan in July 2016 with the following mission:

I hinangai-ña Independent Guåhan para bai in na'fanmatatnga i Manchamoru para ta chule' tatte i direcho-ta komu un nâsion gi hilo' tâno'. Ginen i minetgot-ñiha i mañaina-ta yan i guinaiya-ta nu i famagu'on-ta mo'na, in na'kekefanmanungo'yan in na'kekefanetnon todû i taotao siha ni mañâsaga gi ini na tâno' para ta na'latfe'na iya Guåhan ni todû i nina'siña-ta kosaki siña ta fanlâ'la' maolek mo'na.

Independent Guåhan empowers the CHamoru people to reclaim our sovereignty as a nation. Inspired by the strength of our ancestors and with love for future generations, we educate and unify all who call our island home to build a sustainable and prosperous independent future.

The group also chose three guiding CHamoru words/concepts, which it included in its logo (a reimaged Guam seal) as its vision and purpose: *fanhita, fanafa' maolek, na'lâ'la'*. Roughly translated, these words mean to come together for the good of all and sustain life. The idea is that independence brings people together to work for the good of our island with the intention of sustaining the lives of our people for generations to come. Independent Guåhan carries out this vision through

educational and service events including a monthly general assembly, teach-ins, community forums, a weekly podcast, murals, a park adoption project, assisting elders, an annual concert and much more. As a result, IG has maintained a consistent presence in the community and its members have engaged in relevant, timely and necessary conversations about Guam's decolonization and issues related to it.

Many of IG's core members have been actively involved in the decolonization and anti-militarization movement for over a decade. They work with and regularly seek the advice of *mañaina*, or elders, who have been involved in these efforts for several decades. In fact, Trini Torres, the former chairperson of the Independence for Guam Task Force stepped down as chair and asked Dr. Michael Lujan Bevacqua to take over, because she felt it was time to turn the work of the task force over to younger activists who had the energy to sustain it. Dr. Bevacqua asked me to be his co-chair and we invited other young people to join the Task Force. Auntie Trini has retained a seat on the Task Force and continues to attend Independence and Decolonization events. As the efforts of the Task Force increased, so did our membership. Many of us found the work uplifting as it empowered us to imagine a sovereign future for Guam. We began proactively researching, discussing and exploring our own solutions to some of Guam's most serious issues. The more we did this, the more we wanted to engage with our community about independence. From this excitement, IG was born.

At our first planning retreat, we decided that every month we would host a general assembly in a centrally located venue that would be open to the public and would include an educational component. We wanted our general assembly to be a space where people could come to learn about the work we are doing, get involved, learn something new, and engage in discussions about decolonization and independence. Thus, on the last Thursday of every month, we host our general assembly in the main pavilion of the CHamoru Village from 6 to 7:30 p.m. For over three years, IG has maintained this visible, monthly presence, where we engage with our community about issues of importance. Sometimes we pick topics that are specific to something happening in the island that month that needs to be addressed, but mostly we tackle topics that stem from people's frequently asked questions.

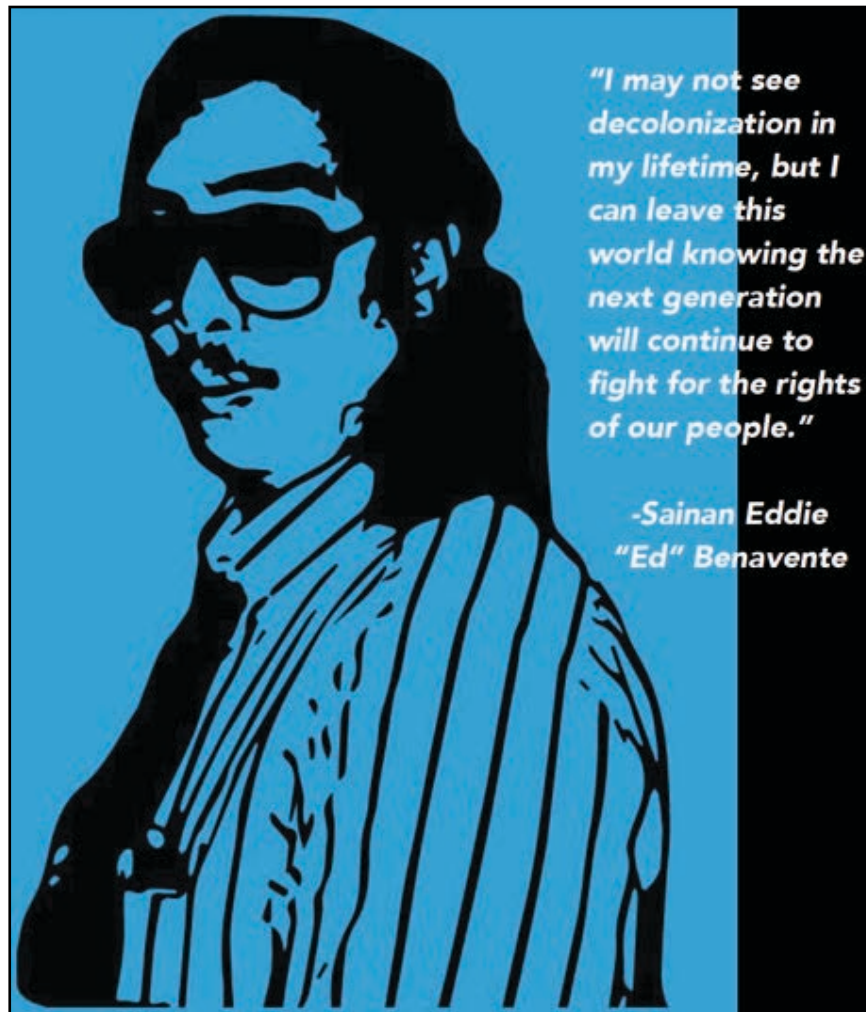
Change can be Uncomfortable

We have found that most people do not engage in conversations about decolonization because they are afraid of the unknown. A lot of people are very uncomfortable with the idea of change. We have been colonized for hundreds of years and under US rule since 1899. For a lot of people, it is difficult to imagine an independent Guam, because so much of our contemporary identity has been shaped by an American curriculum in our schools, American media, and American definitions of who we are and what we are capable of. We have been told for so long that we are too small to be on our own, and many of us believe it. For example, I often hear people say that if the US were to leave, China would take over Guam. Thus, a lot of IG's efforts have centered around dispelling myths, assuaging fears, and showing that we are not too small, and there are many ways in which we can be successful on our own and still be connected to larger counties on our own terms. We have found that historical narratives, sound research, and examples of other independent model nations have been useful tools in engaging people about the possibilities of independence. This approach has been most effective at our general assemblies.

The agenda for each general assembly includes a 10-minute opening introducing IG, our mission and updates on our recent work and upcoming events. We then go into an educational presentation that addresses a topic by presenting information on the topic and exploring how independence can be a solution to the issue. Then we present a model nation to learn from and pose two questions for the audience to answer. We break the audience into small groups of 6 to 10 people per group and they share their thoughts on the topic and answer the topic-related questions. This allows everyone an opportunity to have a voice in the conversation.

Uncle Ed Benavente passed away the month before our first general assembly. We decided to dedicate the gathering to him and disseminated flyers with his image and a quote from him online and at the Liberation Day Parade. Instead of focusing on him specifically at the gathering, we decided to give him a lasting tribute by starting a *maga'taotao* series in which we would honor a different hero every month

at our general assemblies starting with Maga'låhi Åhgao, whom Uncle Ed wrote about in his book documenting the lives of *maga'låhi* during the time of the CHamoru-Spanish Wars. The idea was to acknowledge that this is not new work or new thinking there are many efforts that have been done in our community that can be considered acts of decolonization and self-determination that we can learn from.



The following is a collage of all the people we have honored in our *maga'taotao* series:



One of the most powerful things we've been able to do through our General Assemblies is to engage new people through the *maga'taotao* series. Dr. Tina Delisle shared in her keynote address at the 2019 Marianas History Conference that family history is central to native history, and, of course, to CHamoru history. Our *maga'taotao* series really illustrates this.

In looking at the faces in this collage of *maga'taotao*, some are easily recognized as political and business leaders, while others are not as popularly known. However, all of them contributed to our island in tremendous ways and have left lessons we can learn from. Interestingly, some of them kept their political lives separate from their personal lives, and thus, their families did not know much about their involvement in efforts like decolonization. As a result, in learning their family

history through the honoring of their loved one, they have become more engaged in our island's history and in decolonization.

Each *maga'taotao* is selected based on their connection to the topic IG has chosen to research and present on for each month's general assembly. The following is a list of the *maga'taotao* we honored and the topics that were discussed when we honored them:

Maga'taotao	Topic
Maga'lāhi Āhgao	Guam's Unincorporated Territory Status
Dr. Bernadita Camacho Dungca	Defense
Speaker Ben Pangelinan	Transitioning to Independence
Senator Angel LG Santos	Food Sovereignty
Senator Cecilia Bamba	Protecting Water as a Natural Resource
Anthony Leon Guerrero	Jones Act Restrictions
Melvin Borja	Hu Guaiya Guåhan: Protecting our Environment
Clotilde Gould	Davis v. Guam
Jose "Pop Tonko" Reyes	Leadership
Master Techa Magdalena SN Bayani	Legacies of War Contamination
Senator Paul Bordallo	Retirement
Dr. W. Chris Perez	Healthcare
Ronald Flores Rivera	What is a Constitution?
Senator Gloria Borja Nelson	Education in an Unincorporated Territory
Pedro Martinez	Water as an Economic Resource

Senator Anthony “Tony” Palomo	Colonization’s Impacts on Health and Wellbeing
Olympia Camacho	Language Revitalization
Monsignor Oscar “Påle’ Skåt” Calvo	Historic Preservation
Senator Richard Flores Taitano	Political Systems
Governor Ricardo “Ricky” J. Bordallo	The Geopolitical Thinking about Islands
Speaker Carlos Taitano	Citizenship
Ronald Franquez Teehan	Environmental Threats
Justice Monessa Lujan	The Justice System
Dr. Pedro “Doc” Sanchez	Reframing Education
Jose Torres	CHamoru Literature
Joe “Uncle Tote” Cunningham	Settler Responsibility in Guåhan
Lt. Gov. Frank F. Blas	The Dangers of Drafting a Constitution as a Territory
Ignacio “Nåsh” R. Camacho	The Economic Possibilities of the Ocean

IG’s Educational Development and Research Committee is responsible for preparing the educational presentation about each topic and working with the family members of the *maga’taotao* to prepare for the general assembly presentation. This committee comprises a team of researchers, about half of whom are CHamorus attending universities in the US, who contribute to research about the topics as their way of staying involved in IG’s work. For each topic, researchers compile quotes, statistics, examples from other nations, and other data in a shared document that is used to prepare a 20-minute presentation and a 2-sided handout for the general assembly. All of the research documents about the topics are

archived for future use and to hopefully one day inform the leaders of an independent Guåhan.

I am the co-chairperson of the Educational Development and Research Committee and I have especially enjoyed working directly with the family members and friends of our *maga'taotao* in this capacity. Between the members of IG's core group and the researchers in the committee, we have always been able to find a way to contact a person that is either a member of the *maga'taotao*'s family, or a close friend of the family. Once we have made contact with the family, we are usually referred to the person who was closest to the *maga'taotao*, or is the eldest in the family. I then work with that person to prepare a presentation about their loved one in the month leading up to the general assembly. Most of the presentations are done by an immediate family member, or by someone who was very close to the *maga'taotao*.

As shown in this photo, Public Auditor and former senator and judge BJ Cruz presented on Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, whom he was very close to personally and professionally. Because he was mentored by Governor Bordallo, Cruz was able to speak eloquently about his thoughts on colonization and independence from his memories of their conversations.

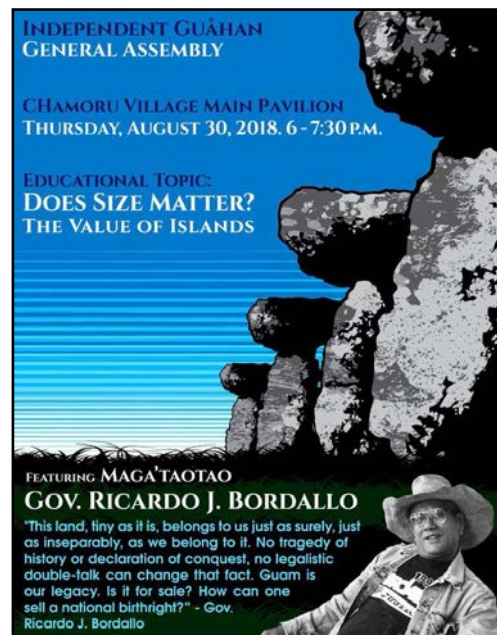
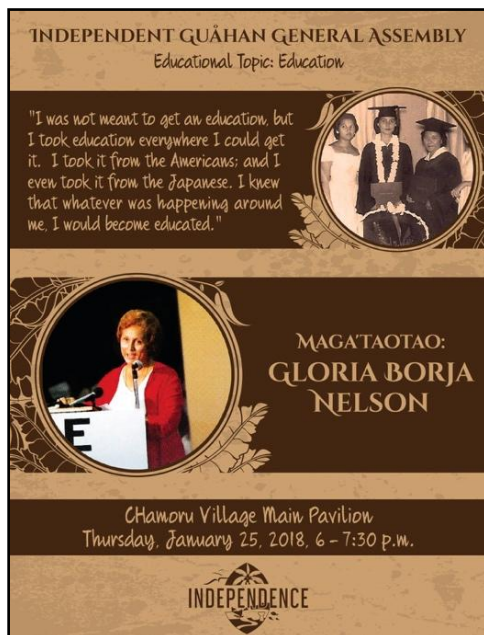


Peter Roy Martinez is pictured here with IG members after he presented about his grandfather Pedro Martinez. The topic that evening explored the economic possibilities of water, and we honored Pedro Martinez for his role as a successful businessman, who sold filtered water and ice to the community and the military. Members of the Martinez family, who are also successful business leaders, enthusiastically engaged in the small group discussion after the presentation about various economic possibilities in an independent Guåhan. One of Pedro Martinez's grandsons commented that he had always thought his grandfather would have wanted statehood or a closer relationship with the United States, because he's from the war generation, but after listening to the presentation and thinking more deeply about his grandfather's life, he saw how his grandfather may likely have supported independence instead, because he had lived a sovereign lifestyle.



These types of conversations become an opening for other conversations about decolonization that members of these families may not otherwise have engaged in. Some of them continue to attend general assemblies and other IG events and have even become regular volunteers.

The *maga'taotao* series has really helped IG engage the community in new ways, not only through the presence of family members and loved ones at our events, but also through the powerful words of the *maga'taotao* themselves. The very talented graphic artist and co-chairperson for the IG Art-reach Committee Kie Susuico takes quotes and images of the *maga'taotao* and designs striking iconic flyers for each general assembly. The flyers are shared widely on social media, often drawing new interest and increased attendance at the general assembly. Here are a couple of examples of these flyers:



In closing, I'd like to share some of my favorite quotes from the *maga'taotao* we have honored. Although these heroes are no longer with us, their words remain relevant and powerful, and their voices echo in our efforts.

“Today, in a time full of cynicism, political sound bites and press releases, we must remember who we are as a people. We once mastered the navigation of the seas; surely we can determine our political future. We survived a world at war; surely we can build an economy which leaves no hardworking families behind. We

are the inheritors of an ancient land; surely we can leave this place better than when we found it.”

Senator Vicente “ben” Pangelinan

“At the end of the war I lost both my parents. It was ironic, though, that the United States who liberated me from the enemy forces took over our land after Liberation — my resources for my livelihood. This really changed my life.”

Senator Cecilia C. Bamba
as quoted in *Daughters of the Island*

“If we are to develop our economy, we will have to do it ourselves. The colonizers not only do not help in economic development, they discourage it, either through direct actions or by setting up systems that make us dependent on their continuing activities.”

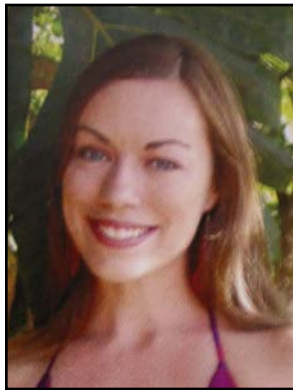
Anthony A. Leon Guerrero, Former President and
Chairman of the Board for Bank of Guam

“Future generations need to have information in order to develop a well-balanced historical perspective.”

Clotilde “Ding” Castro Gould,
CHamoru Educator and Language Activist

At the end of every general assembly presentation, just before we break into small-group discussions, we share a slide with a picture of an adze and the translation of Guåhan: we have. This is done to remind the audience that our ancestors named our island “we have,” not because of what we are lacking, but because of our abundance. We are our island’s greatest resources and we have to believe in ourselves. Often when talking with people about independence, they give examples of how corrupt our current government is or how run down our roads are as reasons why we can never be independent. I usually have to pause, take a step back and help to reframe the conversation. I say it is important, of course, to be critical

of our current situation, but that we cannot let it define who we are or what is possible. We must learn and grow from it. We have to believe in ourselves.



Victoria-Lola M. Leon Guerrero is the Managing Editor of University of Guam Press. She teaches Women and Gender Studies and has taught Creative Writing and other writing courses at the University of Guam, Mills College, and Southern High School. She has a Masters of Fine Arts in Creative Writing from Mills College and a Bachelor of Arts in Politics from the University of San Francisco. Leon Guerrero has published a children's book, short stories, and essays, co-edited an anthology of CHamoru writers, and was the editor of *Storyboard: A Journal of Pacific Imagery* for three years. She has written several articles and produced two short films critiquing the US militarization of Guam and expressing the need for CHamoru Self-Determination, which are available online. She is the co-chair of the Independence for Guåhan Task Force and is actively involved in organizing the community to fight for CHamoru self-determination and express their concerns about the US military build-up.

Our Hispanic Heritage

The Key to Broadening Chamorro Cultural Awareness

By Clark Limtiaco

Independent Researcher

Chamorro-Hispanic Culture and Heritage

guamsensei@yahoo.com

Abstract: *We Chamorros are no strangers to our Hispanic heritage. Or are we?*

Many of us view the Spanish influence as something circumstantial and superficial, unaware that many Chamorro customs and traditions have deep Hispanic roots. As Chamorros, we too, form part of the Hispanic cultural realm. In spite of heavy Americanization, our culture remains deeply Hispanic. Each time we shout, “Biba Chamorro,” our Hispanic heritage comes alive.

Still, the Marianas continues to be ignored by most scholars in both Spain and Mexico. Our Hispanic heritage can be a powerful tool to connect us with the custodians of most of our written history. Promoting Spanish language ability will allow our native scholars to collaborate directly with their Spanish speaking counterparts, further advancing Marianas history scholarship. Participation by native Chamorro scholars in history conferences and Hispanic cultural events (in Spain, Mexico, etc.) will stimulate interest and will widen Marianas/Chamorro awareness beyond Oceania.

With over three hundred years of Spanish history, we Chamorros are no strangers to its influence on our culture. Or are we?

On the surface it can be very obvious. Many of us bear Spanish surnames, we celebrate *fiestas*, and we count, “*uno, dos, tres.*” But how much of our own Chamorro culture can we identify as being a direct result of that influence? Most of us are unaware of the Spanish origins of much of our Chamorro culture. *Americanization*

has distanced us from over three of centuries of Spanish heritage and has left us with a lack of Spanish cultural knowledge.

Still, whenever we try to describe our culture to an outsider, we always add the words, “Spanish influence,” usually as an afterthought, and placing minimal importance on it. We have become blind to its fundamental role in shaping our modern Chamorro identity. And we fail to claim this so called, “influence” as our own *Hispanic* heritage. Yes, we Chamorros, have Hispanic heritage. And we too, form part of the Hispanic cultural realm.

Perhaps the time has come for us to look more closely at our Hispanic heritage and use it as a tool to extend Chamorro cultural awareness beyond the boundaries of Oceania. And reconnect with our *familia* in the Hispanic world.

Our Mestizo Blend

Our Chamorro culture is very distinct. Unlike the many cultures of our Oceanic brothers and sisters, ours is truly a *mestizo* one. It is a blend of two distinct and celebrated cultures; Pacific Islander and Hispanic. This *mestizo* blend is evident in our gastronomy, traditional dress, architecture, religious beliefs, folklore, dance, and language.

It is our *mestizo* culture that distinguishes us from our Oceanic neighbors. However because of it we have come to feel a bit like outsiders within the Pacific Islander community. As a result, many of us have tried to modify or reinvent our culture in order to fit the mold of what we have come to believe a “real” Pacific Islander should be. Many of us adopt the popular Pacific Islander stereotype by adorning our skin with tribal tattoo designs, dancing in grass skirts, playing the ukulele, and emulating almost every trend that emerges from the Aloha State. In this attempt to demonstrate a purely Pacific Islander identity, we seem to have minimized or omitted any expression of our *mestizo* heritage.

Yet no matter how hard we try, we fail to completely remove ourselves from our deeply rooted Hispanic heritage. We are reminded of it each time we: attend a *misa*,

celebrate a *kumpleaños*, prepare *buñelos* for the *nobena*, address our elders with *tun* and *tan*, greet each other with, “*buenas*,” and bid farewell with, “*adios*.” And although we don’t always realize it, each time we shout with fervor, “*Biba Chamorro*,” our Hispanic heritage comes alive.

Spanish Language Heritage

Undoubtedly, the Spanish language has played a significant role in our culture. Its impact on the Chamorro language makes it an extremely important element of our Hispanic heritage.

In fact, Spanish was spoken as a second language by significant numbers of Chamorros during the Spanish colonial era. One doesn’t have to go far back in their family history to find a Spanish speaking Chamorro ancestor. Many of us are unaware that during the early years of Guam’s Americanization, Spanish was a principal language of communication between the US naval government and the native Chamorros. It has been said that during his term, US Naval Governor Seaton Schroeder (from July 1901 to Nov. 1903), although unable to speak Chamorro, gained the trust and respect of native Chamorros because of his ability to communicate with them through Spanish.

It is important to know that Spanish speaking native Chamorros had existed in Guam as late as the 1980s. These remaining few had learned Spanish as a second language during the final years of the Spanish colonial period. However with little or no need for the language during the American era, it was seldom spoken. As in all Spanish speaking countries, a distinct and localized form was spoken in Guam. Sadly, no known recordings exist of these last Spanish speaking Chamorros.

Why is Spanish Language Important?

Needless to say, a very important step in creating a new dialogue with the Spanish speaking world is the promotion of Spanish language education in Guam, especially to our native Chamorro historians and cultural experts. The ability to speak and read Spanish will allow us to expand our knowledge of Hispanic culture, especially our own.

Although many may believe that it would be a daunting task to learn Spanish, our own Chamorro language actually gives us some advantages. Spanish linguist and former General Secretary of the *Instituto Cervantes*, Rafael Rodriguez Ponga, states in his study of the Chamorro-English Dictionary (by Topping, Ogo, Dungca 1975) that over 50 percent of the 9,650 word entries are of Spanish origin.

Additionally, his study examines the use of Spanish grammar in modern Chamorro, including the use of prepositions, and numbers. The integration of these Spanish elements is fundamental to contemporary Chamorro language. A common sentiment shared among non-native speaking Chamorros who have learned to speak Spanish, is that it has helped them improve their Chamorro language comprehension skills enormously.

Spanish language ability will enable our native historians to collaborate directly with their Spanish speaking counterparts, thus opening doors to endless opportunities in the advancement of Guam/Marianas history scholarship.

Participation of Spanish speaking native historians at conferences in Spain (and Mexico) will draw the attention of conference attendees and will allow for a direct way to give the Chamorro perspective. And without the need for translators.

Above all, the amount of historical material resources will increase exponentially. Our native historians will be able to utilize a multitude of Spanish written resources including internet websites, blogs, articles, magazines, books, and colonial period documents about Guam, many of which are unknown to our historians and have yet to be translated to English.

Furthermore, Spanish language is a necessary tool for our historians, scholars, and students who wish to conduct research at many important institutions which house centuries-old documents about Guam, including the *General Archive of the Indies* (Seville, Spain) and the *Mexican National Archives* (Mexico City).

Local and National Recognition

Unbeknownst to most of us, in the past there have been local efforts to recognize, promote, and preserve our Hispanic heritage.

Created over fifty years ago, the now inactive *Circulo Cervantino of Guam* (*Cervantes Circle of Guam*) was an organization which recognized the importance of Guam's Hispanic heritage. It was instrumental in preserving some of Guam's few remaining Spanish colonial sites, including the *San Antonio Bridge* in Hagatña. The bridge's commemorative plaque (dated 1964) bearing its name is testament to the preservation efforts of this group.

The importance of Guam's Hispanic culture was once again recognized in 1974. Official mention of that recognition can be found in a law written by island leaders of that time. The Guam Legislature and then governor, Carlos Camacho, passed Public Law 12-126 (Bill 5695). Part IV of this law called for the establishment of the *Guam Institute of Spanish-Chamorro Culture*, with the purpose to insure, promote and preserve Guam's Spanish-Chamorro culture. Although the bill was passed into law, little evidence exists regarding the Institute and its activities.

The Guam Visitors Bureau (GVB) has also recognized the importance of our Hispanic heritage and has tried to incorporate it into its tourism promotions. Faced with growing competition from other tourist destinations, GVB at one time made it a guiding principle to, "Focus on our *Spanish-Chamorro* cultural heritage to promote Guam's unique image." Always looking to diversify Guam's tourism market, the GVB may want to consider creating Spanish language promotions to lure Spanish tourists. Showcasing Guam's Hispanic history and heritage can be a major draw for the Spanish traveler.

At a national level, recognition of our Hispanic heritage is evidenced by the inclusion of congressional representatives from Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands, as members of the *Congressional Hispanic Caucus*. An organization of Democratic members of the United States Congress of Hispanic descent, whose

mission is to voice, through the legislative process, issues affecting Hispanics in the United States.

Another notable recognition is the *Library of Congress*' inclusion of the late Congressman Ben Blaz in its list of Hispanic Americans in Congress.

Getting Our Hispanic Foot in the Door

In November of 2008 the National Hispanic Cultural Center (NHCC) in Albuquerque, New Mexico opened a historical exhibit entitled, "Nao de China: The Manila Trade, 1565 – 1815." The NHCC collaborated with Philippine and Mexican universities, museums, and consulate offices in order to create a seven month long exhibit which was accompanied by a series of lectures and cultural presentations.

The exhibit examined the cultural impact of this historic commercial trade route and placed special focus on the cultural influences that resulted because of it. Needless to say, there was virtually no mention of Guam, the Marianas, nor Chamorro culture in this exhibit.

If the NHCC can create an exhibit with the Philippines, they certainly must be capable of creating one with Guam as well. Initiating a direct communication between organizations in Guam (UOG, Guam Museum, GVB, Dept. of Chamorro Affairs, etc.) and the NHCC could be the first step in creating an exhibit that focuses on Chamorro-Hispanic heritage. And like the Manila Galleon exhibit of 2008, a series of lectures and cultural presentations could compliment such an endeavor.

Recognition of our Hispanic heritage by the NHCC could open up more opportunities for exhibits in other Hispanic cultural centers across the United States, and could facilitate the participation of Guam in stateside cultural events during *National Hispanic Heritage Month*.

We too can Celebrate Hispanic Heritage Month

What began as a weeklong event in 1968 has since become an annual celebration which now extends over a thirty day period (September 15 - October 15). *National Hispanic Heritage Month* was created to recognize the social, political, and cultural contributions of Americans of Hispanic heritage, in addition to celebrating the cultural diversity of the Hispanic-American community. Cultural festivities in California, Texas, and New York are among the most attended.

In recent years Filipino-American communities have taken advantage of their Hispanic heritage in order to participate in the many activities and events. And they continue to succeed in increasing Filipino cultural awareness by using this shared heritage. Guam could do the same.

Celebrations of Hispanic heritage are not limited to the Hispanic communities within The United States. Worldwide it is celebrated as *International Hispanic Heritage Month*. In Spain, activities include concerts, dance performances, art exhibits, lectures, and parades. And like in the celebrations in the US, the Philippines continue to gain growing recognition because of their Hispanic heritage. Guam however, continues being unrepresented in such cultural celebrations.

The Acapulco Guam Manila Galleon

If there is any event in which Guam deserves to be recognized, it is the *Festival Internacional de la Nao de China (Acapulco-Manila Galleon Festival)*. Held every fall (since 2007) in Acapulco, Mexico, the festival invites delegations from countries that have a direct history with the historic galleon trade route.

This international event celebrates the historic connections between Mexico and the invited countries, through art exhibits, lectures, dance performances, and other cultural activities. Frequent participant countries in past festivals have included Japan, Peru, China, India, Spain, and the Philippines, which had once been selected as the *Pais Invitado de Honor (Country of Honor)* and gained special focus

during the weeklong celebration. In recent years other countries have been invited to the festival as a symbol of friendship and cultural exchange with Mexico.

Considering the many Mexican contributions to Chamorro culture, participation in this festival would almost guarantee Guam's selection as the *Country of Honor*. However, in spite of having a direct role in the history of the Acapulco-Manila galleons, Guam's absence from the festival has gone virtually unnoticed.

“Click here” for Our Hispanic Heritage

The advent of the internet and the increasing influence of social media has allowed many scholars, amateur historians, and independent researchers to further broaden Chamorro cultural awareness. YouTube videos, Facebook groups, blogs, and social media forums have spawned an increasing interest in Chamorro culture by both Chamorros and non-Chamorros alike.

Guam history blogs such as [*paleric*](#), by Guam historian Pale' Eric Forbes, continue to educate many Chamorros about Guam/Marianas history. Themes on Hispanic cultural contributions can be found in many blog entries.

Additionally, Facebook forums including *Guam's Hispanic Heritage* and the Spanish language *Circulo Cervantino de Guam* provide their members with examples of our Hispanic heritage through informative posts, many of which spark a direct dialogue between Chamorro and Spanish members.

Increased internet exposure has led to the recognition of Guam by numerous Hispanic culture websites and social media forums, both in English and Spanish language. Recognition continues to grow as more information is exchanged through such digital means.

Antipathy Doesn't Build Bridges

With the upcoming 500th anniversary of the first circumnavigation of the globe by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastian Elcano, Guam is well positioned to

reacquaint itself with Spain. Our participation in this historic commemoration could be the first stone in building a new bridge to reconnect us.

While some see this as a way to promote Guam and Chamorro culture, others see it as an ideal opportunity to express their grievances. In recent decades, activism by indigenous rights and independence groups has fueled an increasing antipathy not only towards the current colonial power, the United States, but also towards its predecessor, Spain.

This antipathy has led to an increasing *dehispanization* (elimination of Hispanic elements) of the Chamorro culture. Examples are evident in Chamorro folkloric dance, where the newly created *neo-native* styles seem to be favored over the traditional *bailan español*, or Hispanic dance styles. Similarly, the removal of Spanish origin words from the Chamorro language has resulted in what some now call, “*neo-Chamorro*.”

Although a special government commission has been created to oversee Guam’s participation in the commemoration, skeptics are concerned that any overt expression of antipathetic attitudes and sentiments may unintentionally burn bridges instead of building them.

However, in spite of any anticipated controversy, our participation in the official commemoration gives us the opportunity to renew Guam’s relation with Spain, thus opening the door to foster new cultural and academic exchanges in the future

Conclusion - Turning the Key

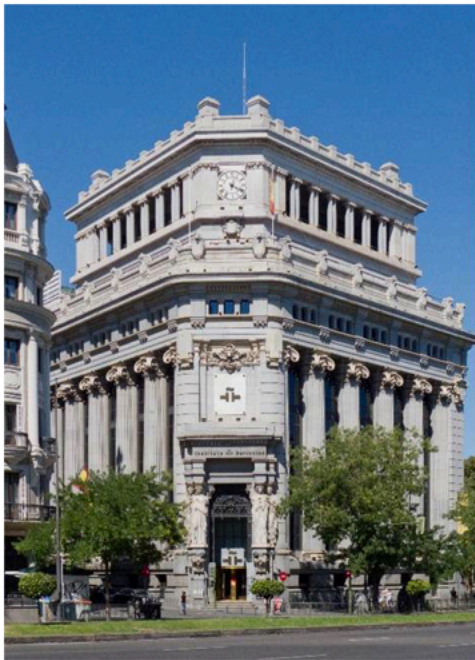
Although we seem to have established our place as members of the Pacific Islander community, our *mestizo* heritage and culture constantly remind us that we also belong to another one. A community that is virtually unaware that we exist. One with which we share so much culture, history, and heritage. And one from which we have been isolated for far too long.

It may seem that our geographic, political, and linguistic isolation has locked us out, but we have always held the key, our shared Hispanic heritage, to opening the door. Culturally speaking, much of what awaits us on the other side is something we are already familiar with.

We can choose to leave the door shut and wait for opportunities to come knocking, meanwhile remaining ignored, omitted, and forgotten. Or we can choose to turn the key ourselves, open the door, and reclaim our rightful place in the global Hispanic community.

Presentation Slides











 +  = **mestizo**



BIBA CHAMORRO !





palabran españot gi fino chamorro

Fanohge Chamoru put i tano'-ta
Kânta i ma tunâ-ña gi tod*u* i lugât.

Para i onra, para i gloria
Abiba i isla sen parat.

Para i onra, para i gloria
Abiba i isla sen parat.

U tod*u* i tiempo i pas para hita
 Yan ginen i langet na bendesion.
 Kontra i piligru, na'fansâfo' ham
Yu'os prutehi i islan Guâhan.

Kontra i piligru, na'fansâfo' ham
Yu'os prutehi i islan Guâhan.

FANOHGE CHAMORU

por
 cantar, todo, lugar

para, honra, gloria




avivar, isla, sin, parar

todo, tiempo, paz, para

bendición

contra, peligro

Dios, proteger, isla

Seaton Schroeder (19 July 1901 – 2 Nov. 1903)



Governor Seaton Schroeder pledged first to be a governor of the people and secondly, a commandant of the Navy station. Fluent in Spanish, Schroeder immediately established good rapport with the Chamorro people.

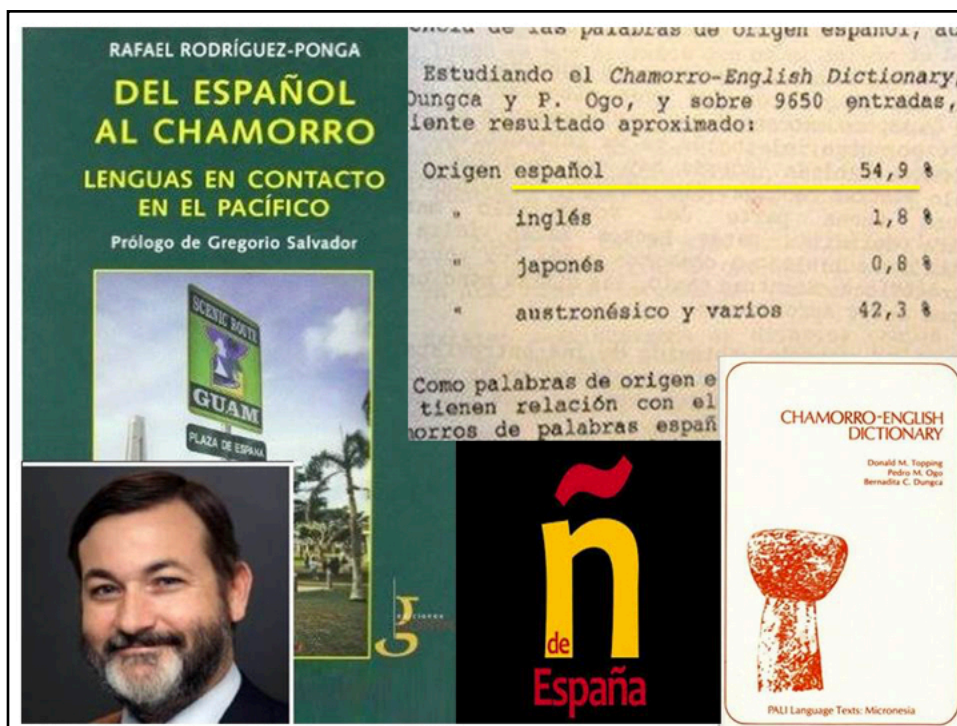
Fluido en español, Schroeder inmediatamente estableció una buena relación con el pueblo chamorro.

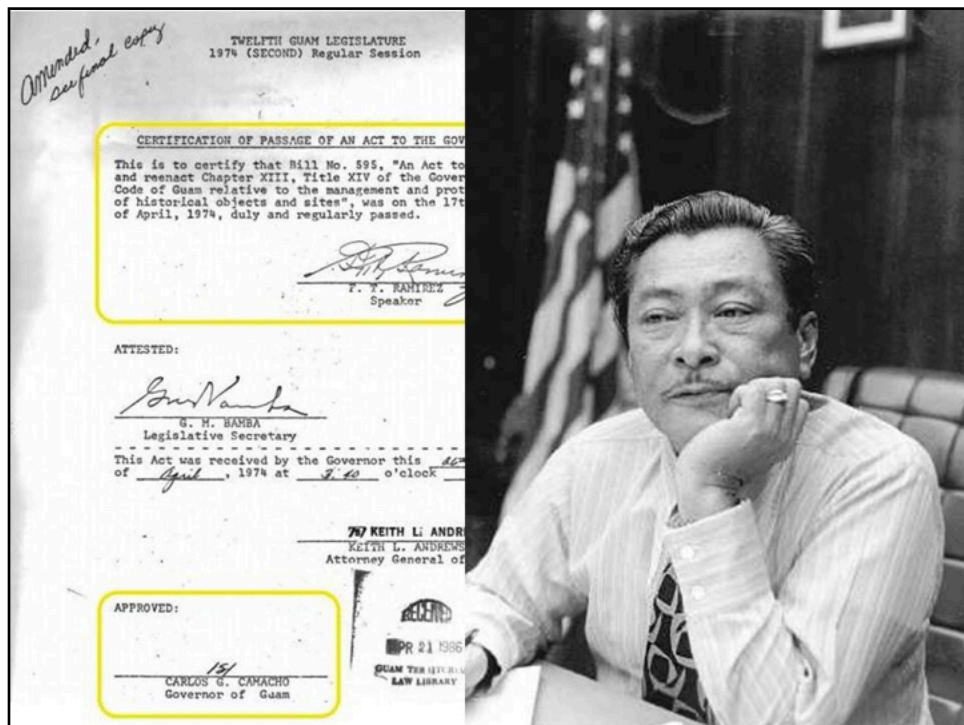


Source: Guampedia



Courtesy of blog paleric, Fr. Eric Forbes





Section 13985. Purpose. Whereas the Legislature has determined that the historic, archaeological, architectural, and cultural heritage of Guam is among her most important environmental assets and furthermore that the rapid social and economic development of contemporary society threatens to destroy the remaining vestiges of this Spanish-Chamorro heritage, it is declared to be the public policy and in the public interest of this territory to engage in a comprehensive program of historic preservation, undertaken at all levels of the government of this territory, and to promote the use and conservation of such property for education, inspiration, pleasure, and enrichment of the residents of this territory.

Part IV. Guam Institute of Spanish-Chamorro Culture

Section 13985.36. Statement of purpose. The purpose of this part is to create a nonprofit corporation for historic and cultural preservation, research, restoration, presentation, museum activities, and support programs; and in cooperation with and in assistance to the Department and other territorial agencies to receive sites, buildings, and objects significant in Guam's history and culture, to preserve and administer them for public benefits; to accept, hold, and administer gifts, securities, grants, scholarships, endowments, private bequests, or other property of whatsoever character for a comprehensive historic and cultural preservation and museum's program.

This corporation shall be the depository of all resources which are made available or offered of desirable land, historical collections, and donations made by groups and persons as gifts to the territory to help insure the Spanish-Chamorro heritage.

Section 13985.37. Establishment of the Guam Institute of Spanish-Chamorro Culture. board of trustees. There is created an educational, nonprofit corporation to be known as the Guam Institute of Spanish-Chamorro Culture which shall be headed by a board of trustees.

(12) To stimulate, guide and promote the Spanish-Chamorro culture which includes the arts, music, festivities, customs, traditions and mores of the Spanish-Chamorro heritage;

(13) To assist in coordinating the plans, programs and activities of individuals, associations, corporations, and agencies concerned with the preservation and furtherance of Spanish-Chamorro culture;



Guiding Principles and Strategic Direction

There are ten guiding principles that lead our strategic direction:

1. Maximize arrivals
2. Focus marketing efforts on Japan, Korea and Business Travelers
3. Grow small & emerging markets
4. Improve destination with new attractions, events, & improvements
5. Maintain a moderate growth rate
6. Focus on our Spanish-Chamorro cultural heritage to promote Guam's unique image
7. Secure guaranteed funding
8. Explore ways to improve GVB operations
9. Encourage the community to participate
10. Promote Guam's regional location in Micronesia





CONGRESSIONAL HISPANIC CAUCUS

Rep. Gregorio Kilili Camacho Sablan



Northern Mariana Islands

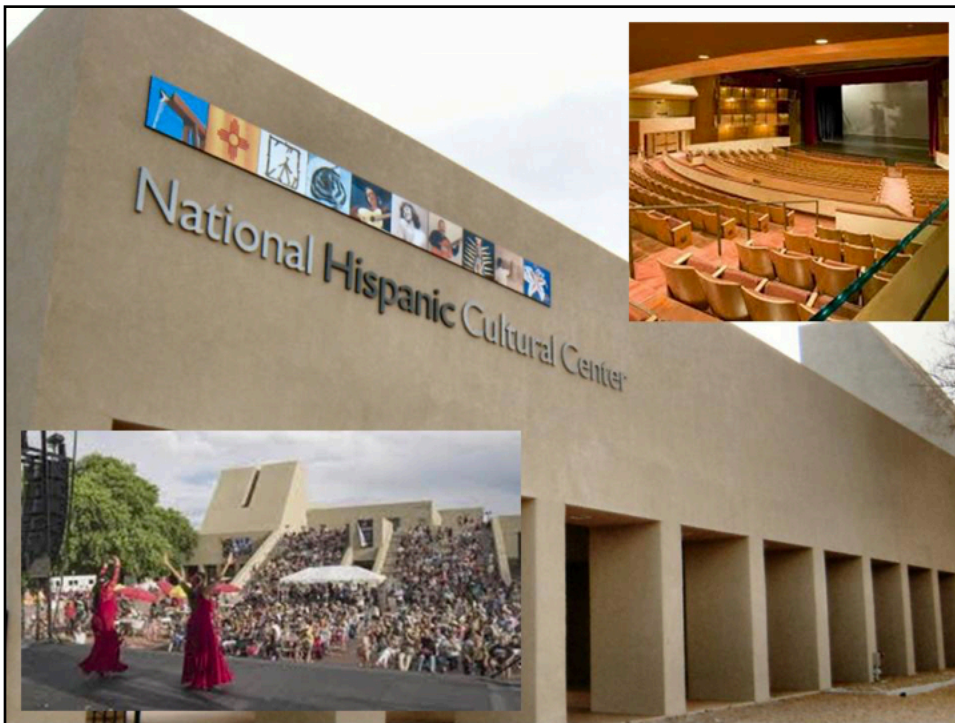
Rep. Michael San Nicolas

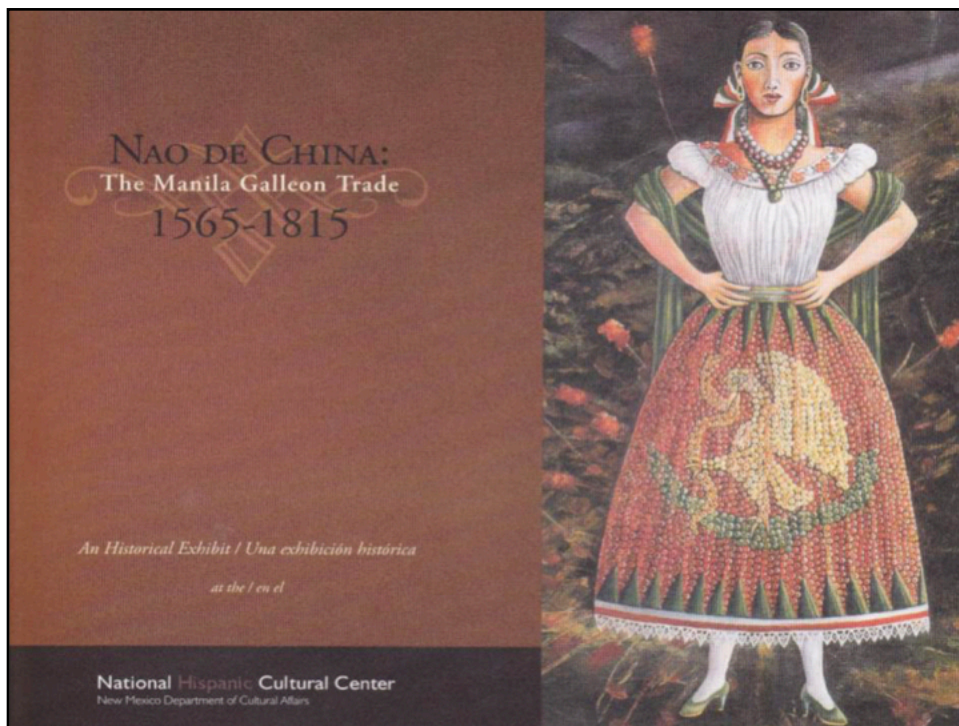


Guam




Hispanic Americans in Congress
Ben Garrido Blaz





Advertisement for a Hispanic heritage celebration in Barcelona (2016).
 Among the flags is that of The Philippines.
 Guam remains a stranger to this celebration

12 De Octubre 2016

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Where is Guam?
 Otra oportunidad perdida.
Another lost opportunity.





facebook

Guam's Hispanic Heritage



facebook

Circulo Cervantino de Guam

paleric.blogspot.com









~~sobrinu~~ (*nephew*)

i patgon lahen
i chelu-hu
(the male child of my sibling)





ARGENTINA 	BOLIVIA 	CHILE 	COLOMBIA 	COSTA RICA 
CUBA 	ECUADOR 	EL SALVADOR 	FILIPINAS 	GUATEMALA 
GUINEA 	ESPAÑA 		SAHARA 	
HONDURAS 	MEXICO 	NICARAGUA 	PANAMA 	PARAGUAY 
PERU 	PUERTO RICO 	REPUBLICA DOMINICANA 	URUGUAY 	VENEZUELA 



**Bienvenido a
la familia hispánica!**

Questions or Comments
Email:
guamsensei@yahoo.com

**Mit gracias yan
Si yu'us ma'ase**

- - -



Clark Limtiaco is an independent researcher of Chamorro-Hispanic culture and heritage. He is a former Guam resident, and holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Guam. Limtiaco acquired most of his Spanish language skills while studying at the *Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico (UNAM)*, where later he would work as foreign language professor. During his nine years in Mexico City, Limtiaco conducted independent research as well as attending, and participating in numerous history conferences. In 2017

Limtiaco was invited to Madrid by Rafael Rodriguez Ponga (General Secretary of the *Instituto Cervantes* and President of the *Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacifico*) to give a presentation (in Spanish language) at the conference, “*El Pueblo Chamorro: Los Hispanicos Olvidados de Oceania* (The Chamorro People: The Forgotten Hispanics of Oceania).” Limtiaco repeated his presentation in 2018 at the *Real Academia de Cultura* (Royal Academy of Culture) in Valencia, Spain. Limtiaco now resides in Spain where he continues his independent research.

An Internalized Identity

Gendered Narratives of Militarism and Tourism in Guåhan

By Hannah Villagomez Sablan

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Abstract: *This paper will discuss the gendered narratives of militarism and tourism throughout Guåhan's colonial history and how they have been internalized and perpetuated under American rule. These narratives were forced upon the CHamoru people and have emasculated them into a position of inferiority and sacrificial hospitality that serves the interests of the US military and tourism industry. This new collective identity works against efforts of decolonization with status quo and integration continuing to be the preferred options of self-determination. Dependency goes beyond finances and security – it is psychological too. To counter the colonial canon, certain questions must be asked: What qualities do the CHamoru people possess outside of what they provide and need from militarism and tourism? How have they remained masculine despite the narrative that they have been emasculated? A counter narrative already exists and must be remembered and embraced to move forward in empowerment.*

A CHamoru man and woman are standing in the jungle, appearing fear stricken as if they are about to fight for their lives. Across from them stands a Spaniard with a gun in his hand. The couple is primitive and appears to have nothing with them to defend themselves. Suddenly, a shot is fired, and the CHamoru man falls dramatically and in slow motion to the ground. His wife is standing behind him screaming in hysterics at the loss of her partner. And as the man falls, so a latte stone falls too. Both hit the ground in defeat and surrender to the colonizer before them leaving the woman the only one left to represent the CHamoru people. This scene is a signifier of the fall of CHamoru culture and its people, but even more than that, the emasculation of the CHamoru people defeated by the superior white man. Herman Crisostomo's 1984 film, *Guam Paradise Island*, was one of the first films locally produced and filmed in Guam. It was broadcast on television and

made with intentions to attract Japanese tourists and appeal to military personnel. Throughout the rest of the film, Guam's history continues to be played out until present day. CHamoru women were posed on waterfalls, CHamoru men could only be found doing hard labor in the fields, and the story of Sirena went from one of a girl to an eroticized mermaid doing hair flips in the water (Crisostomo, 1984).

The film itself is telling of the image local filmmakers and Guam's tourism companies were trying to portray at the time to people in the military and tourists. It is also telling of what the people of Guam were being taught to think of themselves collectively. In such a highly militarized and tourism-dependent island, the identities the inhabitants take on and portray are significant. They do not come out of nowhere. The idea of the CHamoru people being an emasculated people did not originate in that 1985 film. It was a narrative told to them and about them for centuries and instilled through colonization by Spain, Japan, and the US. These narratives became internalized and integral in an identity that makes way for the island to continue to be militarized and overrun with tourism. The colonial gendered structures of militarism and tourism in Guam have forced narratives communicating the inferiority of the Chamoru people, which have then been internalized and work against efforts of decolonization.

This paper will discuss the colonial gendered narratives and structures in Guam by examining the impact of historiography, the symbiotic relationship of tourism and militarism, gendered structures in both militarism and tourism, and end with suggestions and counter narratives. Before jumping into the core arguments, it is important to first discuss how gendered narratives become gendered structures. "Gendered" is used to communicate the action of systems placing gender roles and stereotypes on narratives used to describe and label societies. For this paper, the term "structures" refers to social systems in place that a people live in and are affected by in tangible and intangible ways. Thus, the "gendered structures" of militarism and tourism is a critical analysis of the ways in which the two industries gender the CHamoru people systematically through narratives.

This paper is not a critique of the legitimacy or existence of traditional gender roles in Guam. A micro-level analysis is not being made on how individuals cope

with the situation with each other within their communities. This is, however, a look at the relationship CHamoru people collectively have with militarism and tourism using a gender lens and within the context of colonization. An argument about identifying with a specific binary is also not being made, although the terms feminine and masculine will be used. What will be looked at is how Western patriarchal ideas have created narratives to describe and label the CHamoru people and other indigenous people.

Finally, the topic of gendering is important in both historical and political analyses because gender and race have significant roles in history and politics, both domestically for Guam and in the global context. Culture will also be addressed because it has been politicized in the narratives being critiqued in this paper. As Guam continues down the path of decolonization, acknowledging and addressing the social constructs the native inhabitants live in and perpetuate is vital. The decolonization movement must look inward as much as it does outward. Discussions on self-determination can often be stagnant because of the ideas people have about themselves. These are some of the biggest roadblocks. Questions of security and capabilities to be independent are at the forefront of every single discussion. But so many of the insecurities held on to are the result of narratives strategic narratives. The only way to move forward is to step into empowerment by identifying and understanding the impact of harmful narratives and countering them. In order to do that, it is essential to take apart what has been constructed and to replace harmful narratives with ones that counter through healing and highlighting innately positive attributes.

Historiography

In his essay titled “Our Sea of Islands”, Epeli Hau’ofa states, “views held by those in dominant positions about their subordinates can have significant consequences for people’s self-image and for the ways they cope with their situations. Such views, often derogatory and belittling, are integral to most relationships of dominance and subordination, wherein superiors behave in ways or say things that are accepted by their inferiors, who in turn behave in ways that perpetuate the relationship” (p. 28). A way this can be accomplished is through writing about inferior subjects. In the

context of colonization, the colonized are often at a disadvantage in sustaining and defending their identity when written history is prioritized over oral history. What ends up happening is the history of a people being written by someone outside of their community. This leaves a lot of room for misinterpretations, subjective ideas, and ideologies to seep into writings. Just as the Spanish priests romanticized ancient Chamoru culture, so the US oversimplified the CHamoru people. It was even through the passing of laws and prohibitions on language that the US successfully crafted an image of the CHamoru people that insinuated inferiority and inadequacy.

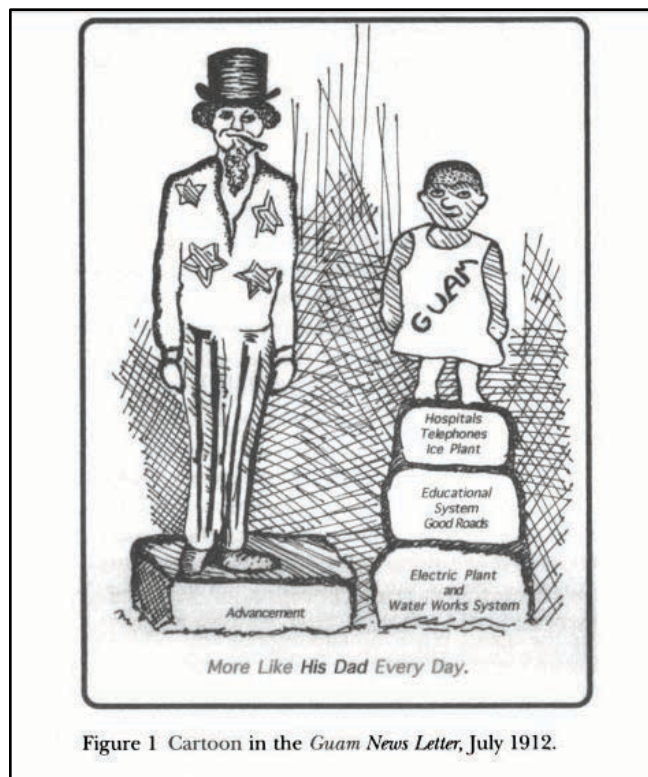


Figure 1 Cartoon in the *Guam News Letter*, July 1912.

Figure 1. Cartoon excerpt from the Guam News Letter published in July 1912, discussing Guam development during US Naval administration era.

As seen in the image above, the media played its part in internalizing and perpetuating narratives about the CHamoru people in discussions of development. In this image in particular, Guam and the CHamoru people are emasculated. They are not mature or developed enough to be a grown man but instead still a savage

little boy. This doesn't just solely push the narrative of inferiority of the CHamoru people, but also pedestals the ideas of what it means to be a man in America. Attributes like financial independence, dominance, and proximity to whiteness are all qualities that determine degrees of masculinity (see Figure 1).

Canonical historiography refers to the accepted truths or narratives by the majority. Not only have the discourses written by the empire about the CHamoru people been accepted by the rest of the world, they have also been accepted and internalized by the CHamoru people. This isn't to dismiss the work of countering narratives by prominent community members like Dr. Robert Underwood, Dr. Anne Hattori, Dr. Evelyn Flores, and others. They play a crucial role in dismantling harmful and downright incorrect rhetoric and ideas placed on the CHamoru people. But, still, so much must still be done in addressing the internalization of the canonical narratives. This couldn't be more apparent when approaching the topic of decolonization. With all the arguments out there for the importance of self-determination, what stands in the way? There most definitely are risks that would come with independence or any other status, but the insecurities and self-image of those whose lives are at stake are also what is holding the people back.

The Symbiotic Relationship of Militarism and Tourism

In *Securing Paradise* by Vernadette Gonzalez, the argument is made that militarism and tourism work together in a way that each props up the other's interests. The relationship is one that leaves a community both exploitable and in submission. The idea here is that the two are interwoven and often have the same goal, or conveniently help establish the perfect environment for one or the other to accomplish its goal. The military, specifically the US military, has its interest in establishing security offshore and posturing US dominance in the Asia-Pacific region. The accessibility that tourism pushes for makes this an even easier conquest. Both center on the need for accommodation from the host community and an identity of the people that they are forever hosts to larger entities and superior people. Tourism is often touted as the savior for developing countries. The global south has been the most exploited and stripped of resources, and yet

tourism still seeks to come to these places and consume what it can (Gonzalez, 2013).

Further, development in developing countries has always been presented as a benefit to those involved. But development so often turns into replacing local economies with models that mirror the West. As David Hanlon discusses in his book *“Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory,”* the initial phase of development in Micronesia, and subsequently Guam, during the Naval administration was strategically projected as one meant for the economic independence but actually done in a way that created economic dependence (Hanlon, 1998).

Tourism and militarism both have the push for development in mind. The military needs paved roads from end to end. It needs the host community to have specific types of infrastructure in place. There needs to be an identity among the local residents that lets military operations go through with little to no pushback. On the same note, most tourists need a developed paradise to escape to. The best roads in Guam are often the ones tourists and military personnel frequent the most. Marine Drive, built by the military, is also one of the most scenic routes, dotted with war memorials and sites for tourists to visit. The relationship between the two is one of mutual benefit.

So often, the self-deprecating rhetoric of local residents is concerned with keeping the island clean, safe, and modern – all things the US military proudly claims it is and does for the island. In a book that also discusses the symbiotic relationship of militarism and tourism, Sasha Davis states, “colonialism and militarism are responsible for producing not only the built landscapes of the islands but also tourist and conservation-friendly landscapes deemed ‘natural’ . . . the landscapes of these islands have been, and still are, rearranged to suit the needs of outsider interests, including the US military” (Davis, p. 91).

Gendered Structures

According to Gonzalez, gendered structures are those “of feeling and formations of knowledge that are routinized into everyday life and are crucial to the practices and habits of US imperialism in the region” (Gonzalez, 2013, p. 4). In this section, the gendered structures of militarism and tourism will be broken down separately. Again, this is a collective experience and does not dismiss ways in which traditional gender roles in Guam have been sustained and continue to be practiced.

Militarism

In Western tradition, courting is a sport of conquest. A man seeks out a woman like a prized possession and views her as a thing to be fought for, won, secured, and placed below him in submission. This is a patriarchal view passed down by biblical teachings that is the foundation of ideologies in the West. The woman’s importance is centered on her ability to support her male counterpart, provide offspring to carry on his name, and meet his needs. As the character Lilith so eloquently said in the series *The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina*, “marriage is nothing but the complete obliteration of a woman’s personhood.” It is evident that the US military has done the same to Guam and other colonies in the Pacific. We were fought for in the Spanish-American War, given to the US as a prize for winning, secured with military installations, and are in a political status of bondage and submission to the needs and desires of the American Empire.

Not only is Guam the inferior subject in this relationship, it is the feminine one as well. It is constantly stated that the island must be protected from outside forces and maintained to secure the nation. The island is one of the most militarized hosts accommodating the needs and desires of the US with our roads being widened to carry the mass of military vehicles and influx of cars due to the build-up and our industries being molded and shaped to appease the personnel and the dependents who are bound to come within the next few years. Talks of island sustainability are thwarted by the very real push to develop in a way that would benefit and support the military build-up. The people of Guam look forward to the presented benefits the military build-up would provide economically, as if they cannot build an economy that would provide for themselves. All of this pushes the island into

further dependency, the wedding band on Guam's finger tightening as the tides of militarization awash on her shore.

Another significant part of this gendered structure is our vulnerability to penetration. Gonzalez poignantly articulates that militarism and tourism are industries that penetrate the host community. By this she means the intervening, dismantling of current traditional systems, and taking of land and resources. It is a rape analogy of what happens to indigenous people when their lives and land are overrun by militarism and tourism (Gonzalez, 2013). Throughout the centuries of colonization Guam has endured, the narrative is that the CHamoru people time and again have failed to protect themselves from the raping of their land and resources. Since the emasculation and eventual fall of the CHamoru people, they have yet to figure out how to keep their island for themselves. And because they could not successfully defend their island, they most obviously are in need of defense themselves. Who better to step in than the US military?

This idea of the US being able to protect us is a false narrative. Dr. Kenneth Kuper wrote in his dissertation, "when the US sneezes, Guåhan catches the pneumonia" (Kuper, p. 1). As seen during times of threats from North Korea and the ever-increasing presence of China in the Pacific, our sense of security is false. And yet the love and adoration of America continues despite the history of colonization, displacement, abandonment during WWII, and strategic economic restructuring. The relationship between Guam and the US mimics a romantic one built on abuse and trauma bonding.

Tourism

Tourism has similar gendered structures, but takes them further with the eroticization of islands. So often, ideas of "paradise" are synonymous with "beautiful," "exotic," "pleasure," and "simplicity." These unsurprisingly are qualities women are praised for having in Western society. Islands are always female. Islands are always looked at in a way to suggest pleasure and leisure. And Islands are always about what one can take and never what one can give (Gonzalez 2013). In the film mentioned in the introduction, young CHamoru women were sexualized

for the male to ogle at, shown running down white sandy beaches in tiny bikinis and sitting prettily by waterfalls. Children were not left alone either in the film. A story to communicate the consequences of a girl who wouldn't listen to her mother was dramatized and eroticized into a sexy mermaid doing hair flips to the pleasing voice of Johnny Sablan. Culture became performative and a thing to be spectated (Crisostomo & Leon Guerrero 1984). These images and messages are not only unique to Guam, but are part of a larger narrative of who island women are, and their abilities to serve men and the rest of the world.

Tourism functions in the same way today. Foreigners come to consume a culture they know little to nothing about, walk in jungles full of sacred spaces, and flock to night shows with women dancing in apparel CHamoru people regard as traditional, but seen by them as sexual. Locals are expected to pose as the happy little natives at night markets and along the side of scenic routes. The Guam Visitors Bureau portrays the island as one to explore, experience, and take delight in using locals as the image of those who know how to do that best with our women portrayed as exotic beckoning calls for men to come and take and then leave when their vacation is over.

Moving Forward: Dismantle and Counter

A lot of work must be done to solve the problems of the gendered narratives that have been made into gendered structures. With centuries of colonization dragging behind Guam, it is apparent that the narratives perpetuated by militarism and tourism are integral parts of identity that continue to clear the path for further militarization, exploitation, and economic dependence on the industries that bind the island. It is hard to picture a Guam absent of militarism and tourism without picturing it as something underdeveloped and lacking defenses. Much of the island's progress is credited to militarism and tourism, even with the understanding of how these two industries hold the island back and work against a future that would be better.

The first suggestion is to diversify the economy. Self-determination can be an integral part of the solution by allowing greater autonomy. Guam is extremely

dependent on the military and tourism and it is evident that the US intends to keep it that way. It leaves the island easily exploitable and moldable into the image and interest of the US. The best economy for an empire's colony is a dependent one. The military build-up comes with the promise for new jobs, but many of those are not ones that will help most climb out of the socio-economic statuses that are holding them back. The CHamoru people and other residents of Guam deserve industries that will give them better pay and not tempt them with the prospect of military benefits. Another way the economy can be propped up is to change the way tourism functions on the island. Stricter laws for tourists and military to follow can be passed, like ones to respect the environment and cultural spaces. An excellent example is the pledge Palau makes tourists sign when coming to the island. Tourism can be done in a way that is empowering. A bigger emphasis and pressure to create more eco-friendly hotels and resorts is also a good idea.

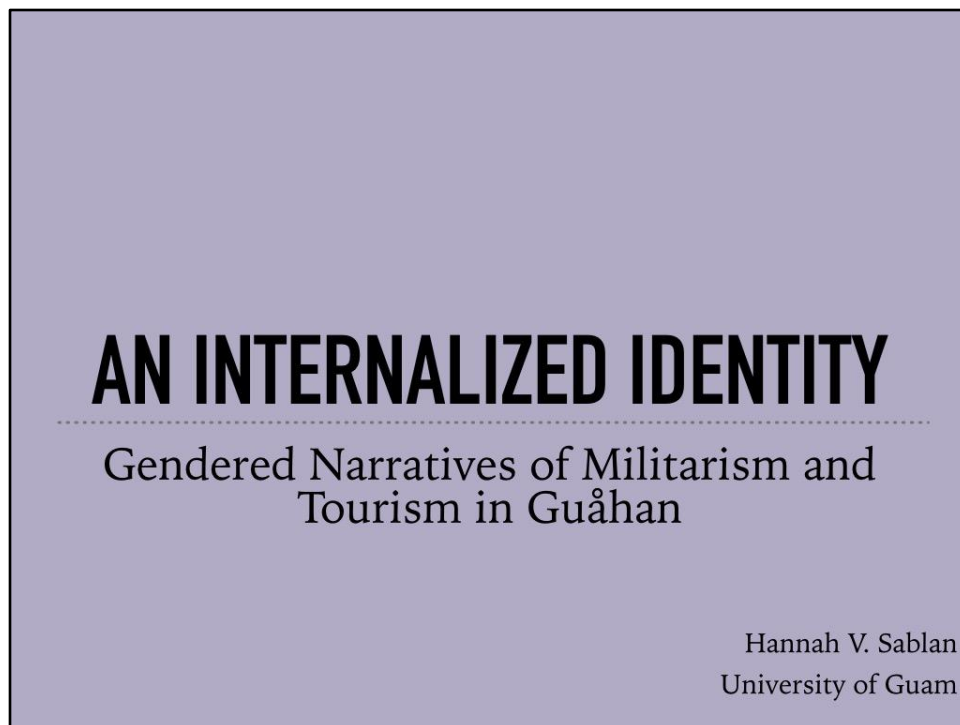
Though not mentioned earlier, the practice of *inafa'maolek* has been extended further than it should be. The indebtedness the CHamoru people feel toward the US is more than a reflection of thankfulness for being "liberated." They have allowed the US to step into a relationship of reciprocity. But this relationship is not actually being upheld and the gendered structures in place continue to encourage the CHamoru people to give more than they are receiving back. That is why they should "*fanammak i inafa'moalek*" or, in other words, break the system. It does not need to be extended further than it should.

In conclusion, decolonization is more than just a collective path and experience. It is an individual one, too. The work of recognizing and dismantling the gendered structures in place needs to mostly happen individually. It is a brutal process but one that also has an empowering end. The way forward is to go back to roots. Who were the CHamoru people before colonization? How have they managed to survive and endure centuries of colonization? What are their qualities outside of what they provide and need from militarism and tourism? In what ways have they remained masculine despite the narrative that they have been emasculated? All of these are questions that can be asked to return back to one's true self and to deconstruct an identity forced onto one's self. And last, there needs to be an embracing of the

counter narrative which already exists and always has. The mere existence and survival of the CHamoru people is part of the counter narrative.

The movement for citizenship as a way to protect against land acquisition and displacement is also part of counter narrative (Hattori, 2001). The continued movements for decolonization counter the complacency of dependency. The CHamoru people are resilient and have more to offer than being the bound feminine character to the empire's story of domination and control. The colonial gendered narratives and structures as seen through the impacts of historiography, the symbiotic relationship of tourism and militarism, gendered structures in both militarism and tourism, have worked against the CHamoru people, pushing them into a position of inferiority. But the CHamoru people have a different future ahead of them one not tainted by demeaning colonial narratives.

Presentation Slides



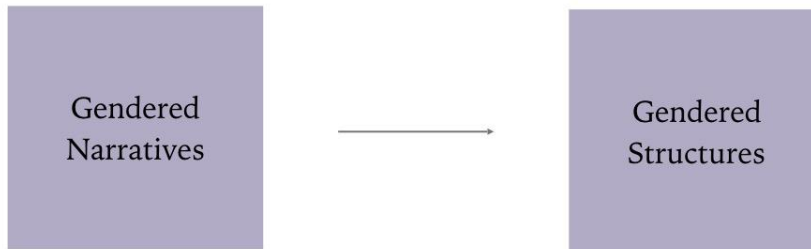


- ▶ 1984
- ▶ One of the first feature films produced by local filmmakers
- ▶ Created to portray Guam's history, attract tourists from Japan, and appeal to US military personnel

“

... views held by those in dominant positions about their subordinates can have significant consequences for people's self-image and for the ways they cope with their situations. Such views, often derogatory and belittling, are integral to most relationships of dominance and subordination, wherein superiors behave in ways or say things that are accepted by their inferiors, who in turn behave in ways that perpetuate the relationship.”

-Epeli Hau'ofa
Our Sea of Islands



Masculine vs Feminine

- ▶ Strong - Weak
- ▶ Dominant - Submissive
- ▶ Guest - Host

“... of feeling and formations of knowledge that are routines intro everyday life and are crucial to the practices and habits of U.S. imperialism in the region” (Gonzalez, 2013).

THE SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP OF MILITARISM AND TOURISM

- ▶ Identity: hospitable, exploitable, and submissive
- ▶ Development
- ▶ Scenic routes and road construction

“Colonialism and militarism are responsible for producing not only the built landscapes of the islands but also tourist and conservation-friendly landscapes deemed ‘natural’ . . . the landscapes of these islands have been, and still are, re-arranged to suit the needs of outsider interests, including the U.S. military” (Davis, 2015).

MILITARISM

Courting: a sport of conquest
Vulnerability to penetration
Guåhan: Uncle Sam's savage son

TOURISM

Sexualization of
*our land
*our women
*our role in society



Figure 1 Cartoon in the *Guam News Letter*, July 1912.

Moving Forward in Empowerment

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1912 Figure 1. More like his dad every day. Guam News Letter.

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African-American Influence in Guam History Parallels and Intersections

By Carla Smith

Guam Department of Education

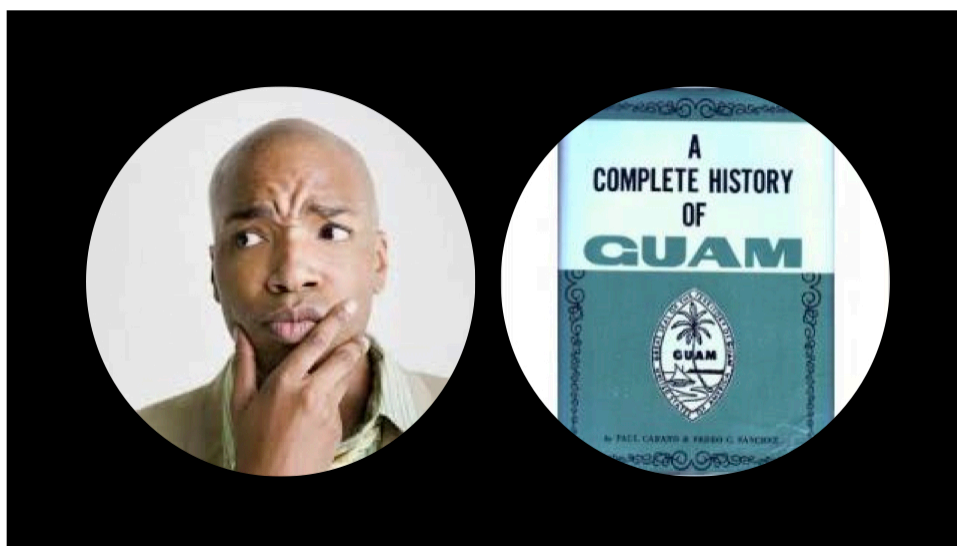
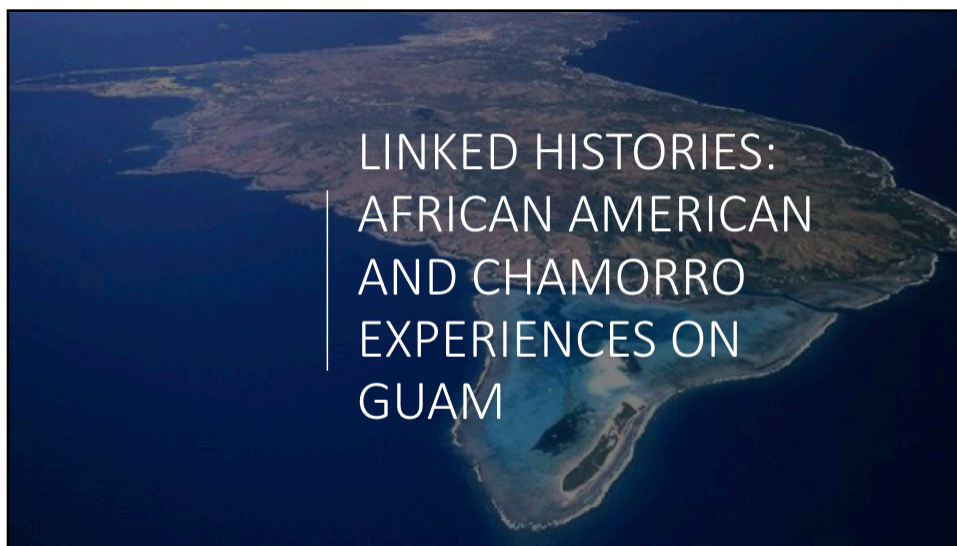
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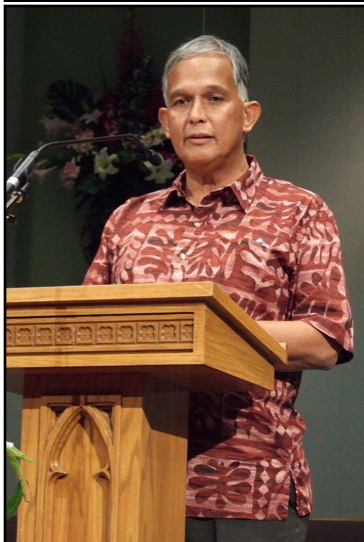
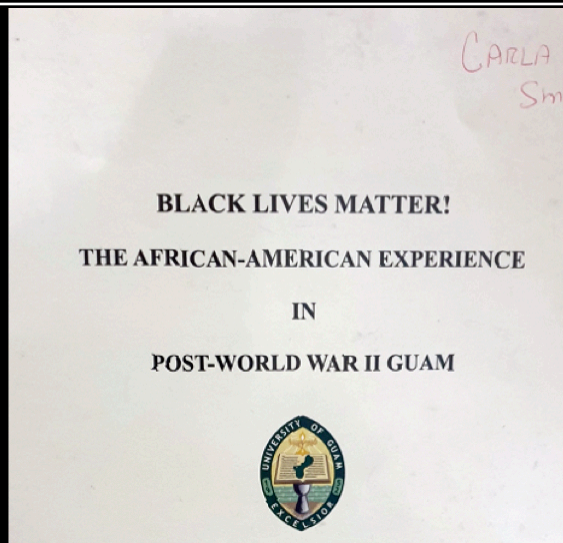
Abstract: *During an interview on March 27, 2015, Dr. Robert Underwood, stated, “The most salient example that you have to draw from American society about anything that has racial or ethnic dimensions or issues related to discrimination or unfair treatment is almost always rooted in the African American experience. ... That’s what makes the African American experience so powerful.” Accordingly, in this presentation, we will examine how the African American experiences of slavery and segregation provided the historical framework for the colonization of the Chamorros under the American administration. We will also discuss the intersections of African American and Chamorro struggles from the early twentieth century throughout the civil rights/decolonization movements. Finally, this presentation will encourage scholars to think outside the box and expand the analysis through which local issues are investigated.*

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

Presentation slides on following page.

Presentation Slides





DR. ROBERT UNDERWOOD

"... the African American experience is, of course, **the loadstar (model)** for understanding race and ethnicity in the U.S. because:

1. it's the most problematic relationship; and
2. it's the most rooted relationship."

DR. ROBERT
UNDERWOOD

"The most salient example that you have to draw from American society about anything that has racial dimensions, or issues related to discrimination or unfair treatment **are almost always rooted in the African-American experience.**

That's what makes the African-American experience so powerful in all of this."

RACISM AND
SLAVERY

- RACE WAS DETERMINANT OF AMERICAN SLAVERY
- WHITE = PURITY AND GOODNESS
- BLACK = DEATH AND EVIL
- RACIST IDEOLOGIES JUSTIFIED ENSLAVEMENT



DRED SCOTT V. SANFORD
(1857)

- "Negroes were an inferior race;
- Negroes and their descendants could not be citizens; and
- Had no rights a white man were bound to respect."

Justice Roger Taney



"If these possessions are inhabited by **alien** races, differing from us in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation and modes of thoughts, the administration of government and justice according to some Anglo-Saxon principles, may for a time be impossible."

- Justice Henry B. Brown

THE INSULAR CASES (1901)

RACISM AND COLONIALISM

"Deeply rooted attitudes of racial superiority based on experiences with people in the United States – particularly with Negroes – (that) contributed to the development of assumptions which prescribed a subordinate status for insular possessions during a period of Americanization."

- Dr. Rubin Weston
Racism in U.S. Imperialism

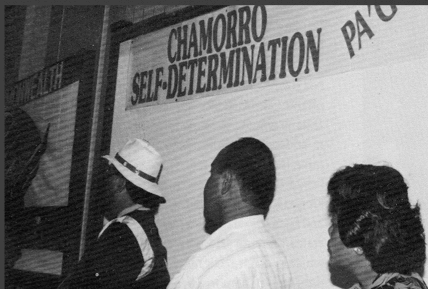


Photo courtesy of Guampedia

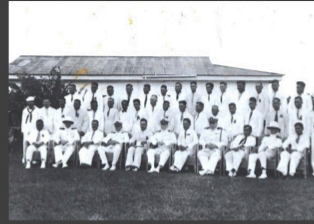


Photo courtesy of Washington Post

THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND DECOLONIZATION MOVEMENTS

CIVIL RIGHTS AND DECOLONIZATION MOVEMENTS

- LAND SEIZURES
- SEGREGATED PUBLIC FACILITIES
- INEQUITIES IN EMPLOYMENT,
HOUSING, EDUCATION
- CULTURAL EROSION



- Comprised of 15 Chamorros volunteers
- Killed more than 117 Japanese stragglers, captured 5, destroyed provisions
- Awarded Silver and Bronze Stars for leadership and heroism

THE GUAM COMBAT PATROL

PRIVATE 1ST CLASS LUTHER WOODARD, USMC

- Expert enemy tracker
- Led five other black Marines in attack against Japanese
- Earned Silver Star for “bravery, initiative, and battle-cunning.”



THE HAGÅTÑA RACE RIOT



Photo by Photography.blogger.net

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE MARIANAS

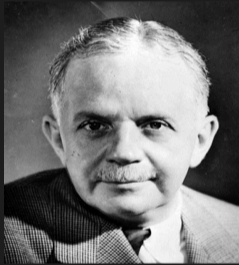


Photos courtesy of National Archives

THE HAGÅTÑA RACE RIOT

- Whites saw the blacks as troublemakers and unfit for service.
- Blacks compared Guam to a city in the Deep South. Claimed superiors took no action against racist whites.
- Conflicts over local women

THE HAGÂTÑA RACE RIOT



WALTER WHITE

"Because what I heard and saw during the next few weeks in Guam is so tragically typical of the racial practices of our country transported overseas during World War II, the story of the trouble at Guam in December 1944 deserves recital here."

Photo courtesy of Time Magazine

THE HAGÂTÑA RACE RIOT

- The board determined the blacks were:
Temperamental servicemen who took matters into their own hands, spread rumors of racial discrimination, violated Navy regulations, and obstructed justice.
- 43 blacks sentenced to prison and BCDs. Verdict was overturned.
- Several white military officers were relieved, a white enlisted member was confined for 30 days.

THE RUTH FARNSWORTH MURDER



RUTH FARNSWORTH

- Landmark case in the battle for civil rights
- 3 black USAF men convicted of rape & murder received death sentences
- Defense alleged coerced confessions of defendants & witnesses, suppression and fabrication of evidence.



PVT HERMAN P. DENNIS, JR.

Photos courtesy of University of Guam and Lucy Dennis

THE RUTH FARNSWORTH MURDER



THE RUTH FARNSWORTH MURDER



Photo courtesy of thurgoodmarshall.com



Newspapers.com

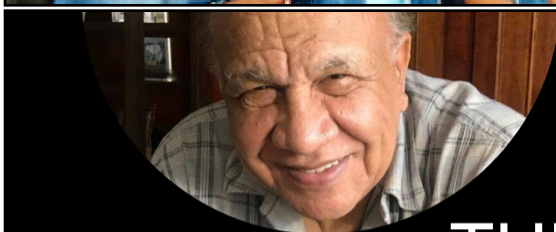
THE RUTH FARNSWORTH MURDER



PVT HERMAN P. DENNIS, JR.

I want you to put this in the papers. "Say the people are making a big mistake and they are not accomplishing anything by executing me. And (say) that even after my execution and even after they find the guilty parties that I do not hold it in my heart against them but I pray for forgiveness for them and I pray for those making this mistake."

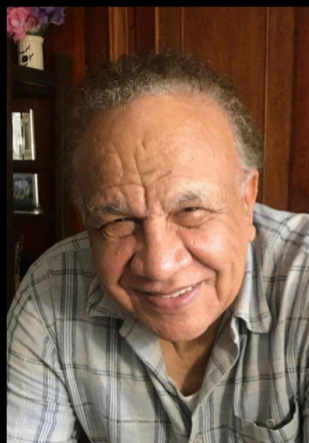
Photo courtesy of Lucy Dennis



THE LEGACY OF THE ESEA

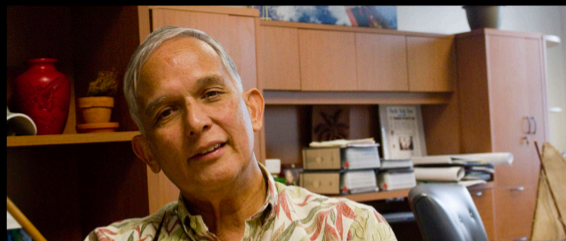
"The whole idea is there wouldn't be any bilingual education on Guam had it not been for the civil rights movement and struggles for parity and equity in education that gave us ESEA." African-American leadership gave me the lenses by which I could see a wider picture and envision funding for Latinos and Pacific Islanders."

Dr. Samuel Betances





CONGRESSMAN BILL GREY



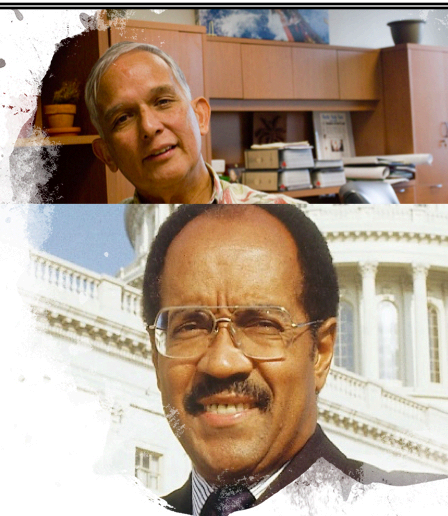
THE LEGACY OF THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND (UNCF)

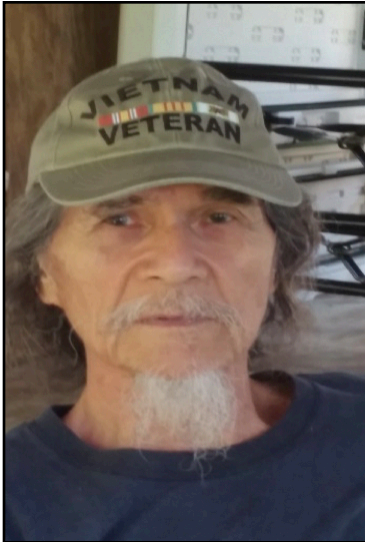
THE LEGACY OF THE HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES (HBCU'S)

ASIAN PACIFIC ISLANDER AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP FUND (APIASF)

- Scholars represent 37 U.S. States, D.C., and Pacific Islands
- 70% are the college freshmen
- 65% are at or below poverty level
- Distributed 90 million dollars in scholarships since 2003
- \$107,500 in grants and scholarships to Guam Community College from 2013-2016 (43 students)
- Approximately \$113,181 in grants and scholarships to University of Guam students from 2014-2016 (46 students)

"That's really the connection (the African-American legacy on Guam)...I get introduced at events as if I were the father cause I was the first to chair the board and all that. I was the first to introduce APIASF legislation, and I'm treated like the grand old man of this network. But, on the other hand, I try to tell them, 'You know, a lot of people came before me that had different struggles.' And I think of Bill Grey. He was a great man. He was a long-time Congressman from Pennsylvania." Dr. Underwood





DAVID LUJAN SABLÁN

- Chamorro activist inspired by African American soldiers in Vietnam War and MLK
- Participated in demonstrations against the “Land for the Landless Program”
- Efforts resulted in the Chamorro Land Trust of 1975

FRANK SAN NICOLAS

Mr. Frank San Nicolas took this picture in Vietnam, where he identified with other soldiers of color and the Black Power Movement. During the 1990's, Mr. San Nicolas was involved in Guam's sleep-in demonstrations against Yigo-land seizures by the U.S. government. Mr. San Nicolas was heavily influenced by the teachings of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., and Malcolm X. Photo courtesy of Frank San Nicolas.



•“.....when I try to confront (the race issue) – this is kind of a difficult point for people to understand: when Chamorros try to understand their place in society, it's one thing to know who you are and say who you are, but how white society understands you - is not only do they know little about you, **but they see you within the framework of their own biggest racial issue – which is the relationship between black and white.**” DR. ROBERT UNDERWOOD



NORA AND BILL SCENARIO



"I don't think that this island or these islands understand how much the African-American cause to eliminate illegal discrimination added value to the way that people from the Pacific Islands are able to get the respect that they have."



"They don't get the connection that we're in this thing together and that the success of Pacific Islanders and the people of Guam, in part, is due to the success of the quest of the African Americans dismantling illegal discrimination."

- Dr. Samuel Betances



Photo courtesy of Guampedia

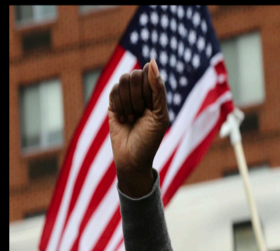


Photo courtesy of The Griot



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Carla Smith, a native of Louisiana, arrived on Guam in 2007 on assignment with the US Navy. She attended the University of Guam, and in 2016, earned a Master of Arts in Micronesian Studies. Her ground-breaking thesis, “Black Lives Matter! The African-American Experience in Guam,” highlights Black contributions to Guam history and was nominated for the UOG Presidential Thesis Award. Smith taught history at Guam Community College and currently teaches at Agueda Johnston Middle School.

