



I estoria-ta

The Mariana Islands
and Chamorro Culture

I estoria-ta

Guam, the Mariana Islands and Chamorro Culture

**An exhibition of “Let’s turn around the world”
Official Program of the Fifth Centenary
of the First Round the World**

Museo Nacional de Antropología
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I estoria-ta: Guam, the Marianas and Chamorro culture

On 6 March, which was Wednesday, we discovered a small island to the northwest, and then two more to the southwest. The commander wanted to stop at the largest one to take refreshments and provisions....

Antonio Pigafetta, *Relazione del primo viaggio in torno al mondo*, Venice, 1536 (Spanish ed. by Benito Caetano, Fundación Civilter, Seville, 2012, p. 38).

Thus begins the description by Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of the Magellan expedition, of their arrival on 6 March 1521 at Humatak Bay on the island of Guam, the largest and southernmost of the Mariana Islands.

The purpose of the voyage was to complete the mission entrusted to Christopher Columbus twenty-seven years earlier: reach the East Indies—and their spoils—by opening a sea passage from the West, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It is well known that the Marianas played a key role not only in the expedition's survival after months of hardship on the Pacific, but also in the establishment and continuity of a sea route between America and Asia. In this sense, the Marianas could be considered “the door to the Orient”.

Both the exhibition, *BIBA CHAMORU: Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands*, and this book, *I estoria-ta: Guam, the Marianas and Chamorro culture*, are invitations to momentarily look beyond the wake caused by the expedition's quincentenary celebrations. They allow us to disembark in the Mariana Islands, to learn about their history and to become acquainted with their people, their identity and their cultural diversity. And they provide us with an opportunity to revise the version we have always taken for granted of the history of the archipelago.

Doing so goes beyond placing into context the descriptions of the Marianas, made by European chroniclers such as Pigafetta, who wrote about the “wonders” of the unknown with awe, but also with an attitude of cultural superiority. Fortunately, we took our first, rigorous steps towards respect for diversity and objectivity some time ago. On this occasion, we aim to incorporate into the historical narrative the significance of the events that marked centuries of dependence, by recognising the role these events play in articulating the collective memory of Chamorro society and building Chamorro cultural identity. The colonial archaeology project, ABERIGUA, directed by Professor Sandra Montón with the collaboration of several universities is, to a large degree, the origin of this fortunate “re-encounter”.

It was therefore essential that this book, which is carefully edited by the Deputy Director General for Citizen Services, Documentation and Publications at the Ministry of Culture and Sport, should have a preface by Robert Underwood, former President of the University of Guam and renowned advocate of the need for this new historical narrative. In Underwood's manifesto, a space for dialogue is drawn up between authoritative voices from the world of archaeology,

history, anthropology and cultural heritage, all with different professional orientations, backgrounds and interests, but all sharing a common commitment to this way of “making” history. These are experts who, either because of their Chamorro origins or because of their work, share an emotional bond with the Marianas: Mike Carson, Boyd Dixon, Lon Bulgrin, María Kottermain, Rosalyn Hunter-Anderson, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Francis Hezel, Verónica Peña, Enrique Moral, Anne Perez Hattori, Omaira Brunal Perry, Rlene Steffy, Rafael Rodríguez-Ponga, Laura Torres Souder and Joe Quinata. Also deserving of special mention are the members of the exhibition’s scientific team, the real driving force behind the project as a whole: Sandra Montón, Lourdes Prados, Carlos Madrid, David Atienza and Leo Pangelinan, with the support of the team from the Museo Nacional de Antropología and Acción Cultural Española (AC/E), made up of María Jesús Jiménez, Patricia Alonso, Luis Pérez, Alma Guerra, Maribel Sánchez and Fernando Sáez.

The exhibition, *BIBA CHAMORU: Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands*, is the result of three years of intense immersion in Chamorro culture. The beautiful design by the Vélera team has transformed the Museo Nacional de Antropología’s exhibition halls into a space free of clichés and familiar figures. The exhibition embodies a spirit of cross-cultural harmony which is supported not only by two official

commissions—established in both Spain and Guam—to organise the commemorations for the 500th Anniversary of the First Voyage Around the World, but also by the Department of Chamorro Affairs, the University of Guam, the Micronesian Area Research Center, the Guam Preservation Trust and the Museum of Guam.

Acción Cultural Española, state public entity, has brought all its experience and resources to bear on the project in order to give a fresh twist to our interpretation of a historic event. In fact, this has been the aim of the Museo Nacional de Antropología’s entire *Let’s turn around the world* series of exhibitions. *BIBA CHAMORU: Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands* is a fundamental link which ties together the eight projects that make up the series.

As this project aims to show, we can revise and rewrite history, promoting spaces of cultural encounter from a standpoint of mutual recognition. We can build new relationships of equality and cooperation between societies. In keeping with an apocryphal Eastern proverb, the process of adapting our attitude and changing our mindset, far from weakening us, will make us more tolerant, flexible and ultimately stronger.

Miquel Iceta i Llorens
Minister of Culture and Sport

With the launch of the exhibition, *BIBA CHAMORU: Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands*, at the Museo Nacional de Antropología, the Spanish government agency for cultural action, Acción Cultural Española (AC/E), presents a new dynamic to the quincentenary of Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastian Elcano's first voyage around the world. The historic event has been declared of public interest by the Spanish government, whose Ministry of Culture and Sport is organising an extensive programme of activities. The *BIBA CHAMORU* exhibition has been made possible by Acción Cultural Española's collaboration with the Museo Nacional de Antropología, and forms part of the *Let's turn around the world* series of exhibitions, thus continuing a fruitful working relationship with the Directorate General of Fine Arts of the Ministry of Culture and Sport, within the framework of the national commemoration.

Telling the story of the eastern Pacific from the point of view of the Mariana Islands, starting with Magellan's arrival on the island of Guam as he sought to circumnavigate the globe and moving on to the islands' Spanish inheritance, whilst giving a prominent role to the testimonies of past and present Chamorro society, brings an alternative and original point of view to bear on this important anniversary.

Several Spanish collections have provided items which demonstrate a material culture based on objects made of shell, stone, wood, ceramics and vegetable

fibres, within a cultural landscape dominated by the power of nature, the chromatic force of the land and sea and the monumental *latte* stones. Works of art and installations by contemporary Chamorro artists are also included. All the items are examined from a contemporary, artistic, anthropological and cultural perspective, and offer up a new interpretation of the subject, which is reflected in the museum's unique exhibition design, in which graphics accompany and highlight the materiality of the exhibition. AC/E has provided technical expertise and resources to give the project the depth and originality required by this unique combination of material and artistic expressions, as well as this change of perspective.

BIBA CHAMORU, in short, offers a chance to dive into the Chamorro culture of the Mariana Islands. It is an example of a collaborative project in keeping with the aims laid out by Acción Cultural Española, and for which the Museo Nacional de Antropología has had the support of several national and international institutions, including the Micronesian Area Research Center, the University of Guam and the Department of Chamorro Affairs, in partnership with the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

José Andrés Torres Mora
President, AC/E

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O TĀYA' I ESTORIA-TA



The Love Letter, by a Micronesian Navigator. Melissa Taitano (2020). Nuanced with Micronesian traditional navigation symbolism and meant to inspire joy, love and peace to its recipient. Carved in *ifit* wood (*Intsia bijuga*) harvested from Yigo (Guam) and ornamented with acrylic paint and epoxy resin. Size: 51×20 cm. Photo: Brian Muña Films.

I ManCHamoru Pa'go - The CHamoru people today

Robert A. Underwood
University of Guam

Hafa Adai Taotao Guahan, Espana yan Todu I Tano'!

If measured by expressions of support and creative output, CHamoru culture is as strong today as it has ever been. There are more people writing poems, learning the language later in life, producing art work and participating in dance groups than ever before. At the same time, the CHamoru language and culture is perceived to be in greater danger of change and its ultimate demise than in previous times. People frequently lament the decline of the language and the weakening of cultural practices.

At this juncture in CHamoru history, the culture is widely supported as the official culture of Guahan¹. It is the basis for tourism promotion. It is granted official status in schools and in public ceremonies. CHamoru language greetings and phrases are inserted into almost every dimension of public life in the 21st century. Young people routinely introduce themselves with “gahu si _” and then proceed to describe their family connections. CHamoru and non-CHamoru engage in this symbolic behavior.

To be sure, this is the state of affairs for many indigenous cultures around the world. But the story of

the CHamoru people and their ever-changing state of circumstances offers a rich tapestry of experience. The CHamoru experience offers hope and inspiration in the middle of the most difficult circumstances and destructive forces experienced by any people.

Attention to the 500th anniversary of the Circumnavigation by the Magellan-Elcano Expedition allows us to tell this compelling story. The encounter between the natives of Guahan and the Spanish expedition was the first one between Pacific Islanders and Europeans. This has been traditionally told as a voyage of discovery, survival and heroism on the part of the Europeans. It is also seen as the event leading to the eventual degradation of the indigenous culture. Anthropologist Douglas Oliver wrote that the rape of Oceania began with Guam. The historical cross hairs of this contact clearly had the CHamoru in its sight.

Even before the Europeans came, there were many changes documented through archeology and linguistic analysis. The CHamoru people had experienced significant cultural shifts brought on by adaptation to their environment as well as multiple migrations. In this century, recent scholarship has widely acknowledge the CHamoru people as achieving the first open ocean migration into remote Oceania. The original

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¹Guahan or Guåhån are the Chamoru name for Guam island.

people likely migrated directly from Luzon in the Philippines over 3,500 years ago. They brought significant navigational skills and over time developed a way of life we now refer to as Taotao Tano' (people of the land).

There were certainly additional migrations, especially during the decline of the sea level and the surfacing of many atolls which functioned as stepping stones. The Taotao Tano' eventually developed *latte* stone technology, a caste structure and a matrilineal clan system which have found their way into modern

CHamoru culture and its representation. The *latte* stones reaching some 5-6 meters upright stand as a symbol of strength, ingenuity and masterful use of available materials.

The people that Magellan and his crew encountered were not living in a "state of nature." They were people living with nature and within a complex social structure that met their needs. They spoke a language which was Austronesian but had developed on its own out of proto-Western Malayo Polynesian even before

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Figure 1: Shell adze, *higam* or *gachai* (900-1695). MNA Collection: CE2171. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.



Figure 2: Slingstones, *acho' atupat* (900-1695). MNA Collection: CE2173, CE2174, CE2175, CE6978, CE6979, CE6980, CE6981, CE6982, CE6983, CE6985, CE6986. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

the development and dispersal of Philippine languages. The Taotao Tano' were so comfortable with their existence that their cosmology indicated that they had originated in these islands. They did not migrate. The creation myth of Puntan and Fu'una speaks about the creation of our physical environment and society out of this relationship between a brother and a sister.

All of these have many implications about how the world was interpreted by the CHamorus. All of these developments provide a rich environment for historical imagination and artistic impression. As we find the links of the original migrants to the present and the connection to other migrations into the Pacific, we establish a newer, firmer sense of identity. The contributions of archeology, linguistics and even genetics are now providing an even more coherent story about the unique narrative of the CHamoru people.

But as our historical imagination is stimulated and our concrete knowledge about the life of the CHamoru people is enhanced, we must consider the actual history that did occur as a result of Magellan and those who followed. Indeed, as Guahan became known to Europeans, others came. In the beginning, it was a trickle, but that trickle came to this island almost two hundred years before the other Pacific islands experienced "discovery" by the West.

The trickle came with the Manila Galleon on an annual basis beginning after the claim by Miguel Legaspi that Guahan and the surrounding islands now belonged to Spain in 1565. The belonging didn't create an immediate sense of belonging. Instead, all that happened was that the annual Manila Galleon that traveled between Acapulco, New Spain and Manila made a stop in Guahan. As the world experienced the first overseas global trade between New World silver and Asian luxury products in Manila fairs, the CHamoru people were engaging in trade of their own. It was just a trickle, but enough to eventually create the flood.

That flood came with the arrival of the Spanish Jesuit missionaries under Diego Luis de Sanvitores in 1668. In spite of all the protestations to the contrary and what ever goodwill could be generated by religious activities, the inevitable happened. There was warfare and the introduction of diseases which decimated 90% of the population within 30 years of the establishment of the colony. Sanvitores himself was killed by Matapang and the CHamoru people were given new heroes to remember and villains to never forget. Of course, all of these activities were documented primarily by priest's diaries and occasional reports by soldiers and officials.

This was the climactic struggle for the continued existence of the CHamoru people. It is remembered more vividly today than ever. It is clearer in the minds of Guahan's young people today in a way that was not understood or appreciated during my own youth. It is the object and subject of the very essence of what it means to be CHamoru. The scenario is clear. The freedom-loving people were conquered by despicable activities of invaders and the diseases that they brought. This is now standard fare for artistic representation, poetic inspiration and political pontifications. Leaders frequently rail against 500 years of colonialism, even though the actual beginning of Spanish settlement was only 350 years ago. The imagery is stronger than the details.

At the front of the Guahan Museum (formally the Senator Antonio M Palomo Guam Museum and Chamorro Educational Facility), the speech of the fiercest CHamoru leader of all is emblazoned for all to read. The words of Hurao speak about intruders, loss of freedom, religious fables, illnesses and disrespect for the people. We are unsure whether he said those exact words, but we are sure that he said something along those lines. We know that he existed.

But the conquest was completed and the life of the CHamoru people was re-arranged. They were forced to live around churches in a few villages. They were encouraged to farm and be agriculturally self-sufficient as the Spanish authorities understood that to be. The CHamoru ceased looking to the sea and instead looked to the ranch and the farm. The plants that were brought from the new world, especially corn and tobacco changed the diet and daily habits.

The influence of New Spain (Mexico) was clear in the initial century of Spanish authority. The CHamoru language adopted new words like *tamales*, *kolat* (corral), *lancho* (ranch), *aladu* (plow) and used them on a daily basis. They ate *friboles*, *chukulate*, *ma'es* and made *atolen ilotes* (corn soup). All of these words had their origins from central Mexico. They also incorporated Catholic ritual in their daily lives. Catholicism became the official religion.

But even as they experienced these massive changes, they continued to think of themselves as being different and unique. They were mixing with newcomers, but they were not subsumed by them. CHamorus continued to speak CHamoru even as they adopted new words. They continued to talk to the spirits in the jungle even as they went to mass. They continued to chew betelnut even as they mixed in tobacco. They continued to be who they were. They were survivors designing a new way of life.



Figure 3: Plough model (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2872. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

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Figure 4: *Metate* (mealing stone), *mitati* in Chamoru language (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE19170. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

In the next century, the Filipino influence grew as the Marianas Islands were governed as a province of the Philippines. Mexican independence ended the Manila Galleon and Spain as a “mother land” seemed even more remote. Intermarriages with Filipinos and whomever showed up in Guahan during the 19th century provided for what seemed like a new group of people. They were not settlers, but perhaps not as indigenous or native-like as expected. Whaling and whalers brought in new experiences and faces. CHamoru whalers left the island and many came back with new religious and cultural ideas.

It was also in this century that CHamorus started to be called CHamoru. Prior to this, they were *Indios*, *Nativos* and even *Marianos* since they were from the Marianas. CHamoru was used as a designation but only infrequently. In one census, the people were asked to self-identify. When it became clear that there were tax-advantages to being native and only social advantages to being mestizo, the overwhelming majority opted to be called CHamoru. *Las castas* had only a perfunctory existence in Guahan and the Marianas.

This census category had a name which did not come from the land that they occupied. The title CHamoru was clearly unique and seem to simultaneously blend the old with the new. This identity had a social purpose and even demonstrated political potential. Spanish governors complained about the people becoming more Chamorroized. This was not meant as a compliment nor did it even mean that they were more indigenous. It meant that their identity was less and less with Spain and more and more with something else.

By the time the 19th century ended, the CHamoru people were pretty clear about who they were. They spoke CHamoru. They ate CHamoru food which was a mixture of corn tortillas, spicy food, traditional root crops and some rice. When asked why did they behave a certain way, they would reply *kustumbren CHamoru* as in CHamoru custom. They went to mass, they respected their elders, they shared their resources in communal ways and they were clearly not Spaniards or Filipinos or Mexicans. CHamoru was both a term that connected to the ancient past, but also implied the creation of a new nation. It was a nationality in waiting.

With the arrival of the Americans in 1898, the old ways were criticized as being tied to Spanish ways and culture. There was no real recognition of the CHamoru people as having an ancient past even as the language was spoken, beliefs about spirits abounded and social customs were organized around groups of families. In

fact, Americans seemed eager to describe CHamorus as a kind of mongrel race. It was common in American thought to refer to mixed parentage as destroying the essence of a people. Racial mixture was seen as degrading the once proud native people rather than evidence of social advancement.

In an ironic way, Spanish forms of racial caste were different from American forms. Both were founded on an implicit racism based upon the superiority of being Caucasian. But under the Spanish, being a Mestizo was socially elevating. It was a sign of social progress. The opposite was true in American social thought. Half-breed was especially applied to Native and Caucasian mixtures. It was less than either and therefore degrading.

This kind of racist thinking and American racial attitudes of the early 20th century found their way to Guahan. The CHamorus were now seen as a kind of mixed-up people who called themselves CHamorus although they really weren't. The real CHamorus were all killed off in the 17th century and what we have left is a “listless ambitionless, unorganized mass of humanity stirred only by the hope of individual survival”. This incredible statement is part of the close out report given by Navy officials as they turned over the reins of administration to the Department of the Interior in 1949. This is how the Navy described the people they were assigned to “rehabilitate” in 1899. It was a collection of half breeds that was abused by Spanish overlords.

In order to give this new world view about Guahan's cultural history, government and educational officials were called upon to tell the people of Guam that there were no longer any real CHamorus left. This CHamoru-denial perspective was rampant and repeated so often that the term Guamanian easily conquered CHamoru in the post-World War II era. In this cultural milieu, it was difficult to assert a CHamoru continuity perspective. It was difficult to even assert that we were CHamorus. American historians said otherwise and teachers generally agreed for decades.

CHamoru leaders themselves began to think that the cultural reformulation and the continuity by the people they were part of was really a product of some other culture. They couldn't see the CHamoru in the day-to-day life of the CHamoru people. When first called upon the formally begin an institution of cultural studies, the Guam Legislature first entertained the creation of the Institute of Spanish-Chamorro Culture.

Fortunately, the generation of CHamorus born after World War II entered the picture. When they reached

adulthood, they began to assert that there was not just continuity in the CHamoru people, there was affirmation. We needed to celebrate their dances, their language, their customs, their medicinal practices, their agricultural knowledge, their fishing techniques, their stories and their combined legacy. The cultural renaissance began and it hasn't ended.

The CHamoricization of life in Guahan has multiple dimensions and lots of disagreements about the direction of the renaissance. A newer generation spends its time creating new meanings for older words and are engaged in an active campaign to avoid the use of Spanish loan words. Younger activists appear to be more inspired by the voices of a 350-year-old past than the experience of their own grandparents. This leapfrogging through history is exciting but also ignores that which is truly *kustumbren CHamoru*. *Kustumbren CHamoru* has a real historical experience and can be seen in the faces of those people whose pictures abound from the late 19th and early 20th century.

There is lots of creativity especially in dance and chants. This part of cultural expression is easily derided as manufactured or invented. All culture is invented at some point. For CHamorus interested in their ancient past, there is lots of room for maneuvering. Young people should be encouraged to create, but they must also know that it is a creation.

Today, everyone younger is addressing older people as *saina* (elder) and kissing their hand. Actually, it is sniffing their hand and saying *ñot* for men and *ñora* for women (from *señor* and *señora*). This was

introduced during Spanish times, but has become so central to the meaning of being CHamoru and showing respect, that it lives on. In fact, it is being revived in ways that would have been unthinkable two or three decades ago.

It is an exciting time to be CHamoru. It is also confusing and challenging. We are on the cutting edge of determining whether we will live on as a people. Language is the key to understanding the CHamoru mind. Its construction, its manipulation of new words, its existence as a near proto-Western Malayo Polynesian language makes it very special.

Its words belie a strong relationship to the Hispanic world but in a uniquely CHamoru way. CHamorus are very familiar with *karamba* and *ai Dios mio* as statements of aggravation and exasperation. We also say *Dios te ayude* in response to someone kissing our hand. But when we are really talking about God, we say Yu'os. Some say it is a modification of Dios, but I prefer to think that God intended to make the world safe for CHamorus and allowed us to reimagine Yu'os Tata (God the Father). These have been the last words of thousands of CHamorus who have died in the past three centuries. It is *Kustumbren CHamoru*.

Engaging CHamoru identity is almost always engagement with a historical pageant. It is tapping into a flow of history which demands understanding the before and the after. The historical tapestry that the very word CHamoru encourages engagement, creativity and imagination. This lesson should be expansive and not limiting. It should set us free. *Biba CHamoru! Na'la'la i taotao tano'!*

Let's turn the story around: purpose of the project *I estoria-ta*: *Guam, the Marianas and Chamorro culture* within the framework of the Fifth Centenary of the First Around-the-World Voyage.

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Museo Nacional de Antropología

Fernando Sáez Lara
Museo Nacional de Antropología¹

1. A project for intercultural dialogue

The project that we have finally baptised with the name *I estoria-ta: Guam, the Marianas and Chamorro culture*², is much more than just a temporary exhibition, although the exhibition, inaugurated in autumn 2021, in Museo Nacional de Antropología (MNA) and titled *BIBA CHAMORU! Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands*, is the main “piece” of the project and its most visible expression, with the greatest social impact. The cooperative effort and intercultural understanding at the heart of this project gave rise not only to numerous activities and meetings that in turn contributed to the collective experience of the project’s intangible and emotional dimension, but also, and above all, they gave rise to this interdisciplinary catalogue, which adds value to the contents of the exhibition and has arisen from the

¹In representation of the project’s scientific and technical team, made up by the authors of this article and in alphabetical order: Patricia Alonso (Museo Nacional de Antropología), David Atienza (UOG), Carlos Madrid (Micronesian Area Research Center UOG), Sandra Montón (Universitat Pompeu Fabra), Leo Pangelinan (Northern Marianas Humanities Council), Anne Pérez-Hattori (UOG) and Lourdes Prados (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).

²*I estoria-ta* means “our history” in the Chamorro language.

will to leave a permanent record of the ideas and messages that, otherwise, would have been encapsulated in the very temporality of an initiative of an intrinsically ephemeral nature. This catalogue, moreover, has enabled us to increase the number of contributions and “voices” invited to participate in this dialogue, especially Chamorro voices, alongside a scientific team, which, for obvious operational reasons, was limited in number³.

It was clear to the project’s team from the outset that the exhibition should not be limited to the scope of a mere recapitulation of the stages of “shared” history between the archipelago and the Spanish overseas empire, nor should it offer a simple look at the past, even from the perspective of a globalised present, in which new ways of understanding interactions between cultures with a common past marked by unequal and unjust relations in the framework of the processes of “decolonisation” are now more readily accepted. On the

³Among other difficulties, the team has had to “compensate” for the more than 13,000 kilometres and nine time zones that separate the Marianas from the Iberian Peninsula, although there is no doubt that today the “network of networks” allows teamwork in these conditions in a way and with a “closeness” and immediacy that would have been unimaginable only half a century ago.

contrary, the aim of the exhibition was to proactively and deliberately lay the foundations for a new stage of dialogue, trust and respect between the parties involved. Therefore, it was essential that the legacy of the project be given validity and continuity by means of documentation in a collaborative catalogue.

2. Let's turn around the world again but taking a different route

Preparing *I estoria-ta* was an undertaking that led us to recall, five hundred years after the first circumnavigation of the world, the historic arrival of Magellan's fleet at what was regrettably identified in maps depicting the European expansion and chronicles of the era as the Island of Thieves⁴. *I estoria-ta* forms part of a programme of exhibitions, titled *Let's turn around the world*, which, in keeping with the spirit of intercultural cooperation discussed above, was commissioned by both the Spanish and Chamorro committees –*I estoria-ta* owes its name to the latter– of the Commemoration of the Fifth Centenary of the First Around-the-World Voyage.

The inauguration of the exhibition programme in autumn 2019 coincided with the first historic milestone of the circumnavigation. By the time the programme concludes in 2022, a total of eight exhibitions will have been held, each one corresponding to a different stage of the historic journey and each one with a different focus, scope and duration –whose conceptual and material diversity is one of its riches–. The aim of the programme, however, is neither to focus on the motivations, circumstances and legacy of both glory and darkness of the journey made five centuries ago, nor to exam the historical context. For such a purpose, as was to be expected, there have already organized several projects by institutions and organisations with a greater understanding and closer academic ties to the respective subject matters. Rather, the aim of *Let's turn around the world* is in keeping with the goals of the museum and the philosophical direction it has taken in recent years⁵, that is,

to take the pulse –in as cross-sectional and “random” a manner as possible– of the cultural and social panorama of the world we live in, at the dawn of the third millennium, with its imbalances, conflicts, challenges and opportunities, especially now that the planet is facing a global ordeal. In order to do this, in all cases, we must become acquainted with the events that followed –and sometimes preceded– historic moments, by listening to the voices of the people and communities that inhabit the regions where they occurred, by paying attention to their constructions of historic memory, and also by remembering those whose voices cannot be heard because “they stayed behind” by the processes of transformation unleashed in these regions over the last five hundred years.

In fact, between November 2019 and February 2020, the first exhibition in the programme, *Rio somos nós! The community museums of Rio de Janeiro and the decolonial turn*, has already taken us to Guanabara Bay, which is the location of the first anchorage in the Americas by Magellan and his crew after crossing the Atlantic. There, we were able to share the effervescent cultural life of the most popular neighbourhoods of the carioca city by participating in an initiative organised by the Rio de Janeiro Social Museology Network, truly one of the most avant-garde and stimulating centres of renewal of identity and functionality of our time. The neoclassical portico of the MNA was transformed for a few months into the graffitied arch that stands at the entrance to the urban route that is part of the Museu de Favela, as part of an act of inversion or “decolonisation” of the old ethnocentric European museum by the young and rebellious Brazilian museums, and as a visible and forceful declaration of intentions at the beginning of the exhibition programme (Figure 74). The way in which “the people of the NMA” identified with the proposals and “fused” with the people of Rio is apparent in the very title of this opening exhibition, *Rio somos nós!* Thus, we began to circumnavigate the world, but turning the story around, seeing it “from the other side...”.

The second exhibition in the programme, *Strait of Magellan: The water border*, allowed us to explore the ancient Strait of All Saints between November 2020 and April 2021, to learn not only about the history and culture of the native peoples of this extreme region of the planet but also to learn how respecting their values could help us face the ecological challenges facing not only this area, but the whole world, in a more sustainable way, both now and in the future. To this end, we

⁴ In this case, who were really the “thieves”?

⁵ We have already set out on the Fifth Centenary website, by way of a programmatic manifesto, the main ideas inspiring this reorientation of the “institutional attitude” of the museum, and of the exhibition programme in particular, as well as some debates and critical thought that we hoped to stimulate: <http://vcentenario.es/el-mundo-en-travesia/pendiente> and <http://vcentenario.es/la-historia/el-mundo-hoy/contexto/>.

displayed objects from the museum's permanent collections alongside works of art by contemporary artists involved with the international think tank, Plataforma Vértices, which is sponsored by the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Regional Government of Magallanes and the Chilean Antarctica and the Spanish Cultural Centre in Santiago (AECID)⁶.

In May 2021, at the time of writing, the third exhibition is about to open its doors. *Plastic in sight! The floating island of the Pacific*, which will remain open throughout the summer, is a paradigm of the commitment made by the exhibition programme to the present-day, since there is a close relationship of cause and effect between the timeless climatic conditions and vicissitudes of the Magallanes expedition and the huge masses of non-biodegradable waste floating in the ocean –and not only in the ocean–. Indeed, the same maritime flow dynamics that caused ships to capsize during the southern hemisphere summer of 1520-21, almost killing the crews, are behind the formation of these floating plastic masses, which are killing much fauna in these seas and endangering their future.

Immediately afterwards, in autumn, *BIBA CHAMORU!* will have occupied the temporary exhibition rooms of the museum, the central patio, a good part of the entrance hall and the museum's outdoor spaces. The exhibition will have "colonised" and transformed the MNA into the Museum of the Marianas for a few months. The remaining four exhibitions of *Let's turn around the world* will follow, one after another, at times even overlapping:

- *Pilipinas Ngayon (Philippines today)*. At the end of November 2021, the visual testimony of contemporary Filipino photographers will be displayed in the permanent exhibition rooms dedicated to this archipelago. The aim is, once again, to "bring these exhibition rooms into the present", as they are still too disproportionately linked to the collections of the 1887 Philippine Exhibition.

⁶Both exhibitions, and most of the other exhibitions in the programme will have a visual synthesis in Google Arts & Culture, thanks to the agreement signed between the Ministry of Culture and Sport and this digital platform: <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/rio-somos-nós/QAICNnaXwWoeIw?hl=es> and <https://artsandculture.google.com/exhibit/estrecho-de-magallanes-la-frontera-de-agua%C2%A0/EgJcX7rjDX9OLQ?hl=es>. We are working on the version of *BIBA CHAMORU!*. In addition, other materials can be consulted on the museum's website, among which the following are particularly noteworthy: www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/dam/jcr:4ddbe608-8e52-4c51-b6ee-3c674990b43c/riorttbaja.pdf and <http://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/mnantropologia/dam/jcr:80167717-cd9f4d96-9f40-24b6d7c11d64/catalogo-estrecho.pdf>.

- *Objective: Spice Islands*. In 2022, after *BIBA CHAMORU!*, a collaboration with the Real Jardín Botánico (Madrid) will teach us more about the resources of the Maluku Islands, which played an important role in the first great intercontinental trade routes and subsequently in the global European expansion, include the voyages of exploration made by Columbus and Magellan in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. It will also allow us take a look at the conflictive situation of the islands in the present day, and question whether spices are still important to the economy or, if, on the contrary, after causing so many changes in the planetary order –with its corollary of "progress" and suffering– they have been displaced and replaced by other more "modern" sources of income.
- *We, Afro-descendants* is a project by photographer José Luis Simón, portraying thirty people from Africa or of African descent, who live in Spain and who will have posed, proud of their origins, beside the museum's fence during the summer of 2022, coinciding with the circumnavigation of the African continent by the only surviving ship, Victoria, five centuries ago⁷.
- *Cabobercianos* which takes place in parallel with some of the other exhibitions, will conclude the programme. Organised with the collaboration of the association of friends of the museum, it was curated by several anthropologists who belong to the association, with Luis Pérez and Álvaro Alconada at the helm. It will allow us to strengthen ties with the communities that have been settled for several generations in the north of Spain and which came originally from the islands on the last leg of the expedition before it docked in Sanlúcar.

We can only suppose that the latter exhibitions, including *BIBA CHAMORU!*, will have recovered the organisational ground that was lost as a result of programming adjustments made not only by the

⁷The NMA has been using the fence, the façade and in general the exterior of its building for some years now as structural props on which to "hang" in the form of "murals" or "manifestos", issues or messages that it wishes to project clearly and powerfully to the public. This is also a means of breaking the physical limits of the museum, as a metaphor of the rupture with the inherited conceptual limits.



Figure 5: Sling, *atupat* (ca. 1800-1887). MNA Collection: CE6973. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

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museum, but by all cultural institutions around the world, because of the pandemic that unexpectedly and devastatingly affected the whole of humanity between 2020 and 2021, embodying like few events to date the dimension and scope of a globalisation that the Magellan expedition undoubtedly helped to set in motion. And so, with perseverance and conviction in this ethical and cultural commitment that we believe both necessary and useful in order to embark on a new path of intercultural understanding –even in adverse circumstances and even if we are a little late for some appointments– we will have completed this new, albeit conceptual, circumnavigation of the world.

3. It all began in the Marianas...

As stated above, the *I estoria-ta* project, which was conceived as a means of “revisiting” the Mariana Islands, or rather bringing them to the vicinity of the Atocha station, will by now have been on exhibit as the fourth milestone of the exhibition programme, although this seems contradictory because *I estoria-ta* is actually the highlight of the programme. *I estoria-ta* is also the most important of all the exhibitions, because by acting as a catalyst for a set of exceptional values, it has become the “cultural enterprise” that best embodies the spirit and the goals of the exhibition programme and of the museum, in the most

complete and all-encompassing way. It is also the exhibition with the greatest scope within this already enormous challenge that the MNA has been encouraged to take on. The *I estoria-ta* exhibition has been an opportunity not only to renew the museum’s identity and role in society, but also to provide a transformative experience to the public through the discovery of this new, rewarding and committed way of rethinking intercultural dialogue.

It is not by chance that *I estoria-ta* was the first project to be studied by the museum, even before serious thought was given to embarking on the exhibition programme itself, or that *I estoria-ta* was the cornerstone that encouraged the organisation of this complex and lengthy programme, and around which the whole thing was built, or that it would later be taken as a model to be replicated, with some variations, in the rest of the projects. The other projects were rearranged, as we worked, into chronological order, marked by the course of the legendary voyage which, as already has been explained, rather than evoking it, is being used as a guideline for the exhibition programme. For the same reason, *I estoria-ta* is the project that has had more time to mature and has had a larger team and deeper and more fruitful connections in the academic and cultural fields of the two territories that are “reconnected” by it. And it shows.

It all started at the beginning of 2018, when Lourdes Prados and Sandra Montón, archeology

professors respectively at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and Universitat Pompeu Fabra and members of the research group of the ABERIGUA project, contacted the museum to learn in detail the Chamorro collections from the 1887 exhibition in the Retiro and for the first time they told us about the interest of starting this exhibition project within the framework of the Fifth Centenary, also incorporating representatives of the institutions of the Marianas so that the exhibition was the result of intercultural cooperation. We loved the idea because it fit perfectly with our way of understanding the role of temporary exhibitions and thematic cycles in the museum, and because it helped to begin to shape the cycle that until then had only been a possibility and later would become *Let's turn around the world*. The “Marianas voices” of the project came when Robert Underwood, then rector of the University of Guam, and David Atienza, a Spanish professor of anthropology at the same university, visited the MNA together with Lourdes Prados after having attended the round table entitled *The island of Guam, from Magellan to today* at the Instituto Cervantes. Finally, historian Carlos Madrid, joined these conversations. Carlos Madrid at that time recently joined the Micronesia Area Research Center staff as director of research, and later became part of the *I Estoria-ta Inetnon Estudion I Umali'e' yan Umafana' I Taotao Hiyong Yan Taotao Tano* commission, with which he has acted as liaison⁸. The project was already underway...

At the fore of these conversations was the upcoming commemoration of the fifth centenary of the first voyage around the world and the opportunity it presented to launch a “cultural enterprise” that would create a space not only for dialogue, but also for a joint and polyphonic re-reading of the history of the Marianas and the role of the Spanish empire. This had to be done on new ground, with no conditions or pre-conditions, within a framework that would enable not

only the revision of identity and collective memory by Chamorro society, but also the emergence of new paradigms for the rethinking of global relations between dominant and colonised cultures. The result would be a joint narrative, not necessarily unified or “consensual”, rather a mixed, polyhedral and plural discourse with many contradictions and differences of opinion.

Naturally, the museum team immediately agreed that this was an opportunity that could not be missed, and so the small scientific and technical committee that was to promote the project was set up. In keeping with the identity of the project, Anne Perez Hattori, a researcher and professor at the UOG, and Leo Pangelinan, the director of the Northern Marianas Humanities Council, joined the committee. Their “mission” has been to act as “spokespersons” for their respective communities, Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands, so that, in effect, unmediated and direct expressions of their collective identity are represented in the exhibition.

In any case, we consider everyone who has contributed testimonies and knowledge, to form part of the “dialogue”, including the aforementioned Underwood, Rodríguez-Ponga and Quinata, who have been involved with the project from the beginning in one way or another. In particular, it seemed to us essential that these pages include a foreword by Professor Underwood, and we cannot thank him enough for doing us this honour. His authority and his wise words, which are vindictive but conciliatory, not only culminate the “enterprise” that he helped to set in motion in May 2018, but they set the tone and focus of the whole project.

The quality, capacity for renewal and strategic importance, within the Fifth Centenary of the First Around-the-World-Voyage⁹, of this collective effort has given rise to a project that has received support and recognition from the Ministry of Culture and Sport, to which the MNA belongs. It is thanks to the Ministry that this book has seen the light of day. Above all, we are grateful to Acción Cultural Española, for providing

⁸This initiative has resulted in the signing of an agreement between the commission –together with MARC and the Department of Chamorro Affairs, on which the Museum of Guam depends– and the MNA that involves mutual assistance for the organisation of the Madrid exhibition. This collaboration will also be extended to *Guabam 1887*, an exhibition that will in turn be integrated into the Chamorro Commission’s programme and in which the cultural goods from Guam that travelled to Madrid to be exhibited at the Philippine Exhibition, held in the Retiro in 1887, and now kept at the MNA (and first exhibited in *BIBA CHAMORU!*), will be presented.

⁹This importance has to do not only with the huge scope and academic effort, but also with the fact that it is the only project related to this crucial stage of Magellan’s voyage, or at least the only one so complete and integrating, within the framework of the programme of the Spanish commission of the fifth centenary. This has made it possible to concentrate around the project, providing all its value, to the institutions and people who could be more involved in this matter, avoiding any dispersion. It cannot be denied that its central position within the chronology of the three-year programme, and with the echoes of the novelty of the centenary now distant, has also given the exhibition an interesting role in “reviving” and bringing the programme back to the present day.

institutional support that has been fundamental in the wide dissemination of the results of our work, and for providing the financial support that has enabled the embodiment of these results in a museography project of remarkable and coherent quality¹⁰.

4. BIBA CHAMORU! in the halls of the MNA

In the end, what kind of narrative has our team developed within the framework of the fifth centenary? How has this narrative, which is summarised in this catalogue, and which can be experienced by visiting the exhibition rooms of the Museo Nacional de Antropología turned out? Let's see...

In order to capture the wealth and complexity of the current cultural identity of the archipelago and to be able to understand the interactions that shape it today, the story told the project *I estoria-ta: Guam, the Marianas and Chamorro culture* and reflected in the exhibition *BIBA CHAMORU! Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands*, first of all, tries to answer the question that any human group asks when establishing the roots of its identity: where do we come from and how did we get here? The answer is "classic": we must look back to the first settlements on the islands and then examine, in an orderly and diachronic way, the whole history, in which the arrival of Magellan and his men, supposedly at Humatak, had a momentous, though not immediate, importance. Historic though it was, Magellan's arrival, nonetheless, was just a link, the first one, in a chain of events. The same can be said of the Spanish colonisation which followed: it certainly had and still has an enormous and even dramatic impact on the collective Chamorro biography, but the Chamorro culture existed before colonisation; it had its own personality, and many of its traits and its memories have survived. Many other events have also taken place subsequently and have naturally had an enormous influence on this culture.

In other words, the novelty of the story, at least for those who read it from a European perspective, is that though our narrative defines historic and political events as milestones or transcendent periods within the history of the Marianas, as events that influenced the development of the islands, they are not

decontextualised, or rather "recontextualised" from the Spanish expansion. From the Eurocentric point of view, these historic events blur the lines of history, conferring less importance to what happened before or after, because it "has nothing to do with our history..." and is therefore lacking in interest. Narrating the history as such would have meant maintaining the Eurocentric perspective and would have made it difficult to question the inherited legitimist history, which has an undeniable and vigorous capacity for survival in the Spanish collective imagination, but for the same reason is already outdated and in need of a profound revision.

In order to thread this idea explicitly throughout the exhibition rooms, a range of visual, physical and conceptual resources have been chosen:

- Each area is identified with an iconic image taken from the symbolic world of the Marianas, starting with the emblematic *latte* megaliths with hemispherical tops, which acted as structural bases for houses and other constructions and today successfully portray a simple and unique image that represents the Chamorro culture.
- The main contents are graphic works of art by Chamorro illustrators, whose works can be seen in the Museum of Guam and Guampedia and who express their vision and sensibility towards their own past according to their own codes and style.
- The entire journey is punctuated by references to prevailing aspects of each historical period and how they have been reinterpreted in order to construct a contemporary identity and memory in the Marianas. In some cases, these are objects and artworks inspired by the island's heritage, from the *sinabi* pendants –crescent-shaped symbols worn in pre-colonial Micronesia as markers of social status– to the wonderful carvings by Melissa Taitano, which occupy a prominent position both in this publication and in the final part of the exhibition.
- All of the above is organised, or rather, recontextualised, in an exhibition that is inspired by the physical and geographical environment, through which many aspects of the culture and history of the islands can be explained, by means of colours and designs that convey the presence of the sea, the sky, the coral reefs and the importance of nature and natural resources for the survival and construction of the particular vision of the world of these Micronesian peoples.

¹⁰ACE's funding has also enabled the project to have a great design and production team, with Vélera's designers at the helm.

The “Chamorro” collections and documents that belong to the MNA and other Madrid institutions, such as the Museo de América, the Museo Naval, the archive associated with it, the Real Jardín Botánico and the Biblioteca Nacional de España have also been re-interpreted and are on display in this exhibition. As in any temporary exhibition, they offer the basic plot on which the primary storyline of this narrative is built, which, seen in more detail, is articulated according to the following structure:

5. *BIBA CHAMORU!*: a journey through time to look into the future

5.1. Settlement and Prelatte and Latte periods

The entrance to the museum provides an introduction to the contents of the exhibition, then the first exhibition room summarises the history of the Marianas before Spanish colonisation. The first contacts with Europeans are depicted here because, although Magellan and his crew undoubtedly paved the way for colonial domination, at the time, their arrival was no more than an isolated event, of limited immediate consequence.

The question of how the first settlement arose on the islands is addressed, though not fully resolved. Then the exhibition deals with the Prelatte and Latte periods, which are defined, respectively, as before and after the appearance of large constructions supported by megaliths, and which are well-documented, thanks not only to archaeology, but also to European sources from the sixteenth century onwards, insofar as they reflect survivals that we can recontextualise.

Images from different archaeological sites and projects, such as the Latte Project, have helped us gain greater understanding of these cultures, as have some of the objects that belong to the MNA collection, which illustrate aspects of life in these early societies, with an economy based on fishing, gathering and small-scale agriculture. The sling is an object that is characteristic of early Chamorro society, and the MNA has an example that is unique, although from colonial times, it is one of the oldest preserved specimens (Figure 5).

The journey through this time period pauses briefly to focus on one of the Chamorro leaders, Quipuha, who has become a contemporary icon of Chamorro identity, as has the crescent-shaped pendant, called

sinabi, which is associated with Quipuha and is the graphic symbol of this exhibition area. Some modern *sinabi* pendants are exhibited as an example of how the past can be recovered in order to construct a contemporary identity that also embodies the legendary chief who confronted the Spanish.

5.2. Spanish colonial period (1668-1898)

Just as the “journey” through the first historical period and through the exhibition room in which this period is showcased leads us to the figure of Quipuha, who was the apex and epigone of an era, the “journey” through the next historical period and its respective exhibition room, is like the other side of the same coin, kicking off with the evocation of another transcendent figure in the history of the Marianas, the architect of the great transformation that took place at the end of the seventeenth century: Diego Luis de Sanvitores. Thanks here must be given to the Biblioteca Nacional for its generous collaboration.

As in many other regions, the Spanish presence in Guam and the Mariana Islands can be divided into several phases according to changes in the “style of implantation”. We can distinguish a first phase, which began after the arrival of Legazpi and Urdaneta in 1565. Though during this phase, there was no direct interference with the organisation and way of life of the local population, Guam was used as a strategic stopover on the Manila Galleon trade route to the Orient, which was an important step in the process of “globalisation” because it connected three continents on a regular basis. In a second phase, after the arrival in 1668 of Sanvitores, with a plan to evangelise and dominate the “colony”, new forms of administrative, social, and economic organisation were forcibly implanted, as was a new set of beliefs. The Christian religion, with its rites and its moral codes was brought to the islands by the Jesuits, and its unifying presence had an almost suffocating effect. For this reason, the cross will be the icon that encapsulates this second section of the exhibition.

The death of Sanvitores at the hands of the natives made him a martyr in the eyes of the colonists, and he is immortalised in works of art that belong to the Biblioteca Nacional. The Jesuits created settlements called *reducciones*, in which they carried out forced acculturation programmes on the inhabitants of the Marianas. Vestiges of daily life in

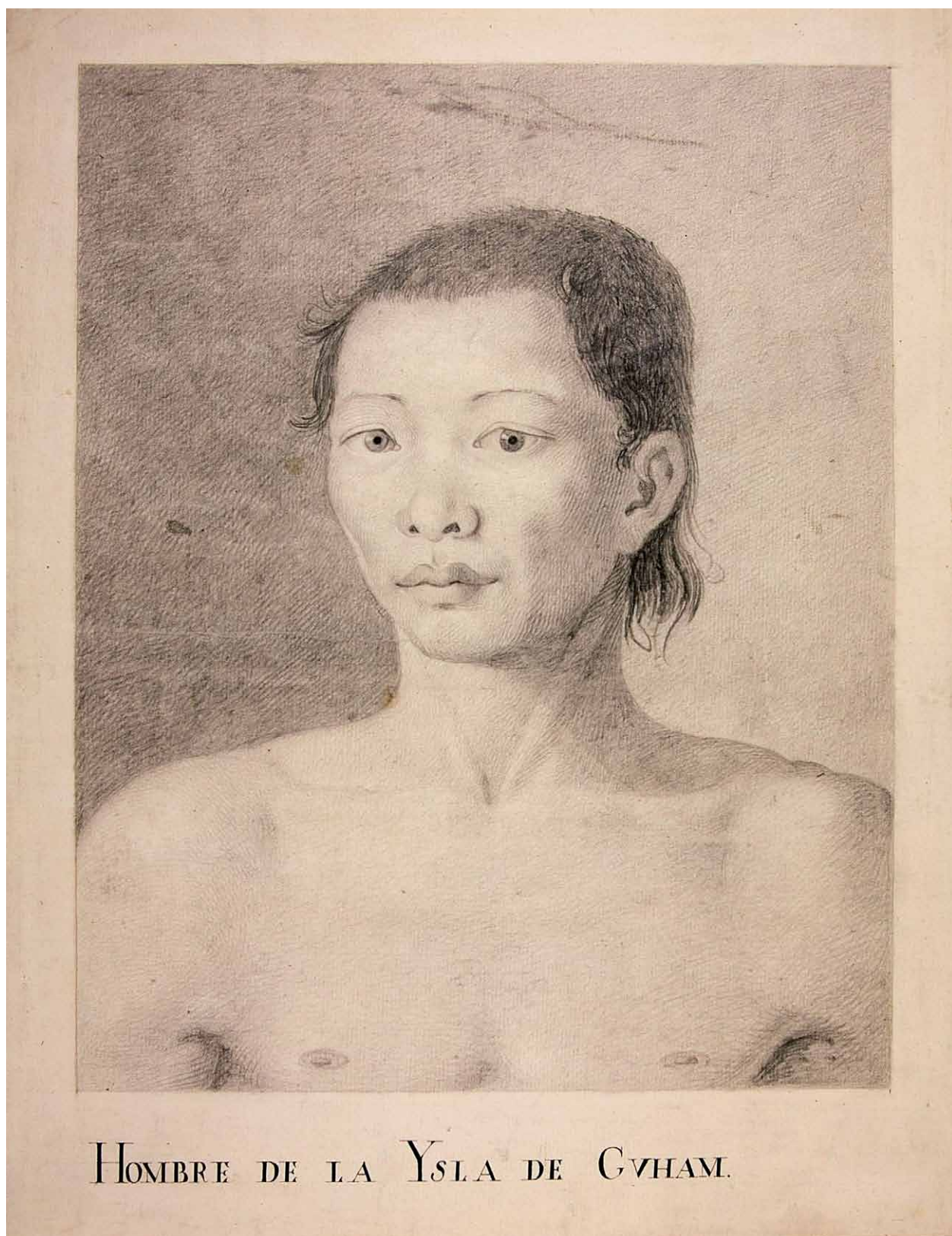


Figure 6: Guam Island man. Juan Ravenet (1776-1821), Drawing. Laid paper and pencil. Archivo Naval Collection.

these *reducciones* during colonial times have been uncovered by the community archaeological excavations sponsored by the ABERIGUA project. ABERIGUA offers a counterpoint to religious sources and also provides a gender perspective. One of the tasks promoted by the religious colonialists was weaving and basketry, which became part of the current tradition of the islands, and which tells us about the role of women in this panorama of profound and constant change.

Eighteenth century drawings by expeditionaries such as Brambila, Bauzá, Ravenet and Freycinet provide fundamental insights into this colonial period (Figures 6 and 7). As do the vast array of documents and reports on economic, military and administrative aspects of this Pacific enclave,

including the Philippines and the Caroline Islands, which were elaborated by the Spanish colonial administration as all these territories were integrated in the same administrative demarcation. This administrative integration favoured the transfer of products, raw materials, and people between the three archipelagos and the metropolis, Mexico, thereby accelerating the cultural evolution and making the miscegenation of the islands even more complex.

If an object exists that significantly summarises these processes, it is the *metate* (Figure 4), the traditional artifact used since pre-Hispanic times by Mesoamerican peoples to grind corn, and which began to be used in the Marianas at this time. The MNA has an interesting *metate* made of coral, a raw material

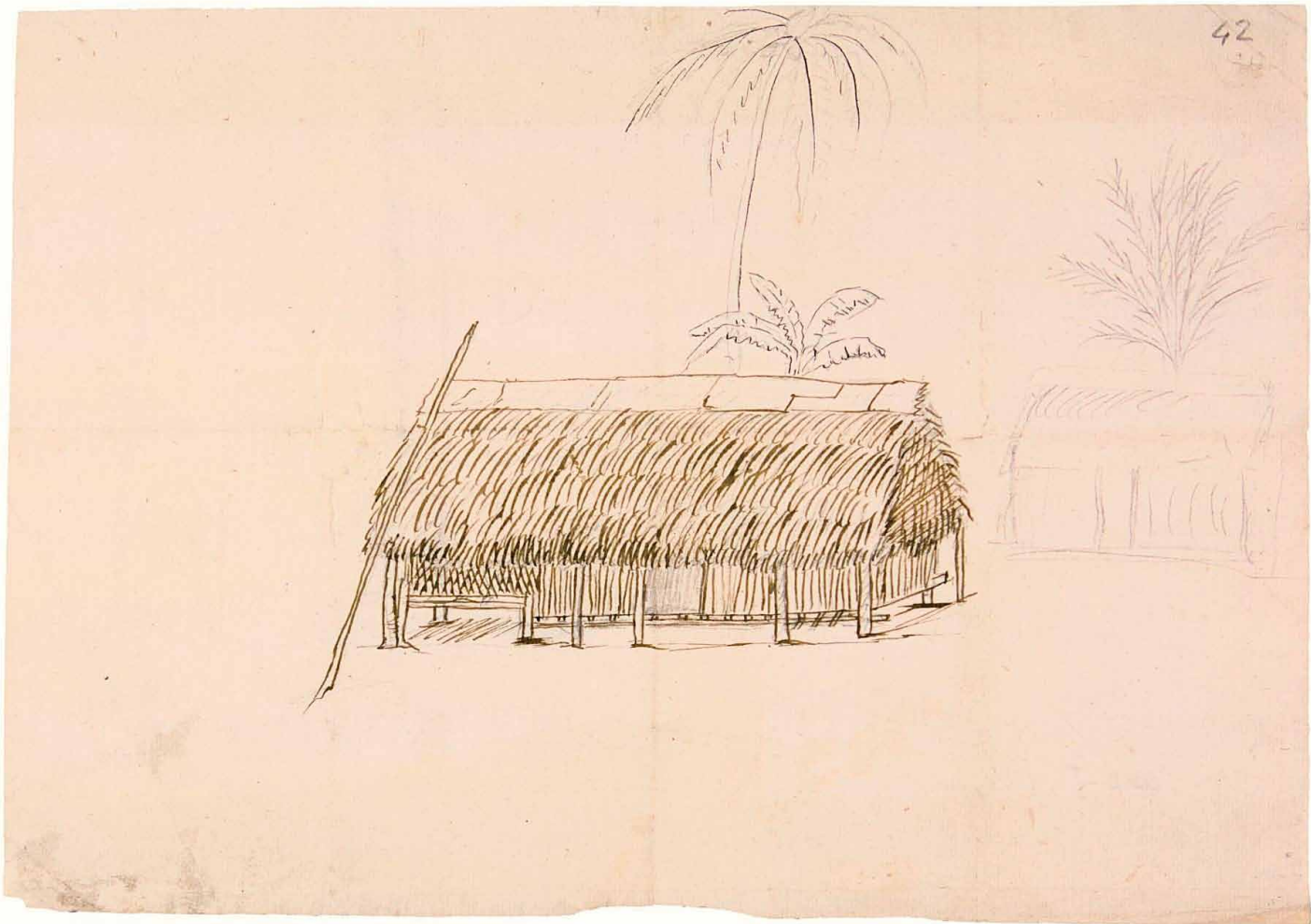


Figure 7: *Indigenous hut*. Felipe Bauzá (1764-1834). Drawing. Laid paper and pencil. Archivo Naval Collection.



Figure 8: Chest. Tagalo culture, Philippines (17th century). MNA Collection: CE2723.

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native to the Marianas, which logically plays an important role in the exhibition. Along with it, there were other objects involved in this exchange of ideas, techniques and products, such as the carved wooden chest that we can see in the exhibition. These chests followed Spanish typologies and could be used to store clothes, documents and they also began to be manufactured in colonial territories.

5.3. The turbulent twentieth century

In fact, this period, to which the third exhibition room is dedicated, actually starts in 1898, a few years after the Philippine Exhibition, when, as we well know, part of the Spanish colonies in the Pacific –the Philippines and Guam– became territories with ties to the United States while the Northern Mariana Islands and the Carolinas were sold to Germany and later came under Japanese rule. After World War II, the islands experienced

a dramatic episode and the Northern Marianas came under United States control. This political relationship was not interrupted until the present day, although the legal status of the Northern Marianas and Guam is different, since the relationship is conditioned by their character as a strategic enclave of the “American” navy in the Western Pacific, which has also deeply “permeated” the life and mentalities of the people of Guam over the last seventy years (Figure 59). The current political panorama, therefore, was forged during this century, and the flags of both administrative units, which are icons in this part of the exhibition, are a symbol of this.

Different types of graphic documents allow us to delve into this period that has left a deep mark on the population of the archipelago and its culture. This mark is currently the subject of controversy. In hall 3 a historical tour is made highlighting the main chronological milestones of this troubled century through the images that immortalized them and that today are part of important repositories such as the Micronesian Seminar.

5.4. Guam and the Marianas today

The construction of identity is a dynamic, controversial and constant process, experienced by societies in many regions of the planet, and in which, the peoples of this region are currently immersed. Eloquent expressions of this living process can be found in art and the subjective gaze –including “artistic photography”–, the symbols of the past with new meaning that are reintegrated into the iconography of the present –a revival phenomenon that is much more than an anecdotal gesture– and, above all, the Chamorro language, or CHamoru, spoken by a not inconsiderable proportion of the present-day population.

Returning to the entrance hall, where we began this tour, we can contemplate the contemporary culture of the archipelago as shown to us by its own people. Here is where critical thought by important figures from Guam –Perez Hattori– and the Northern Marianas –Pangelinan– are captured in their own language on the walls of the exhibition, and where the artworks of Melissa Taitano, which give colour to the shapes and the luminosity of the environment, in which the sea is a fundamental element, add an emotional climax to this intercultural encounter.

And this is how, in the end, “their” history, told by them, ends up being “our” history as well, because one cannot be completed without the other. *I estoria-ta*.



Figure 9: Incense burner in the shape of a latte stone (1967-1984). MNA Collection: CE7358. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

1 HÅCHA.

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
OF THE MARIANAS THROUGH
THE FIRST MEETINGS
WITH EUROPEANS



The Unburdening. Melissa Taitano (2020). Incorporating the ecological landscape of the Mariana Islands, Chamorro cosmological concepts of life and time, and Fo'na, the first woman of Chamorro ancestry, as central figure. Carved in *ifit* wood (*Intsia bijuga*) harvested from Yigo (Guam) and ornamented with acrylic paint, epoxy resin, rock and shell inlay from the Ylig River (Talofofo, Guam). Size: 23×58 cm. Photo: Brian Muña Films.

Ancient life in the Mariana Islands, from first settlement through the Latte period

Mike T. Carson

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At the northwestern edge of Micronesia, the Mariana Islands hold material evidence of how people have lived through at least 3500 years of dynamic natural and cultural history, transcending periods of change in climate, sea level, landform configurations, habitat ecology, population size and distribution, social setting, artifact inventories, and other factors. The research implications are deep and broad, yet the potential impact depends first on establishing the basic facts of the Marianas archaeological record. Findings at several sites have clarified the chronological sequence, the material contents and contexts of each time period, and the range of new questions that may yet be addressed.

When considering a list of the most definitive archaeological sites of the Mariana Islands, numerous surface-accessible sites have characterized the later periods throughout the islands, yet notably fewer sites have revealed deeper layers from ancient periods only in constrained locations. The later periods have been over-represented in the extensive village site ruins on the surface of all islands, locally known as the *latte* sites that last were used around AD 1700. Any of those *latte* sites could be highlighted as

contributing significantly to the region's archaeological knowledge pertaining to the 700-year period of roughly AD 1000 through 1700, but necessarily they refer only to a limited portion of the total chronological scope. The older time periods of the preceding 2500 years, approximately 1500 BC through AD 1000, have been under-represented, as they have been found exclusively in deeply buried sedimentary units, disconnected from the wealth of surface-visible *latte* site ruins and historical traditions of the later centuries.

The Mariana Islands present dozens of traditional *latte* village sites, associated with historical references and cultural knowledge, in nearly all areas of every island, dating generally in the range of AD 1000 through 1700 (Carson, 2012). These stone-work villages were depopulated as habitation sites mostly by the final decades of the 1600s, due to Spanish imperial activities and influences, yet traditions about those sites persisted in various forms. Additionally, historical documents of the region were committed into written chronicles, beginning with Magellan's visit in AD 1521, effectively portraying social life beyond the capacity of the traditional

archaeological vestiges of abandoned sites and artifacts (Barratt, 2003).

Since the late AD 1800s, the exploratory nature of archaeology was instrumental in verifying the extent of the old *latte* village sites throughout the Mariana Islands (Marche, 1889, 1982; Hornbostel, 1925; Yawata, 1945). Otherwise, some of the knowledge of these sites had started to fade after several successive generations of site abandonment since AD 1700. The site details could be ascertained through modern awareness and surface survey, augmented by limited test excavations into the surface-associated sedimentary units at those same sites. Since Alexander Spoehr's work in the Marianas (Spoehr, 1957), radiocarbon dating has been available to confirm the age range of *latte* sites and layers, in some cases as early as AD 1000.

In comparison to the abundant and widespread evidence of the *latte* villages after AD 1000 the windows into the older time periods have been considerably narrower. In some places of the Mariana Islands, the terrain supports little or no sedimentary accumulation, and therefore the only surviving intact archaeological evidence pertains to the last time when people actively used a location, typically during the middle through late AD 1600s. Even in the limited places with subsurface potential in archaeology, the local conditions may not have resulted in actual cultural use, in development of definitive archaeological layers, or in preservation of those layers.

The sites with the oldest multi-layered records have been found only in the geologically older and larger islands of the southern arc in the Marianas Archipelago (Figure 10), as detailed in a separate review with references for the original sources (Carson, 2014).

The islands of the southern arc had originated millions of years ago, and they provided accessible freshwater sources and diverse habitats when people first arrived here around 1500 BC. The northern arc of islands, locally known as the Gani, had formed much more recently, and the resulting smaller island sizes, extremely limited groundwater, and lesser range of habitat ecology reduced the potential for large-scale formal residential habitation until the time of the *latte* villages, generally

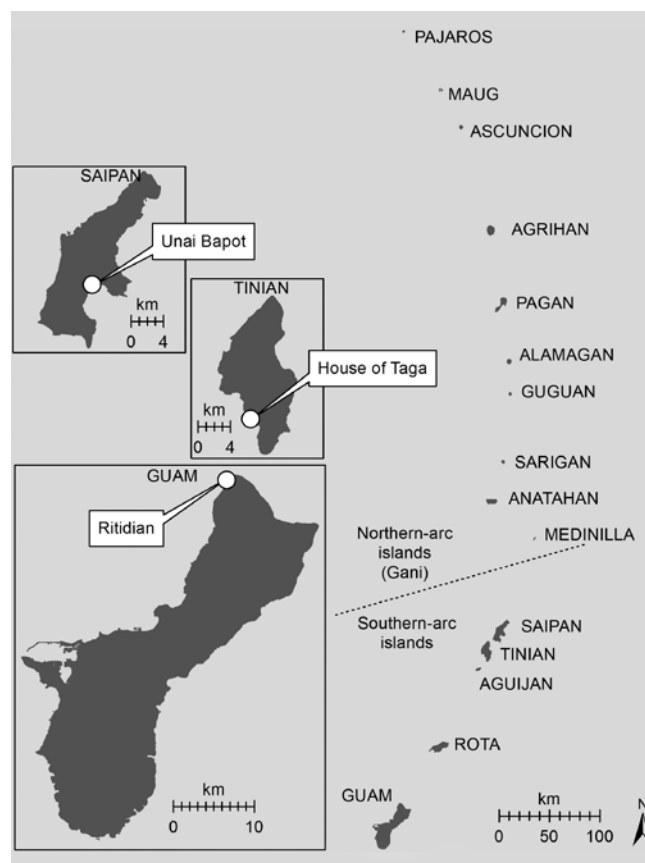


Figure 10: The Mariana Islands in northwestern Micronesia, showing locations as mentioned in the text.

post-dating AD 1000. While people during the more ancient times may have visited the Gani to the north, the surviving records of older formal habitation sites have survived only in certain locations of the larger southern-arc islands.

In terms of substantiating the Marianas regional chronology, the three most informative sites have been Ritidian in Guam, House of Taga in Tinian, and Unai Bapot in Saipan. Several other sites have disclosed relevant information, but these three named sites were notably instructive with their multiple components and representation of the diverse aspects of the past. Site details and histories of prior research have been reported separately (Carson, 2014, 2016, 2017a; Carson and Hung, 2015, 2017). Unless otherwise noted, these references contain the primary datasets in support of the following chronological outline.

So far, the Marianas regional chronology has shown at least six major time periods of holistic natural-cultural history (Carson, 2016), applicable in terms of the associated landscape configurations, habitat ecology, site locations and settings, structural remains, artifact inventory, food middens, and other surviving records (Figures 11 and 12). Each time period incorporates at least a few centuries, and new

research may yet refine the sequence and address a number of unanswered questions as will be mentioned here. The dating of each period has been possible through isolating the stratigraphic parameters of individual sedimentary layers, then obtaining radiocarbon dates for materials in secure contexts within each layer and in pre-dating and post-dating stratigraphic positions.

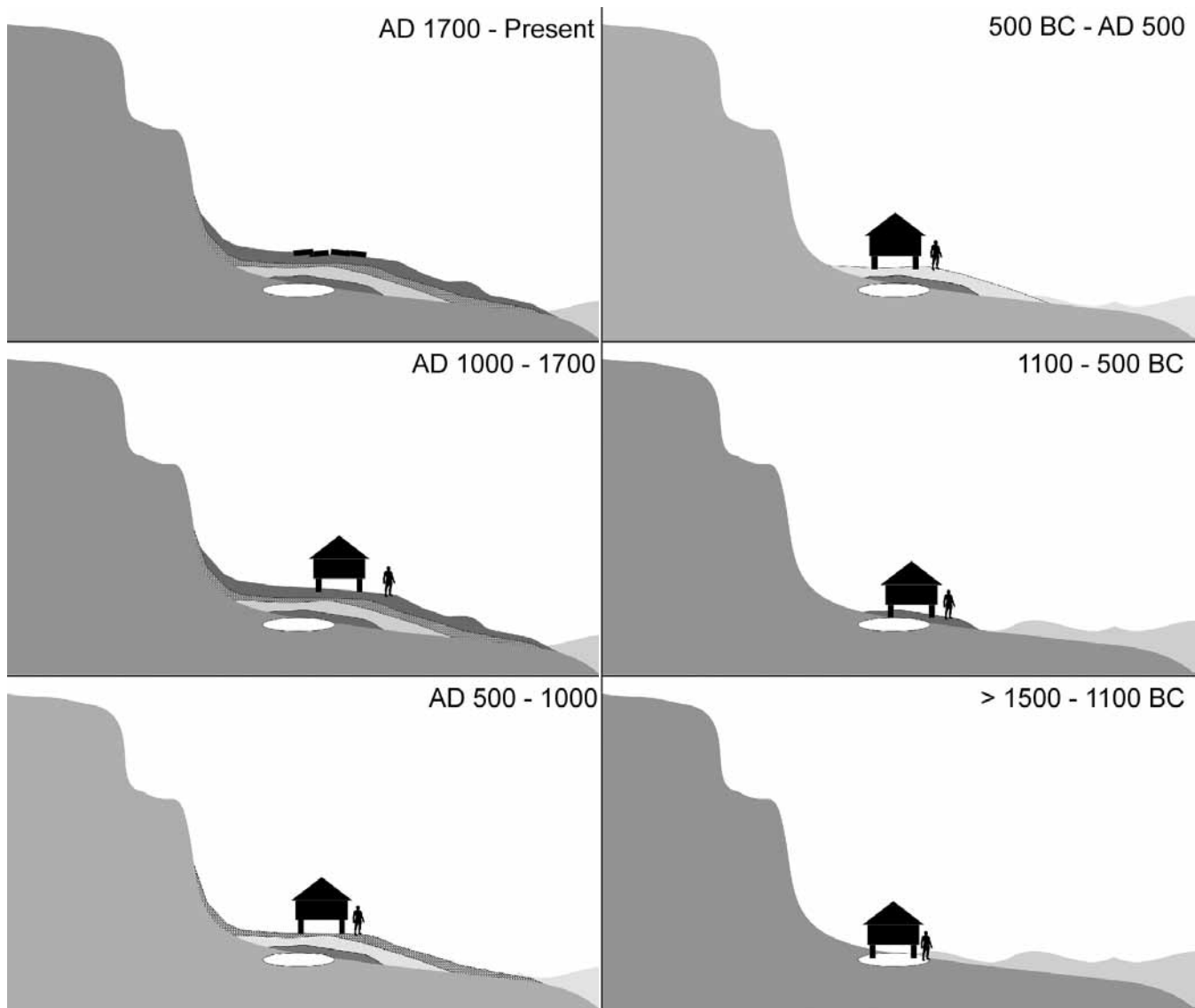


Figure 11: Schematic diagram (not to scale) of landscape chronology at Unai Bapot in Saipan, Mariana Islands, as a representative example in the Marianas region (modified from Carson and Hung, 2017).

1 HĀCHA. FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE MARIANAS THROUGH THE FIRST MEETINGS WITH EUROPEANS

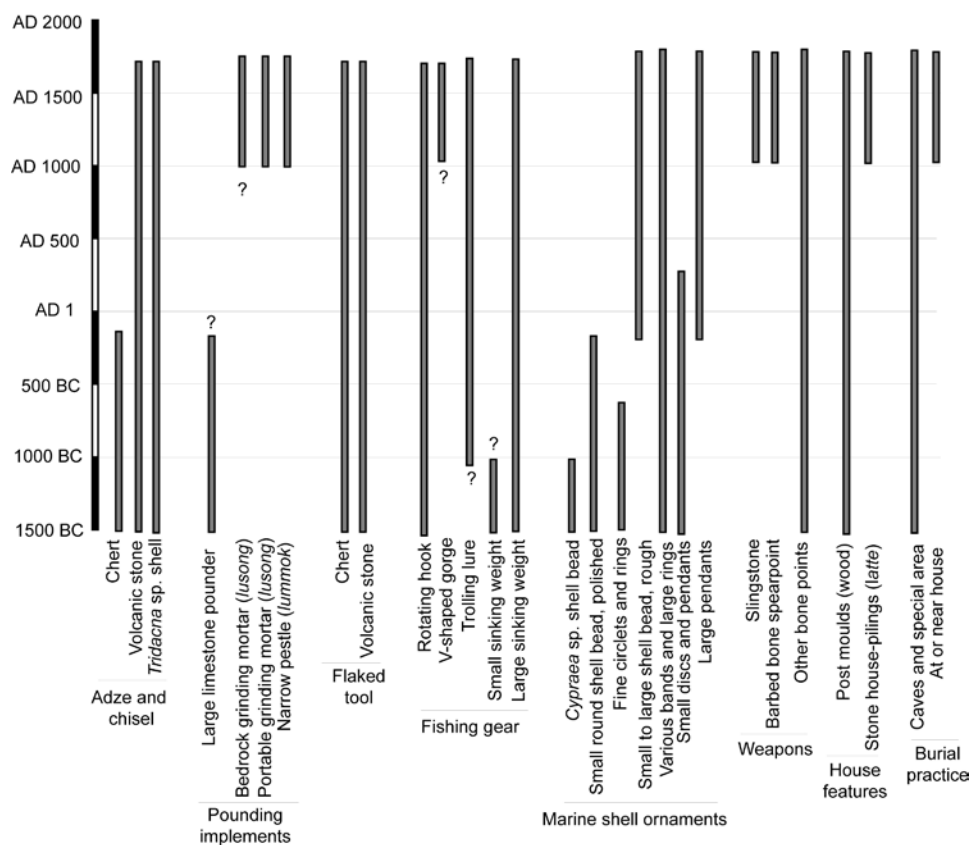
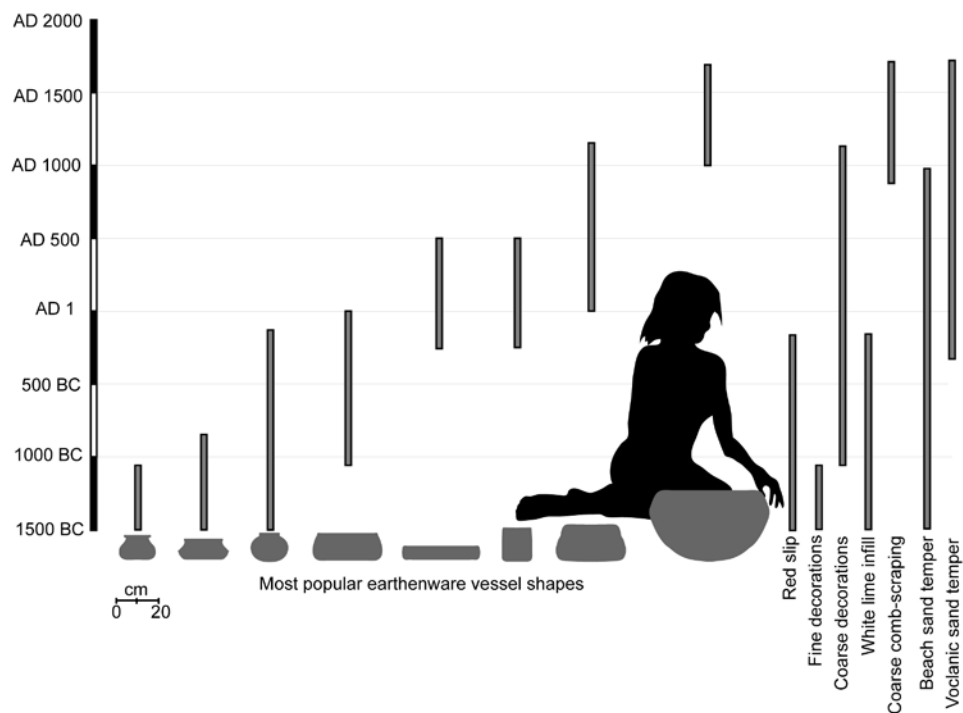


Figure 12: Marianas artifacts chronology. Upper image: Pottery chronology (modified from Carson, 2016, 2017a). Lower image: Stone, shell, and other non-pottery artifacts chronology (modified from Carson, 2016, 2017a; Carson and Hung, 2017).

1. 1500-1100 BC

When people first lived in the Mariana Islands by 1500 BC, they occupied certain seashore niches in the larger southern-arc islands, where they lived with coastal ecologies quite different from today's settings. During these older contexts, sea level was about 1.8 m higher than today, and accordingly people found different landform configurations, compositions of shellfish and other resources, and positions of freshwater resources (Carson, 2014, 2016). All of those conditions would begin to change by 1100 BC, providing an ending bracket for this time period consistently across the region. Beneath the ending bracket marker at 1100 BC, the deeper and older layers extend back at least to 1500 BC (Carson, 2020). The precise beginning point, though, varied slightly from one specific site to another, for example around 1500 BC at Ritidian in Guam, perhaps one century later at House of Taga in Tinian, and at least one century earlier at Unai Bapot in Saipan (Carson, 2020).

During the earliest settlement period of 1500-1100 BC, the known habitation sites were close or adjacent to the ancient seashore. At Ritidian in Guam, people deposited broken artifacts and food refuse into a layer of a paleo-lagoon floor, and they accessed two nearby caves for creating enigmatic rock art, placing ritual offerings of ornaments and other specialized items inside small pits, and collecting water in those caves just above sea level at that time (Carson, 2017b, 2017c). At House of Taga in Tinian and at Unai Bapot in Saipan, the remains of stone-braced house posts and other features referred to post-raised houses that would have stood above inter-tidal and near-tidal zones. At the largest excavation exposure at House of Taga, the landward portion of the site, farthest from the active shoreline, retained heated-stone hearths and pits.

As may be expected, the food middens at these oldest shoreline habitations were dominated by shellfish, followed by small amounts of bird, fish, and turtle bones. The most abundant shellfish remains were from *Anadara* sp. clam shells that lived in the shallow nearshore waters of this period. Other shellfish remains of chitons, sea urchins, and limpets were popular during the first centuries whenever people lived in any particular

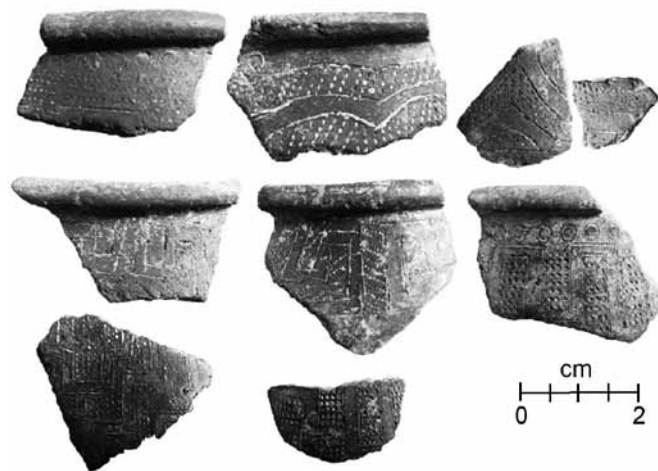
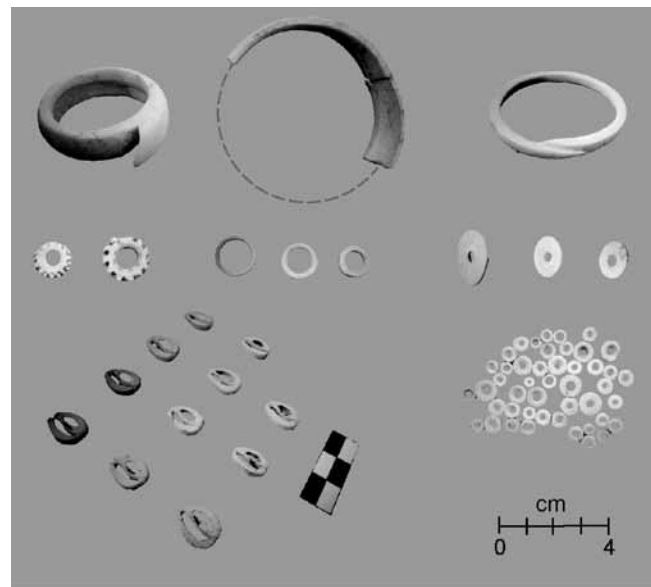


Figure 13: Examples of earliest artifacts from the Mariana Islands, within the range of 1500-1100 BC. Upper portion: Shell ornaments from Ritidian Beach Cave (modified from Carson, 2017a). Lower portion: Decorated pottery fragments from House of Taga (modified from Carson, 2014; Carson and Hung, 2015).

location, and they dwindled in size and numbers thereafter.

The most finely made pottery and decorative ornaments were restricted within this earliest settlement period (Figure 13), and they disappeared or else diminished rapidly in popularity after 1100 BC.

During later centuries, pottery was made thicker and with less decorative attention, and shell ornaments were made in coarser and simpler forms. Meanwhile, most of the general-utility tools for cutting, slicing, chopping, and pounding would remain mostly stable through time in forms of stone and shell artifacts and manufacturing debris.

2. 1100-500 BC

A drawdown in sea level began around 1100 BC, resulting in landward stranding of the older habitation spots. In places such as at Ritidian, these older habitation layers were covered by thick units of stranded backbeach debris of broken corals and calcareous gravels, thereby creating backbench ridges as the supporting landforms for the next habitation sites after 1100 BC. In other places, such as at House of Taga and at Unai Bapot, sediments continued to accumulate evenly over the older site layers, transitioning into stable backbeach settings that brought steadily increasing amounts of terrigenous silts and clays into the sedimentary matrix.

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After 1100 BC, more coastal land was available above sea level for people to create larger settlements, while these later generations would need to adjust with the changing conditions of the nearshore ecology and other aspects of a transforming environment. This trend would continue through every time period thereafter, generally creating more coastal land-use opportunities through time. Meanwhile, the potential for inland or upland land use remained mostly stable.

Coinciding with the change in the coastal ecology at 1100 BC, the artifacts and midden records underwent some change, as already noted. Most of the finely decorated pottery and highly specialized shell ornaments abruptly ended in production. A few variants continued to be produced through 500 BC, yet the outputs displayed less ornamental quality in coarser and thicker pottery walls, larger bowls, simpler and coarser decorations on those larger bowls, and simpler and thicker shell beads.

The change in coastal ecology created consequences in the food middens, as documented most clearly at Ritidian (Carson, 2017a) and at Unai Bapot (Carson and Hung, 2017). Most notably, the

Anadara sp. clams struggled to live in their transformed setting, perhaps further impaired by the effects of harvesting by the local human communities. The sizes of these shells began to diminish, and their overall numbers began to reduce in relation with increasing amounts of other shellfish taxa such as the larger *Turbo* spp. and *Trochus* spp. gastropods. Meanwhile, the rock-clinging taxa of chitons, sea urchins, and limpets nearly vanished from these site records in the places where people already had been living since 1500 BC, yet they continued to live in healthy numbers in other areas.

3. 500 BC-AD 500

By 500 BC, the older traditions of shoreline-oriented settlement were forced to adapt with the reality of conditions of lower sea level and substantially different coastal ecology. The coral reefs of the higher sea level, prior to 1100 BC, no longer were living, and the associated habitats accordingly disappeared. In this transformed setting, people no longer could access the same landforms, water sources, and food resource habitats that had sustained their ancestors in prior centuries.

People did not “follow” the seaward shift of the lowering sea level and coastline, and instead they invested more in landward settings. In the places of pre-existing coastal settlements, people focused more on the landward portions of these coastal landforms. Meanwhile, at least a few communities became established in slightly inland or upland zones of the larger southern islands.

In the context of the incipient backbeach stabilization after 500 BC, individuals were buried in designated cemeteries and ritual cave areas, physically separated from residential habitation sites. Older burial practice so far has not been detected, but the conditions after 500 BC have preserved at least two burial sites in Guam. Around 500-350 BC, at a formal cemetery at Naton Beach in Tumon, hundreds of individuals were buried in extended positions with specialized ornaments and other grave goods (DeFant, 2008). Around 350-250 BC, outside a ritual cave at Ritidian, two individuals were buried side by side, and their heads and torsos later were removed possibly for ceremonial purposes (Carson, 2017c).

After 500 BC, the food middens showed a major change in the local diets. The key indicative *Anadara* sp. shells diminished greatly and virtually vanished within the next few centuries. This portion of the diet seems to have been replaced by broader use of *Turbo* spp., *Trochus* spp., and *Strombus* spp. gastropods, along with mixed amounts of bivalves such as *Codakia* sp. and others. Meanwhile, animal bones of bird, fish, and turtle appeared in larger numbers overall, possibly due to the better preservation conditions of the sedimentary units and contexts at a distance from the active shorelines. More detailed studies of the animal bones would require more attention to the older periods in order to clarify the uneven preservation factors.

After 500 BC, pottery traditions showed markedly different forms and decorations. Red slip was uncommon through about AD 1-200, and it diminished radically thereafter. Decorations generally were absent, except for occasional notches and incisions along thicker rims of some vessels.

Pottery throughout this period involved the appearance of distinctive forms of flat-bottomed vessels. One form was a shallow “pan,” made with a large and thick base, surrounded by shallow and vertical walls, and many of the bases retained the impressions of woven palm fronds. Another form was a smaller and narrower “jar,” made with thinner base and taller surrounding vertical walls.

This long period of 500 BC-AD 500 could be subdivided into older versus later components, around a dividing point of AD 1-200. During a brief interval about AD 1-200, a temporary slowdown or short-lived stability occurred in the overall trend of the sea level drawdown. Although fleetingly, stable beach surfaces developed in several places around the Marianas, and these layers could provide a means to subdivide the rather long period of 500 BC-AD 500. So far, though, the archaeological signature before and after AD 1-200 has been minimal, for instance involving the last examples of red-slipped pottery by this transition point.

4. AD 500-1000

The period of AD 500-1000 has been represented poorly in the regional record. In the places where layers of

this period have been found, usually those layers were affected by the activities of the following time period after AD 1000. This next period involved numerous large and formal village constructions, at a grand scale that had not occurred previously, and those constructions intruded into the pre-existing older and deeper layers.

From a region-wide perspective, this time period supported new settlements in more locations of the larger southern-arc islands, including both coastal and inland locales. This outcome would imply continued growth in the local population, leading to expansion of groups into more places. This notion still would need to be tested through ascertaining the numbers of people who lived in each site or community, and so far the supporting datasets have not been clear enough to support such a study.

The apparent cultural traditions after AD 500 were once again notably different from the material findings of older periods. By this time, the older traditions of shoreline habitations, red-slipped pottery, finely decorated pottery and shell ornaments, and reliance on *Anadara* sp. clams had been long abandoned and transformed into newer traditions. Likewise, the adaptations of previous centuries, such as the flat-bottomed and straight-sided pottery of 500 BC-AD 500, had disappeared.

Pottery of this period was serviceable and practical, so far documented in forms of simple bowls, often with slightly incurving profiles and hints of inward-thickened rims or lips. Minimal decorations included rough surface brushing and simple line incisions. The clay pastes and inclusions often were coarse, and the bowls were made with generally thick bases and walls.

5. AD 1000-1700

The period of AD 1000-1700 has been exceptionally well represented in the Mariana Islands, referring to the last time when the indigenous Chamorro people occupied traditional villages, known as *latte*.

The ruins of the old *latte* houses and villages can be seen on the surfaces of every island of the Marianas. Additionally, abundant debris of this period has been scattered through larger areas, not only within the village footprints. The associated materials include concentrations of broken pottery, stone and shell tools,

rare shell ornaments, food refuse, stone grinding basins, sling stones, and other occurrences all visible on the modern ground surface and extending into the near-surface sedimentary units.

The village sites of AD 1000-1700 were composed of arrangements of *latte* houses, known as a unique local tradition in the Mariana Islands (Figure 14). The uniqueness involves stone pillars, instead of the older wood or timber posts, supporting hemispherical or cup-shaped capital stones, in turn supporting the wood and thatch structure of the house. The closest known parallels to this construction were made of wood or timber pillars with wooden discs of “rat guards” affixed near the top, as found in parts of Taiwan, Okinawa, and the Philippines through the AD 1900s, specifically functioning as deterrents against rats entering into the upper house space.

After AD 1000, *latte* villages were constructed throughout all of the islands of the Marianas, including into the northern-arc islands of the Gani (Athens, 2011; Athens and Leppard, 2019). The precise timing

of course varied. Whenever people had built those sites, they continued to use nearly all of those places into later generations and into the final decades of the AD 1600s. These sites later were abandoned as living residential villages by approximately AD 1700.

Pottery of this period was quite distinctive, mostly in forms of large and thick bowls, shaped with incurving and inward-thickening rims. Especially in Guam and toward the later decades of this period, the large bowls often showed rough vertical line impressions of their exterior surfaces. The pottery alone has served as the best indicator of this time period, found in every site location and into datable subsurface layers that otherwise would not be possible to clarify for the surface-visible *latte* ruins.

With the *latte* villages, several other aspects of the archaeological inventory changed after AD 1000. Stone grinding basins were placed at many of the houses, presumably for processing of daily dietary foods, while larger permanent grinding basins were created in immovable natural bedrock formations at ritual locations.



Figure 14: View of House of Taga in Tinian. Photo: Mike Carson, September 2019.

Small hand-held pestles completed the mortar-pestle complex, previously absent or perhaps made of perishable wood materials. Biconical slingstones, carved bone spear tips, large *Spondylus* sp. shell discs and beads, and other items have been found only in this later period.

Food middens after AD 1000 tended to include large proportions of *Strombus* sp. gastropod shells, sometimes exclusively. Other food remains were fish bones and small amounts of bird and turtle bones. Rat bones often have been found in contexts post-dating AD 1000, possibly reflecting an introduction of rats during this time period, although in principle, rat bones still could be discovered in older site layers that have not yet been reported.

Starches and other plant residues were well preserved after 950 BP, and they retained their diagnostic structures for identifying diverse foods such as varieties of taros, yams, bananas, and breadfruits (Horrocks et al., 2015). In older site contexts, ancient botanical materials so far have been either absent or else too poorly preserved to confirm their taxonomic identifications (Carson and Hung, 2017). Outside the inhabited site areas, swamp-bottom and lake-bottom sedimentary cores have retained abundant ancient records from the natural environment, including indications of human-caused impacts in the local vegetation at different times (Athens et al. 2004).

The material signature of AD 1000-1700 has been overwhelmingly extensive and abundant, and collectively it refers to a Latte period and traditional system. Much of the relevant information about this period has come from traditional history and written records, thus inspiring numerous hypotheses about the social, political, and ideological aspects of life during this time that could not be known solely through the extant archaeological materials. The archaeological record continues to be documented, and opportunities could develop for using the physical evidence to test the historically proposed notions about social and political life.

6. AD 1700-Present

After AD 1700, the *latte* villages were abandoned as living places, and thereafter they became places of respecting ancestral traditions. Many of the indigenous Chamorro traditions have been transformed in varying degrees, yet certain core aspects of culture and language have persisted. For instance, the Chamorro

language still retains its distinctive characteristics of an older Malayo-Polynesian origin in its syntax and much of its core vocabulary, despite the imposition of numerous foreign loanwords and influence in modern phonology (Blust, 2013; Topping et al., 1975).

During the period of AD 1700 through the present day, foreign powers of Spanish, German, Japanese, and U.S. affiliations have controlled the region at different times. Within these decades, multiple short-lived time periods may be proposed. The first formal written histories of the Marianas were produced in the late AD 1600s, on the basis of government and church records, local observations, and personal accounts (Coomans, 1997; García, 2004; Morales and le Gobien, 2016). Many more historical narratives have been produced since then, using the wealth of written records, personal diaries, maps, illustrations, photographs, film and video recordings, audio recordings, news logs, government reports, and more.

Sites of these later centuries are known throughout the islands. Many of these places continue to be used today as villages in the larger southern-arc islands. Others are abandoned battlefields or short-lived historical settlements, sometimes overlaying older sites. In nearly all cases, the most informative records about these sites have been preserved in historical archives and personal accounts, although archaeology may yet add to this knowledge base.

7. Conclusions

The Marianas chronological narrative has been instructive for learning about the human capacity to cope with a changing social-ecological environment, not only locally in the Marianas but also with global implications. The results have exposed the aspects of society that have been sustainable versus unsustainable through crisis events in natural and cultural history. Those lessons can be applied in the modern world specifically in reference to the urgency of managing through changing climate, sea level, population dynamics, and distribution of water and food resources.

At a few key points in time, communities in the Mariana Islands were forced to undergo deep structural change in their way of life. One such period proceeded after a drawdown in sea level and change in coastal ecology after 1100 BC, with continued effects over the next several centuries. Another case occurred

with major population growth and expansion after AD 1000. These examples of profound systemic change can be instructive about how people can learn to adapt to a changing world. These findings in archaeology reveal much more about a diverse and dynamic past than could be ascertained within the reach of historical and modern contexts.

In the Marianas examples, the periods of deep structural change entailed more than superficial adjustment in locations of village sites and choices of dietary foods. Rather, people adapted in multiple aspects throughout their social-ecological systems, as seen in a confluence of change in the forms and styles of pottery, shell ornaments, housing formats, and other materially attested records. Additionally important, these periods occurred at least twice within a few millennia, and the potential for long-term compounded effects may yet be examined in more detail in other regions with appreciably longer chronological records.

The foregoing chronological outline in the Mariana Islands can support numerous research questions, including the formulation of new hypotheses that can be tested realistically through the range of evidence that has been delineated here. In terms of philosophy of science, this approach allows a logical connection between the primary data and the notional theoretical frameworks of the discipline of study. Notably, a conceptual feedback is possible, wherein the initial

baseline data provide realistic parameters for new hypotheses, and then suitable testing procedures can generate further datasets and more refinement in the logical thought process.

In more direct words, the baseline chronology in the Marianas can enable new ideas about what happened during each time period of the last few millennia, as well as about how and why the natural and cultural history developed as described. While referring to the factual parameters as have been established here, new research can focus on specific time periods, locations, and topics toward producing more refined understanding of the past. Furthermore, the results may be compared with datasets from other geographic regions and time periods as attested in world archaeology, toward identifying cross-cultural consistencies or inconsistencies in cultural adaptations, human-environment relations, and other topics of global relevance.

8. Acknowledgements

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Latte period cultural heritage in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

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1. Introduction

This paper explores the nature and range of Latte Period cultural heritage in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, long recognized as the traditional foundation upon which Chamorro culture is built. Cultural heritage is not just monuments and collections of artifacts. It also includes oral history and living traditions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants through our own memories (Bayman et al., 2020). These ancient foundations of belief and behavior range from tangible archaeological expressions of the past preserved in *latte* stone structures, rock art and burial customs, fishing techniques, and foodways, to intangible tenets of the present in *Kostumbren Chamorro* such as *inafa`mauleg*, *mangnginge`*, and *chenchule`* (Department of Chamorro Affairs, 2003: 23). Today, Latte Period cultural heritage binds Chamorro people of the Northern Mariana Islands together just as securely as does the internet or international flights to and from the rest of the world.

The Marianas Archipelago is comprised of 15 separate islands of volcanic origin arrayed in two crescent-shaped arcs parallel and west of the Marianas Trench between 13-21° North Latitude and 145-146° East Longitude. The older southern arc consists of raised limestone islands from Guam a United States (US) territory to Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, Saipan, and Farallon de Medinilla. The younger northern arc of volcanic islands consists of Anatahan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, Agrihan, Asuncion, Maug, and Farallon de Pajaros (Figure 15) collectively known as Gani (Russell, 1998). According to the German Governor of the Northern Mariana Islands, Georg Fritz, in the first decade of the 1900s, Gani signified “running aground of a boat on rocks” in the Chamorro language (Fritz, 2001[1904]:11), a likely event landing on any volcanic island with few sandy beaches in rough weather.

Unlike Guam that had long beaches and reliable fresh water sources in the south, the first Chamorro ancestors to settle the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) encountered only

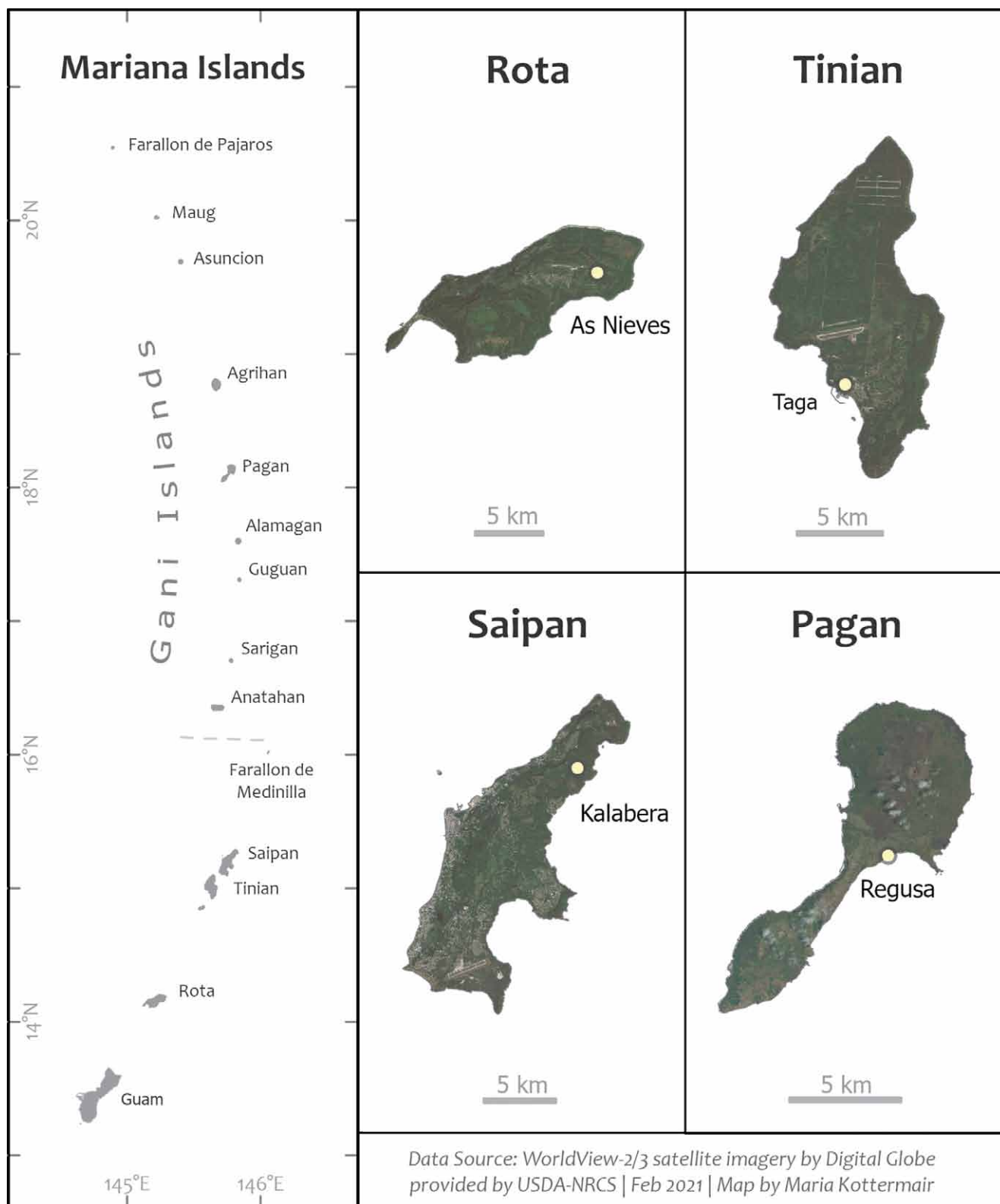


Figure 15: Map of Saipan, Tinian, Rota, and Pagan, the latter in the Gani Islands. Photo: Maria Kottermair.

a few permanent streams in Rota and single lakes on Saipan and Tinian (Farrell, 2011). All the islands including the volcanic islands in the north were mostly covered by tropical forests with useful plants and productive but vulnerable and often thin soils for raising a suite of crops they initially brought with them in what is now termed the Pre-Latte Period from 1500 BC to AD 1000 (Carson, 2018). Only Saipan of the CNMI has a large and sheltered lagoon with sandy beaches protected by coral reefs, while Tinian and Rota have only limited fringing reefs. By the Latte Period from AD 1000 to 1668, the beaches grew wider in extent as sea levels dropped to near modern levels when the first Jesuit missionaries and their lay helpers arrived from Spain, Mexico, and the Philippines (Hezel, 2015).

Perhaps the most integral aspect of early Chamorro cultural heritage was their ancient sailing tradition shared by many Southeast Asian maritime cultures capable of settling the largest Northern Mariana Islands of Saipan and Tinian and later Rota. By the time of Ferdinand Magellan's brief encounter with Guam in 1521 (Barratt, 2003), all these islands including Gani were long inhabited by Chamorro people speaking their own language (Russell, 1998). There is also ethnohistoric evidence Carolinian people to the south occasionally visited the Mariana Islands (Hunter-Anderson and Butler, 1995) and scant archaeological evidence that suggests Chamorro occasionally visited the Bonin or Ogasawara Islands to the north (Oda, 1990) before the arrival of Westerners.

2. Latte Stones

The islands north of Guam, which make up the current CNMI, are the site of the most dramatic outliers of the expression of megalithic Latte architecture. The most massive *latte* set ever erected is the House of Taga on Tinian. The largest *latte* set that was ever quarried but never erected is the As Nieves quarry on Rota. The unusual wall type *latte* sets that are known from Tachogña on Tinian, Mochong and another unknown site on Rota, and Pagan are also found only within the CNMI. Guam, though the site of many and significant *latte* sites is noticeably absent from this list of largest and most unusual *latte* sites. Perhaps the smaller size of the Northern Mariana Islands led to more intensive intra-island

competition or it may be an expression of cultural differences and/or competition with Guam.

The remains of *latte* or upright stone columns supporting traditional houses have been noted by archaeologists and historians across the entire chain of the Marianas archipelago (Laguana et al., 2012), from Guam in the south to Maug in the northern islands of Gani. *Latte* sets consist of two parallel rows of three to seven pairs of upright columns or *baligi* and a capstone or *tasa*, supporting an A-frame structure of perishable materials from one to an occasional 16 meters (m) tall such as Taga House on Tinian (Morgan, 1988). Other cultural elements that have been found in association with the traditional Chamorro house or *guma taotao* included pebble or cobble pavements for activities seated in the shade below; *lusong* or bedrock mortars for pounding plants; earth ovens for preparing foods (Bulgrin, 2006); quarries for extraction of building materials such as As Nieves on Rota, Kammar Beach on Tinian, and Agingan Beach on Saipan; rock alignments defining yards as in northern Saipan and southern Guam; and ancestral burial remains. Equally informative for archaeologists are the middens or discard areas of artifacts and food remains around or underneath the houses where Chamorro families lived their lives (Takita, 2020), and in caves or rock shelters near their fields and forests and seashores.

The shape and size of the *baligi* and *tasa* might reflect not just the availability of local building materials, but the status of inhabitants or their aesthetic preferences in family homes used over generations. There may also be social importance in the rare use of mixed raw material sources such as in southern Rota, which may indicate the emphasis of family ties to distant places by employing distant raw materials. This variability in Latte Period architecture and its cultural counterparts of fishing and foodways such as on Pagan, or rock art and burial customs such as at Kalabera Cave on Saipan are also evident in the archaeological remains of each major island and in the smaller islands of Gani and may well have been a source of pride and identity for individual families or clans and their communities. Indeed, the *latte* is today the central symbol of Chamorro culture in the CNMI flag, proclaiming resilience in the face of centuries of colonialization, the massive destruction of WWII, and on-going globalization.

3. Latte Pottery

Pottery is the typical element that identifies Latte Period sites archaeologically, particularly sites without architectural remains or *lusong* present. Latte Period pottery styles appear to precede the appearance of *latte* stones themselves by a couple of hundred years. The evolution and presumable expansion of pottery production is arguably the most important technological aspect of the Latte Period. Pottery was essential as a container technology that shielded harvests, particularly rice, from water, humidity, and vermin. Pottery also was important for the capture of rainwater and the transportation of water (along with bamboo) and possibly “night soil” to fields to provide for larger and more reliable crop yield. Pottery was the essential technology to preserve brined and salted fish and pickles. Pottery was needed to boil seawater for salt. Finally, Latte Period pottery forms, thicknesses, and tempers were technologically developed to facilitate extensive boiling and stewing of foods. This presumably indicates the adoption of new food types, such as rice and later sweet potatoes, or a greater commitment to food types in the diet such as yam or taro that require extensive boiling. In either case, it appears that terrestrial components of the Chamorro diet were proportionally more important in the Latte Period and their pottery technology developed to accommodate this.

There are significant variations in Latte Period pottery between the Northern Mariana Islands and Guam. These variations are found in form, surface decoration, and possibly temper. Latte Period pottery was generally globular in form with restricted mouths and thickened rims. Thickened rims, referred to as Type B rims, are often considered the defining characteristic of Latte Period pottery. This must be viewed with caution in the islands north of Guam. Non-thickened, or Type A rims, persist in proportions of the pottery assemblage well into the Latte period. In addition, the degree of thickening is usually considerably less in Latte Period sites in the CNMI and the extremely thickened rims of Guam are absent in the north. The CNMI, particularly Saipan, has rim and sometimes lip treatments not found on Guam. These are both fingernail and/or twig impressions on both thickened and non-thickened rims. This often gives a “pie crust” impression to the rims.

Finally, there are differences between Guam and its neighbors to the north in the decoration of Latte Period pottery bodies. Combing and particularly boldly combed shoulders are not uncommon on Guam. This decoration is very rare in the CNMI. Roughened and wiped/brushed bodies that presumably allowed greater grip to globular Latte Period pottery are found both within Guam and the CNMI.

Finally, volcanic sand quartz temper has been identified by Hunter-Anderson et al. (1998) being an indicator of Saipan pottery production. Having seen the intense quartz crystal concentrations within soils on the ridge that separates Tanapag from the Talafofo area on Saipan, which presumably eroded into sediments and soils to either side, we find this very believable. However, pottery production involves preparation of both clay and temper and quartz that could be purposively introduced to either. A point in Hunter-Anderson et al.’s favor is the study of a quartz inclusion within a Guam pottery sherd that was determined to have originated from Saipan (Moore, 2002: 51).

4. Saipan

Saipan is the largest of the Northern Mariana Islands and the second largest island in the archipelago. It has a land area of 123 square kilometers (sq km) or 47.5 square miles (sq mi) and a maximum elevation of 466 meters (m) or 1528 feet (ft) above mean sea level (amsl) with the largest lagoon in the CNMI. Perhaps the earliest example of Latte Period cultural heritage recorded in the Mariana archipelago is Kalabera Cave, containing human burial remains and white painted images including a man in a canoe and headless anthropomorphic figures. The rock art originally found in conjunction with human crania at the entrance to the cave has been interpreted as the link between *i man-aniti* (ancestors) and their Chamorro descendants (Cabrera and Tudela, 2006). This site first recorded during the late 19th century by French botanist Marche (1982[1887]: 15) is today a park for visitors with reconstructed *latte* sets (Figure 16) and interpretive signage to preserve the rock art intact. Two partial *latte* sets and disturbed burial remains were also preserved in front of the cave (Jalandoni et al., 2016).



Figure 16: Kalabera Cave with reconstructed latte sets on Saipan. Photo: Boyd Dixon.

5. Tinian

Tinian is the second largest of the Northern Mariana Islands and the third largest island in the archipelago. It has a land area of 101 sq km (39 sq mi) and a maximum elevation of 187 m (613 ft) amsl. The island is home to the largest standing latte set in the Mariana Islands named the House of Tāga (Figure 17) after the famous *magalabi* or leader who buried his beloved daughter inside a cavity in one of the *tasas*. The limestone quarry from which the 6 pairs of stones were extracted is located on the coastal cliffs not far away and the combined height of the columns and capstones is 16 m (52 ft) tall, presumed to have supported a perishable structure perhaps of equal height. At least 21

smaller latte sets were recorded in the early 20th century (Hornbostle, H., 1924-1925) arrayed in two lines one on either side of the House of Tāga, with a stone lined well nearby used during the visit of British Commodore George Anson in 1742 (Russell, 1989: 19).

At some distance behind the House of Tāga and at a depth of 2 m (6 ft) lies the remains of one of the earliest Pre-Latte Period cobble-floored houses found in the Mariana Islands, with cooking hearth deposits radiocarbon dated to roughly 1500 BC (Carson, 2018:155). Volcanic stone *lusongs* on Tinian with limited volcanic outcrops and Aguijan with none (Butler, 1992) affirm the interconnectedness of the Chamorro people prehistorically, as they would need to have been brought from elsewhere. Tinian also has carved



Figure 17: House of Taga with *haligi* and *tasa* plus Japanese Monument on Tinian. Photo: Andrea Jalandoni.

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petroglyphs of human figures on lithified beach rock at Unai Dankulo that occasionally appear from beneath the beach sands after inclement weather (Cabrera and Tudela, 2006: 46).

6. Rota

Rota (Luta) is the third largest of the Northern Mariana Islands and the fourth largest island in the archipelago. It has a land area of 85 sq km (33 sq mi) and a maximum elevation of 491 m (1610 ft) amsl. The Latte Period culture hero of Tāga also figures prominently in stories associated with As Nieves *latte* quarry located on the plateau of Rota (Spoehr, 1957), where nine columns and seven capstones even larger than the House of Tāga on Tinian were carved and removal begun

before the quarry was abandoned (Figure 18), perhaps due to the inadequacy of the limestone used to craft the huge stones or a social event untold. While it has been proposed that the site of Tātgua was the intended destination to erect this monumental *latte* house (Lizama et al. 1981:17), the site of Mochong on the north coast was already the location of a larger village with the longest *latte* set in the Marianas (72 ft).

Mochong also has a rare house structure with segments of a linear limestone wall with capstones along one side of the foundation while the other side contained more traditional *baligi* and *tasas*, similar to a *latte* set at Tachognya on Tinian recorded by Marche (1982[1887]: 34). On the southern side of the island at the much more inaccessible site of Alaguan “social differentiation with kin groups may be reflected by the location of burials in relation to *latte* sets” (Craib,



Figure 18: As Nieves latte quarry with *haligi* and *tasa* on Rota. Photo: Andrea Jalandoni.

1990: 172-3 in Russell, 2002: 20), as has been noted elsewhere in the CNMI. Also noted there are *lattes* crafted of single stones such as recorded at Tachogna on Tinian by Marche (1982[1887]: 34). Rota also has black painted pictograms in Chugai Cave of sea turtles and a bill fish measuring over three feet long (Cabrera and Tudela, 2006: 47).

7. Gani

Pagan is the fourth largest of the Northern Mariana Islands and the fifth largest island in the archipelago. It has a land area of 47 sq km (18 sq mi) and a maximum elevation of 570 m (1870 ft) amsl. The ten volcanic islands of Gani were all occupied by Chamorro peoples at Spanish arrival in 1521 (Athens, 2011:315) with

numerous *latte* sets of locally available volcanic stone also used for tools in house and sailing canoe construction (Egami and Saito, 1973). Part of the Latte Period cultural landscape included small boulder *lusongs* for pounding plant foods and much larger boulders with multiple depressions believed to be used for grinding medicinal herbs. Pagan also has two lakes, one brackish near the shore and another with warm springs near the foot of the active volcano. White beaches on the east such as Regusa with long coral reefs (Figure 19) and black beaches on the west with volcanic sands provide a ready supply of fish, plus orange *Spondylus* shells used in polished necklaces and pendants to adorn the living and the ancestors. Rock art is scarcely known in the volcanic islands of Gani but Marche found three skulls in a cave on the southern side of Pagan (1982[1887]: 22).



Figure 19: *Talaya* fishing on Regusa Beach with Gilbert Borja and John Castro on Pagan. Photo: Boyd Dixon.

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8. Conclusions

Latte Period ceramic variability in decorative style, temper, and vessel form in the southern arc of the Mariana archipelago has been noted to “diverge on a north-south axis, with Guam and Rota forming one group and Saipan and Tinian another” (Hunter-Anderson and Butler, 1995: 68). Such trends suggest that social interaction may have decreased between the northern and southern islands over time from the earlier Pre-Latte Period, but limited archaeological investigations in Gani are currently far from adequate to address such broader questions.

Dialect differences between native Chamorro speakers of Rota and Southern Guam and the rest of the

Marianas (Hornbostel, G., 1925) may reflect post-*Reduccion* population movements from Gani after 1699 (Farrell, 2011). Differences between Latte Period island and village “personalities” within the Northern Marianas have not always been recognized archaeologically (Dega et al., 2017; Dixon et al., 2019), although local Chamorro take pride and amusement at distinct aspects of their cultural heritage and language today (Joe Garrido and Joe Quinata, personal communication, 2019). The early Spanish record is replete with references to unresolved conflict between villages on Tinian in 1669, shifting allegiances to the Spanish between villages in Guam in 1684, and continued resistance to *La Reduccion* or forced depopulation in Saipan and Gani into the 1720s (Farrell, 2011). Interisland conflicts may also have arisen

as Guam Chamorro troops were used by the Spanish to subdue Tinian and Aguijan in 1695 and Gani in 1698 (Farrell, 2011; Dixon et al., In prep.). Land use and clan organization appear to have been matrilineal and residency tended toward matrilineal prior to contact, as the “missionaries noted that Chamorros did not marry relatives” and “the women were the heads of households” (Russell, 1998:149-150).

It should be expected then that Latte Period differences in Northern Mariana Island cultural heritage including *latte* stone structures, rock art and burial customs, fishing and foodways, and even language or traditionally expected behavior might well have been preserved at individual villages and within families over many generations, resisting and adapting to the past 500 years of Spanish, German, Japanese, and American

colonization (Bayman et al., 2020; Montón-Subías, 2019) to create a society capable of surviving even the strongest of typhoons, natural and man-made.

9. Acknowledgements

The authors have far too many people to thank when in the Northern Mariana Islands, all friends, family, and colleagues. The late Carmen Sanchez, John Castro, Gilbert Borja, Don Farrell, Scott Russell, Genevieve Cabrera, Susana Quitano, Matias Taisacan, Diego Camacho, John Diego D. Palacios, the late Pedro Aldan Duenas Jr., Eloy Ayuyu, Noel Quitugua, Roy Sablan, Roque Magofna, Joe P. Deleon Guerrero, and the late Thomas Masga Deleon Guerrero.

When the European Old World met the CHamoru Old World in 1521: An archaeological perspective from Guam's Latte period

Rosalind Hunter-Anderson

1. Introduction

Hovering off the west coast of Guam, Magellan's three ships held crews desperate for water, food, and respite. CHamoru canoes approached. It did not end well. Nor did the next encounter in 1526, during Loaysa-Salazar expedition, nor the one in 1565, under Legazpi (Lévesque, 1995a). Eye-witness accounts of these brief meetings between Europeans and CHamoru describe murder, torture, suicide, kidnapping, and vengeful destruction of houses and canoes for a trivial loss –of a skiff that was soon recovered at great cost to the Islanders–. Notwithstanding the horrors they calmly relate, these accounts contain hints about the state of the CHamoru cultural system and provide a few details about housing, foods, watercraft, fishing practices, and weapons. These “snapshots in time” are the raw materials from which historical narratives have been written and rewritten. From a scientific perspective, both archaeological and documentary records are necessarily “incomplete” if not outright incorrect. Therefore it is the task of the investigator to assign meaning to what he/she observes and to test these suggested meanings

with independent data. This is how archaeological methods differ from those of popular historical narratives, which tend to reflect changing social concerns through time. In this paper, the archaeological record of the Latte Period on Guam will be presented with the understandings to be gained by a cultural systems approach. As open systems comprised of matter, energy and information, cultural adaptive systems are concrete (as opposed to conceptual and abstract systems) *sensu* Miller (1965). The main components of a cultural adaptive system are its technological organization, which intercepts and transforms matter and energy from the environment and buffers the system from perturbations; its sociological organization, which regulates production and consumption of materials; and its ideological organization, which guides and mediates human actions through a composite of beliefs and assumptions (White, 1943). From these abstractions comes a more “down to earth” view of culture that considers environmental conditions and human responses to them in dynamic relations. In archaeology the clues to the latter lie in the detailed study of material remains such as artifacts, human-constructed

features, and human skeletal features in a deliberate search for regularities in the temporal and spatial patterning of these static remains.

2. Marianas Adaptive Challenges

Since human advent in the Marianas c. 3,500-3,300 years ago (Carson, 2014; cf. Rieth and Athens, 2019), the archaeological record became increasingly complex and interesting to anthropology –as one cultural adaptive system replaced another and evolved from a previous one–. A cultural system’s evolutionary trajectory can be traced through the material record of its human participants’ responses to past and new environmental challenges. In the Marianas, geographic challenges include great distance from the nearest large landmasses; smaller island size; decreasing temperature, rainfall, and habitat diversity northward; few edible native plants; earthquakes and tropical storms; and a monsoonal climate with a long dry season. Weather cycles every 3-7 years bring longer dry seasons (El Niño events), which alternate with wetter conditions during La Niña events; decadal-scale trends in storm patterns (the Pacific Decadal Oscillation); and century- and millennial-scale climatic cycles, which affect sea level and plant biomass production.

An ancient geological history has produced further challenges for successful human occupation. Limiting agricultural capacity are nutrient-poor volcanic clay soils on steeply sloping uplands and excessively drained soils on ancient limestone plateaus and terraces. Active volcanoes in the younger, northern portion of the Mariana arc discourage permanent settlement although these islands support aggregations of birds and sealife. The archipelago’s northwest-southeast alignment along the eastern edge of the Philippine tectonic plate presents multiple targets for tropical storms as they move westward toward Asia and subjects the islands to episodic uplift from the subducting Pacific plate. This has resulted in narrow, discontinuous fringing reefs that provide little protection from high winds and storm surge during typhoons. Offsetting food production vulnerabilities in the Marianas are abundant marine invertebrates, schooling reef fish, edible marine mollusks adapted to hard sandy coastal substrates,

sea birds on northern islands, and high-quality marine protein from fish aggregations at distant shoals and sea mounts and during seasonal migrations of large fish such as tuna, mahi-mahi and marlin.

3. A Chronology of Cultural Flexibility

The cultural flexibility of prehistoric human populations who occupied the Mariana Islands under changing environmental conditions for three millennia is recognized in the following periodization (Hunter-Anderson and Moore, 2001).

3.1. The Early-Middle Unai¹ Periods c. 1500-500 BCE

Sea level was nearly two meters above the present c. 3,500-3,300 years ago as it continued to decline from its mid-Holocene highstand (Dickinson, 2000). Expanding their range to include the Marianas, marine foragers from Island Southeast Asia/Wallacea (ISEA/W) began to visit, camping on emerging narrow beaches and shallow lagoons (Hunter-Anderson, 2013). Their tools were used to process reef species for food and raw materials to make shell ornaments, and their pottery resembles that known from contemporary coastal sites in ISEA/W, suggesting cultural affiliations and trade with groups in this region. Over time, simpler pottery decorations indicate lessening ISEA/W connections and longer stays if not permanent occupation for some, taking advantage of moist backbeach zones for planting imported cultigens. The lack of skeletal remains precludes ancient DNA studies that could more precisely point to the geographic origins of these earliest groups.

3.2. The Late Unai Period c. 500 BCE-500 CE

By 500 BCE, a major subsistence shift had occurred in the southern Marianas as evidenced in the archaeological record. Fisher-farmers had settled on the low sand beaches now able to support horticulture. Signs of the new cultural adaptive system include primary

¹*Unai* in CHamoru means beach; its use here refers to exclusive coastal settlement.

human burials of gracile, healthy individuals, larger residential sites with earth-ovens and hearths, post holes from small structures, pan-like ceramics, stone and shell tools for processing wood and fiber, shell and bone fishing gear, and inshore and pelagic fish remains. Microscopic analyses of food residues indicate coconut, breadfruit, and taro were consumed. Ancient DNA and stable isotopic studies of a large Late Unai burial population at a coastal site in Tumon Bay, Guam found these individuals had an oceanic diet and shared an Island Southeast Asian/Wallacean genetic heritage (Hunter-Anderson and Eakin, 2021; Liu et al., in prep.).

3.3. The Huyong² Period c. 500-800 CE

During the three centuries after 500 CE, Guam's human population remained small. Settlements were concentrated along the coast but inland areas were utilized in limited ways. Pan-like pottery was no longer used in favor of moderately sized globular pots, and the same kinds of stone and shell tools were used as in the Late Unai. Cave painting began by c. 600 CE at a remote inland site in southern Guam (Hunter-Anderson et al., 2013). While land use had expanded areally, there is no archaeological evidence for population increase during this time, which archaeologists have called "transitional" to the Latte Period. The apparent lack of demographic change and the resort to inland foraging may be related to sub-optimal conditions for agriculture at this time of global cooling (Ljungqvist, 2010).

3.4. The Latte Period (c. 800-1700 CE) on Guam

Researchers concur that the Latte Period, first defined by Spoehr (1957), began in the southern Marianas as early as 800 CE, certainly by 1000 CE, and that the archaeological concept of Latte Period recognizes the geographic ubiquity of stone pillar house foundations, a unique cultural innovation within the Oceanic megalithic tradition, called *latte*³ in the

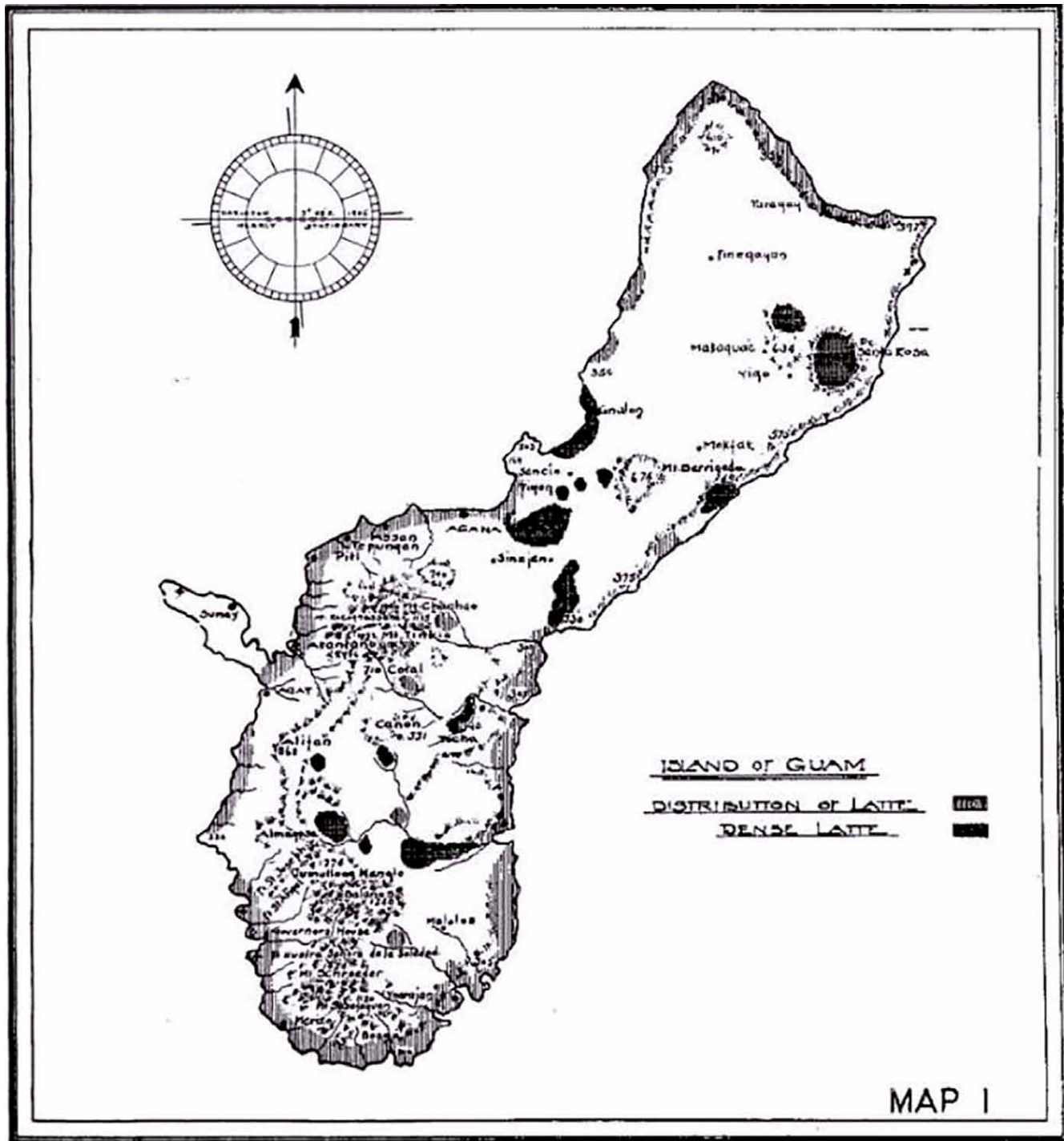
²*Huyong* in CHamoru means to go out, the time when inland habitats were added to the semi-mobile settlement system.

³The etymology and use history of the term *latte* is obscure (D. Tuggle, pers. comm. 2021).

CHamoru language (Carson, 2012). In many Pacific Island cultures, megaliths were separated from domestic space, such as the giant ancestral representations at Rapa Nui and the large temple complexes called *beiau* in Hawai'i. Exceptionally, Marianas *latte* occupied domestic space as indicated in the early historic accounts and corroborated by archaeological observations. Why was stone used to elevate Latte Period houses when wood posts had previously sufficed and continued to support other structures? One answer came in the 1920s. Amateur archaeologist and antiquities collector Hans Hornbostel mapped the distribution of Guam *latte* sites (Figure 20), excavated several sites in Tumon Bay, Guam, which included human burials beneath and nearby *latte*. He forwarded ignorant and sensational interpretations of his observations while dismissing the idea of a practical function for *latte* in favor of the idea that the stones were monuments and temples where the dead were worshipped in bizarre rites (Hornbostel, n.d.1924-1925; Searles, 1927). Subsequent observations at *latte* sites made during professional excavations and surveys support the ideas that the design of *latte* served practical purposes (Thompson, 1940) and were part of a symbolic system (Hunter-Anderson, 1989).

Another marker of the Latte Period is the large basalt mortar (*lusong* in CHamoru). Large *lusong* are often found near coastal *latte*, firmly embedded in the ground with the grinding surface facing up. *Lusong* also occur on inland sites, sometimes without *latte*. Such permanently installed stone features oriented domestic activities within the site space, and performed another sociological task –silently communicating important information: a warning that the temporarily absent owners intended to return to their land and were strong enough to defend their claims–.

Significant changes that mark the Latte Period include a large increase in site density, a great variety of site types; deep middens and refuse pits at *latte* sites; artifact assemblages dominated by tools for working stone, shell, wood, and other fibrous materials; sturdy ceramics for long cooking times, slingstones on the ground surface and cached; multiple burials clustered and singly mainly at coastal *latte* sites and a paucity of burials at inland sites. Individuals were more robust than during the Late



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Figure 20: Hornbostel's 1920s map of latte sets on Guam (after Reed, 1952: Map 1).

Unai but suffered health and dietary stresses (Hunter-Anderson and Eakin, 2021). These observations strongly suggest that the adaptive context on Guam had changed from the preceding three hundred year-long Huyong Period. If the adaptive context for the evolving cultural system of fisher-farmers was different by 800 CE, which environmental processes were likely involved?

4. The MWP-LIA Oscillation and It's Archaeological Signatures

A compelling answer is climate change. In addition to local fluctuations, regional climate changes occurred during the Latte Period in the western Pacific. Pronounced among these is the century-scale oscillation between warmer, wetter climate of the Medieval Warm Period (MWP, 800-1300 CE) and cooler, drier climate of the Little Ice Age (LIA, c. 1300-1900 CE) (Nunn, 2007). During the MWP, a La Niña-like climatic state prevailed, bringing higher annual rainfall, shorter dry seasons, and few severe tropical storms. These changes were favorable for Marianas agriculture, a major consequence of which was a more stable and, ultimately, larger population. Under higher human density, the settlement system expanded into once-marginal interior locales and the social system adjusted to higher numbers of people interacting within this intensified subsistence system. As Guam approached its density threshold or carrying capacity, local conflicts arose over access to specific resources, threatening social stability if not checked. The solution was an ideology that validated the use of *latte* to mark group claims to resources. This cultural innovation effectively regulated the competition for limited land without disrupting the semi-mobile settlement system that had served so well since at least the Huyong Period.

For many scholars, the 900 year-long Latte Period was essentially unchanged until European contact and colonization. However, a processual approach to the archaeological record (Johnson, 2004) in southern Guam has revealed directional patterning in land use and technology that supports the above depiction of the effects of the MWP-LIA oscillation

on the evolving CHamoru cultural adaptive system. Guam's relatively large size and complex geology were factors that influenced its occupation history, and the high number of sites dating to the Latte Period presents a robust data base that can be analyzed for informative trends pertaining to island-wide and regional adaptive processes. Below is an example of such an approach to the archaeology of southern Guam seen from its interior uplands.

5. The Manenggon Hills Archaeological Project

Data from the Manenggon Hills project derive from investigations conducted in the early 1990s by Micronesian Archaeological Research Services (Hunter-Anderson, 1994). Comprising 1,350 acres (5.5 km²) or 1% of the island's total land area, the project area is located about one mile (2.5 km) inland from the east coast of Guam (Figure 21). The prehistoric data show that while people were present during the Huyong Period, they left few traces. There was an apparent occupational hiatus until c. 800 C.E., then light usage until the 1100s, when the number of occupations per century increased exponentially for 300 years, declining radically in the 1500s to nearly the same number before the spike in the 1400s.

A first-order pattern recognition study of land use over time was performed. Sites were classified into three functional types, Storage/Camp, Habitation, and Rockshelter. Habitation and Storage/Camp sites included open localities (as opposed to Rockshelters, where living space was severely limited). Open sites with aboveground features, such as *latte* sets, embedded stone mortars, and/or hearthstones were termed Habitations. Since people had taken the trouble to install such "site furniture" that determined the spatial organization of activities at these sites (Binford, 1980), they were likely occupied longer or repeatedly over time and supported a greater variety of activities than at sites without such permanent installations.

Storage/Camp sites were defined by one or more subterranean pits and no aboveground features. The storage function of some of the pits was inferred

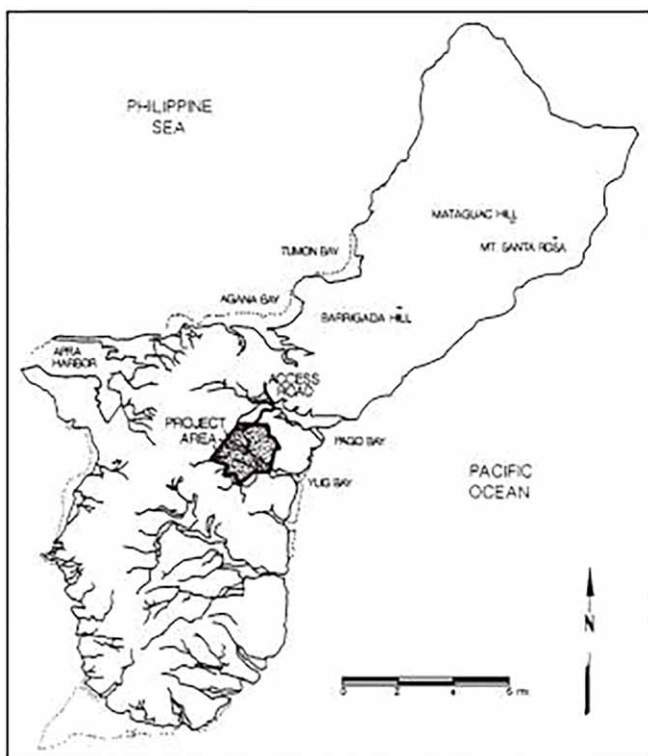


Figure 21: Map of Guam, Manenggon Hills project area (stippled) in the upper Ylig River drainage, comprises 1% of Guam's land area (after Hunter-Anderson, 2010: Fig. 4).

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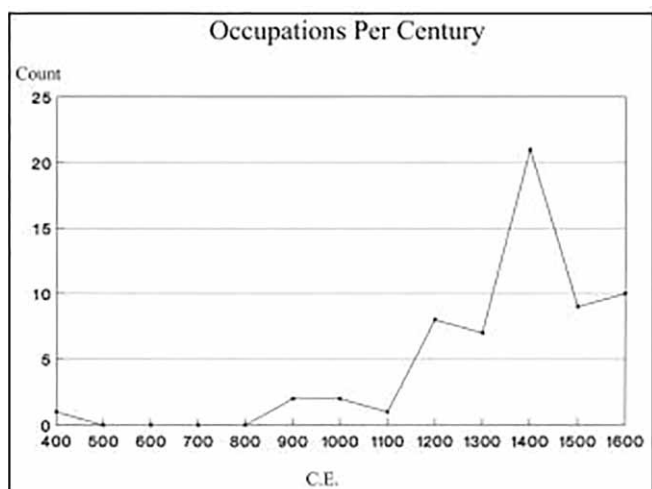


Figure 22: Number of sites occupied per century C.E.; some sites were occupied during more than one century. Note the up-tick in the 1400s (after Hunter-Anderson, 2010: Fig. 5).

from their round-bottom shape and lack of charcoal within the pit fill. Other kinds of pit deposits were shallower, with abundant charcoal; these were interpreted as earth-ovens where food was prepared for relatively large groups. It is possible that the smallest pits were agricultural planting pits (Moore, 2005). Rockshelters had cultural deposits that had accumulated under large limestone boulders and provided limited sheltered space. Rockshelters may have afforded temporary refuge from the weather and/or used to cache gardening tools, sleeping mats, and water, as logistical support for gardening and foraging activities in the immediate area.

Storage/Camp sites account for most of the rise in occupations during the 1400s, and this site type remained dominant in the 1500s, although total numbers of occupations declined. Finally, in the 1600s prior to abandonment of the area, site proportions returned to a configuration like that of the 1200s-1300s. While not precise, these data indicate a general picture of changes in interior land use beginning about the time of the transition to the LIA in the Pacific (Nunn et al., 2007). The project area was abandoned after the 1600s, possibly related to Spanish colonization's Jesuit-led *reducción* program.

From the above analysis it is clear that a simple hypothesis of population increase over time (from whatever source: immigration and/or intrinsic increase) does not explain the changed proportions of site types nor the addition of Rockshelters to the land use system beginning in the 1200s, since this kind of site is not strictly residential. Further, the curve of site occupations is not S-shaped as would be expected for population increasing until carrying capacity is reached. Above it was suggested that population density had triggered the adoption of *latte* by 800-1000 CE. The archaeological facts from the Manenggon Hills project suggest these trends reflect changes in the organization of activities, especially after the 1300s.

When interpreting any local data set, it is wise to consider larger contexts. For example, in the Marianas, megalithic architecture, buried caches of sling stones; more durable and larger ceramic bowls and jars; and the addition of rice to the crop inventory did not all occur at once. *Latte* architecture and sling

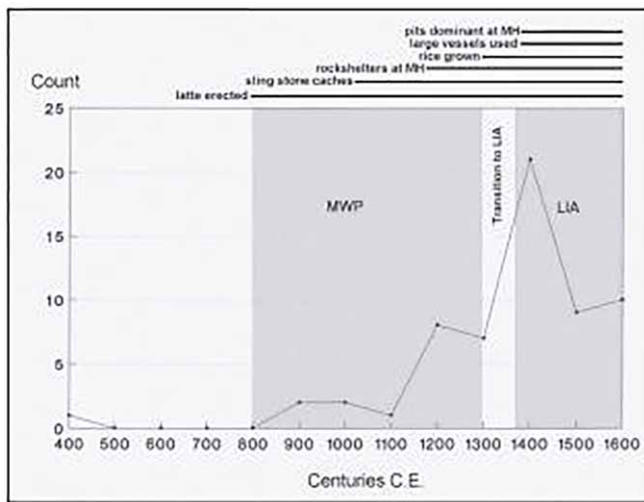


Figure 23: Occupations over time, temporal spans of Latte Period cultural practices (after Hunter-Anderson, 2010: Fig. 7).

stone caches appeared before large ceramic vessels and the cultivation of rice. When these data are arrayed chronologically (Figure 23), a sequence of cultural responses related to century-scale changes in climate, although imprecise, emerges.

In the early Latte Period, which coincides with the beginning of the MWP, island populations expanded along the coasts and into upland areas, as noted by Kurashina (1991). Harvests were relatively reliable, and, to offset temporary losses from typhoons and local demographic imbalances, and *latte* architecture and its associated customs helped regulate competition for productive land. Other cultural practices included wide-spread kinship networks within and between islands, practices facilitated by

swift sea-going canoes and a common language and ideology of cooperation and reciprocity.

During the climatic transition to the LIA, harvests became even less predictable than before. Detailed information on sea level and temperature changes is unavailable for the Marianas but increased interior land use in southern Guam may have been prompted by agricultural difficulties related to climatic uncertainties. Higher elevations receive more rainfall, favoring more plantings in upland locales. Rice had been added to the Marianas crop inventory by this time. Possibly imported to supplement the supply of storable produce, rice may have acquired symbolic value in social exchanges (Hunter-Anderson et al., 1995). Rice could have been cultivated at the edges of small interior wetlands, such as those at Manenggon Hills and elsewhere in southern Guam (Hunter-Anderson and Ward, 1994).

The number of occupation sites increased rapidly at Manenggon Hills and peaked at the beginning of the LIA. The increase was not only numerical; there was a reversal site type proportions, a higher proportion of Storage/Camp sites with pits than Habitation sites.

The reversal in site type proportions over time may represent additional efforts in food production and storage by drying and preserving of produce near where it was grown. In this upland locale, rainfall would have been somewhat higher and harvests somewhat better; on the other hand, more labor was involved. With more agricultural effort, including the cultivation of rice, the labor costs of food production increased. Another technological adjustment during the LIA was the addition of very large ceramic vessels for food and water storage; such large pots were still in use during early historic times (Moore, 2002).

Century	900s	1000s	1100s	1200s	1300s	1400s	1500s	1600s
Site type								
Storage/Camp	100 (2)			25 (2)	29 (2)	57 (12)	56 (5)	40 (4)
Habitation		100 (2)	100 (1)	62 (5)	57 (4)	29 (6)	33 (3)	50 (5)
Rockshelter	100 (2)			13 (1)	14 (1)	14 (3)	11 (1)	10 (1)
Total		100 (2)	100 (1)	100 (8)	100 (7)	100 (21)	100 (9)	100 (10)

Table 1: Manenggon Hills Site Types Occupied by Century CE; multiple dates indicate some sites were occupied for more than one century (after Hunter-Anderson, 1994: IV, 1.9-1.13).

Despite all these efforts, total agricultural production in the Marianas probably declined over the LIA centuries, compensated for, in part, by more intensive use of marine resources: pelagic fish in the far northern islands and at distant shoals and sea mounts as well as inshore aggregations of mollusks and seasonally schooling reef fish. Other cultural adjustments during the LIA can be anticipated, such as contraction of social networks and formation of unstable defensive/offensive alliances. The perceived strength of such alliances would be judged by wealth displays at regional ceremonies and by the size and condition of *latte* features. Coincidentally, sling stone caches at potentially contested locations occupied during the LIA suggest their regular use. Human bone spears occur only in Latte Period and early historic cultural deposits, although none has been directly dated by radiocarbon.

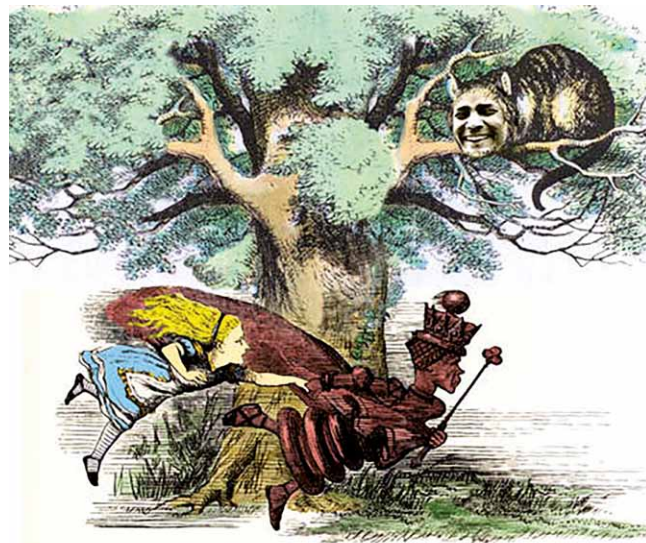
Social network contraction minimizes sharing obligations and may have accompanied the emergence of minimal social stratification within group territories on Guam such as the large Manenggon/Ylig drainage (Figure 21). The agricultural labor of lower-ranking occupants of inland areas like Manenggon Hills would have been critical to the success of the larger cooperating group that included higher ranking families at the coast. These familial relationships were marked by exchanges of food and other items, as suggested by the Pobre account of Rota in 1602 (Driver, 1983).

Supporting the proposed contraction of larger inter-island social networks in the Marianas during the LIA are the findings of Graves et al. (1990), who analyzed chemical composition and vessel forms in Latte Period pottery. Their study found similarities in pottery from Guam and Rota, on the one hand, and in pottery from Saipan and Tinian on the other, as if residents in each island-pair limited their social interactions, including exchanges of pottery, to the nearer island. The assemblages from which the ceramic samples came were not dated precisely enough to distinguish when they were produced within the Latte Period. According to the theory favored here, these sub-regional separations occurred late in the Latte Period although it is also possible that geographic pottery differentiation began during the MWP or transition to the LIA, and then intensified. Clearly, more dating refinement and research into this issue are needed. However, it seems reasonable to expect “partnerships” to have developed

between people on smaller islands and those on nearby larger islands, which would minimize subsistence and demographic vulnerabilities as climate deteriorated during the LIA.

6. The Red Queen Principle

The persistence of older practices and addition of new ones aimed at solving similar problems in the face of environmental changes in the Marianas appears to conform to the “Red Queen Principle” in ecology (van Valen, 1973). The Red Queen Principle is based on observations that competitive interactions between co-evolving species produce intensified behavior that over time results in the persistence of each species but at greater cost. Under this analogy, the ancestral CHamoru responses to the challenges of LIA climate, specifically drought, less reliable rainfall, and more damaging storms that adversely affected the food supply, was to “run faster” (Figure 24). One of the costs of running faster was further social adjustments such as more well-defined social stratification and a redefinition of close kin. This had the effect of lessening obligatory burdens but also increasing local labor demands as argued above for Manenggon Hills during the LIA.



"The Red Queen has to run faster and faster in order to keep still where she is. That is exactly what you all are doing!"

Figure 24: Alice and the Red Queen (after illustration by J. Tenniel in Carroll, 1877).

In cultural evolutionary terms, a perturbed self-organized system at first responds by trying to maintain stability within existing capabilities and, if these are inadequate, addition and re-organization of some components, enabling the system to continue in a modified but still recognizable form. Ironically, the practices that had served the CHamoru during the shift from the MWP to the LIA may have increased their vulnerability to the relentless attacks by the Spanish. For example, territorial rivalries reduced the Islanders' ability to mount effective military defenses against the Spanish, as former alliances shattered and failed to reform. While the Spanish burned village food stores and residents scattered, agricultural cycles and reciprocal exchange networks were disrupted, and critical labor shortages developed, as young men were involved in guerilla-style raids and retreats. It is hardly surprising that after three decades of such asymmetrical conflicts, women and children were the first to seek assistance from the priests, who offered food for the price of conversion to 17th century Catholicism and acceptance of radical changes in lifestyle.

7. In Summary

This paper connects century-scale environmental dynamics and prehistoric cultural adaptive system

changes exemplified by a well-studied case in Guam's southern highlands during the Latte Period. In this relatively simple cultural adaptive system, where energy sources were entirely local, technical and social innovations in the face of environmental perturbations enabled it to grow and persist until c. 1700 C.E. Adaptive success for so many centuries required detailed environmental knowledge and the ability to act on it in creative ways. During the MWP, more reliable rainfall produced relatively favorable agricultural conditions that were associated with settlement expansion in the large southern islands including Guam. With higher population density came social innovation within the Oceanic megalithic tradition, *latte* architecture and a new ideology that validated its adoption and use. With the onset and persistence of LIA climatic conditions, agricultural productivity declined. The ancestral CHamoru made appropriate technical adjustments in settlement pattern, crops, and ceramics designed to buffer against harvest shortfalls. They also adjusted socially. Kinship networks contracted, and unstable defensive/offensive alliances formed and re-formed, an organizational vulnerability in military conflicts with the Spanish. By the early 18th century, the new adaptive context favored a belief system and religious practices that redefined the ancient meanings of *latte*. These contemporary icons of indigenous Marianas culture today became *las casas de los antiguos* to be respected and feared.

2 HUGUA.
THE COLONIAL
PERIOD



Fo'na Dreaming. Melissa Taitano (2020).
A modern artistic impression of the legend of Sirena with Fo'na, the first woman of Chamorro ancestry, as central figure. Carved in *ifit* wood (*Intsia bijuga*) harvested from Yigo (Guam) and ornamented with acrylic paint and epoxy resin. Size: 51×20 cm. Photo: Brian Muña Films.

The seed of martyrs and martyrdom in the Marianas (17th century)

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On June 15 or 16, 1668, a small band of Jesuits led by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores and accompanied by a modest retinue of armed assistants arrived at the Mariana island of Guåhån (or Guam). It established its evangelical headquarters in the village of Hagåtña, christened San Ignacio de Agaña. As Ulrike Strasser points out, the history of the Marianas provides an intriguing exception to the rule of Spanish colonial expansion and conquest: the impetus to set up a colonial regime on this chain of fifteen islands came from Jesuits eager to evangelize the archipelago's inhabitants, with no aspiration to make the islands profitable or economically useful for the Crown, and occurred amidst a political and economic crisis of the Spanish monarchy (Strasser, 2017: 212).

Despite their small number, the Mexican-, and Philippine-born priests and catechists immediately spread out across Guåhån and the nearest islands to preach the Gospels, trusting in the apparent friendliness of the natives and the protection of God (García, 2004). One of the highest-ranking *chamorris* (chiefs), called Kepuha (or Quipuha), received them cordially and, after allowing himself to be

baptized as Juan, let them preach and baptize others in the territory under his command (ARSI, Philipp. 13, Hist.: 1663-1734, fols. 5r-5v). Kepuha belonged to the upper class, known as *matua*, members of which lived near the coasts; the lower classes inhabited the island's interior.

Following San Vitores's orders, Father Luis de Medina went to southern Guåhån, where he spent three months burning idols, preaching against promiscuity and polygamy, baptizing children and adults, and burying the Chamorro's skulls in the name of Christ (1668) (Ledesma, 1670, fols. 5r-5v; Morales and Le Gobien, 2017: 129). Evidently, he made no attempt at cultural accommodation: his evangelization of the Chamorro required them to renounce their own rituals and traditions (Coello, 2010: 17-44). Medina also promoted devotion to the Virgin Mary, establishing the first Marian congregations in the archipelago. Eventually, during his popular missions, he would lead the new Christians in processions preceded by a tall, silver cross, as they recited previously memorized prayers and sentences. These processions would pause, perform an act of contrition, and then move on to another place, where

they would ask God for material and spiritual blessings, until they finally returned to the church¹.

The new sacramental duty that the Jesuits propagated required not only the converts' absolute acceptance of God and divine omnipotence but also the substitution of their old idolatrous objects with the relics of the order's patron saints (Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier), which channeled the saints' thaumaturgical powers for use by the religious and social community (Solórzano, 1683, fols. 127r–131r). After all, Satan was present in the objects that the natives' wore to express their idolatrous beliefs as well as in the beliefs themselves, and the Jesuits considered their own order to be the one best prepared to extirpate idolatry from heathen societies. New Christians were also supposed to mark their houses with wooden crosses and other Christian symbols, both to draw a symbolic frontier between pagan and Christian spaces and to protect themselves from demonic forces (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2007: 154).

On February 2, 1669, soon after Juan Kepuha's death (December 23, 1668), Father San Vitores founded the Dulce Nombre de María church, along with a school and a house for the civilian and ecclesiastical authorities, on land donated to the missionaries by the late chief (García, 1673: 61–63). The construction of these buildings consecrated the archipelago, certifying the right and duty of the Spanish Crown to propagate the Gospel in these, its newest overseas territories, while defending them and their inhabitants from the Catholic monarchs' heretical enemies². It also signified the Jesuits' commitment to remain in

the islands. The missionaries soon extended their radius of action to the northern Marianas, focusing particularly on the three most densely populated islands: Saipan (christened San José), Tinian (christened Buenavista Mariana), and Rota (also known as Sermana or Zerpana, christened Santa Ana).

Jesuit missionaries reported that the Chamorros lived a simple and tranquil life and were therefore a docile people with no religion (Villagómez, 1981). As a result of the peaceful reception that the missionaries enjoyed, they anticipated no obstacles in spreading their faith. However, missionary optimism was soon followed by violent rejection, especially by the *urritao* class³, which was constituted by young, single males who lived in common houses with a few young, single females who would have sexual intercourse with them in exchange for economic compensation. The Jesuits considered this custom a horrific form of institutionalized prostitution, and they immediately set out to abolish it⁴. The *urritao* were not the only natives who clashed with the meddling strangers. Local religious leaders (*macanas*) were outraged at the Jesuits' treatment of their sacred objects, which the missionaries regarded as Satanic totems that tied the natives to the false worship of ancestor spirits (*anite* or *anitis*) and thus kept them from the only path to God. Intermittent and deadly hostilities between these two classes and their supporters, on one side, and the

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¹The act of contrition consisted of “*una processione, da svolgersi dopo il tramonto del sole, che partendo dalla chiesa principale percorreva tutti i punti salienti della città. Era guidata da una persona armata di un campanello, con il quale avisava la gente del suo passaggio, seguito da un'immagine del Cristo crocifisso illuminata da due persone con delle lanterne; ancora dietro camminavano i ministri evangelici, e in ultimo il popolo silente*” (“a procession, to be held after sunset, that starting from the main church went through all the highlights of the city. It was led by a person armed with a bell, with which he warned people of his passage, followed by an image of Christ crucified illuminated by two people with lanterns; still behind walked the evangelical ministers, and finally the silent people”) (Broggio, 2003: 227–61). In addition, Broggio remarks that “San Vitores did not limit himself to transplanting in the Far East the ceremonies used in the mother country: he was aware of the innovative techniques that had profited from the experience learned from the internal missions”. (Broggio, 2007: 251).

²According to García, Dutch ships had made landfall in the Marianas some years earlier. *Relación de la vida*, 49. See also Ledesma, 1670, fol. 2r.

³The institution of the *guma urritaos*, or bachelor houses, was present across Oceania as well as other parts of Asia, and similar institutions existed in parts of America and Africa. In Guãhã, when a boy reached adolescence, he had to abandon his father's clan to live in the maternal clan's *guma urritao*, or bachelors' common home, where pubescent men were trained in the basic functions and tasks that they should assume as men. While they lived in the *guma urritao*, they were to avoid sexual and social contact with maiden women. Such contacts were restricted to the maiden who lived with them in the house. This young woman was sent by her family, which received a payment for her services, to assist the bachelors in their sexual and domestic needs, and she stayed until she was ready to depart as a married woman (usually to one of the bachelors whom she had met in the home). She was immediately substituted by another maiden. The Jesuit priests considered this whole institution an aberration, for they regarded the young men as degenerate, the women as prostitutes, and worst of all, the men who sold their daughters for sexual favors as morally corrupt. The Society's radical opposition to this customary institution was without a doubt one of the most polemic aspects of the evangelization process, and the main reason behind the natives' violent reaction against the missionaries during the mission's first years.

⁴Manuel de Solórzano registered his reaction in a letter to his father written in Agaña and dated June 1, 1677. Letters, fol. 120v (Coello and Aienza, 2020).

missionaries and their guards, on the other, constituted what the traditional historiography calls the Spanish-Chamorro Wars⁵.

Although traditional historiography has maintained a close connection between Jesuits and soldiers in the border *presidios*, Diego Luis de San Vitores arrived in the Mariana Islands in 1668 without a military force (RAH, Cortes 567, 9-2676/4). However, things soon took an unexpected turn. The first act of violence against a missionary occurred in August of 1668 and was regarded by San Vitores as a foreshadowing of the martyrdom that likely awaited him and perhaps other missionaries in the islands (García, 1673: 122, 126). The incident involved Father Medina, who was wounded in Nisichan (Nisihan, or Nisi'an); fortunately, his wounds were not serious enough to impede his evangelizing work, and after recovering, he continued on to Sacayán, Upagat, Tupongan, Orodria, Oroaña, Megga, Pago, and Paa. Another incident soon followed, albeit on a different island. Fathers Luis de Morales (1641-1716)⁶ and Tomás de Cardeñoso (1635-1715)⁷ had been sent to the island of Tinian (christened Buenavista Mariana) that same August, accompanied by various assistants. By that point, the mission superior had organized the lay assistants into a quasi-military unit, complete with captains and sergeants, called the Marianas Squadron (*Escuadrón Mariano*)⁸. The missionaries' attempt to convert the Tinian Chamorros did not end well, and sergeant Lorenzo Castellanos and his Tagalo translator, Gabriel de la Cruz, were killed (Morales and Le Gobien, 2017: 123-24, 132-33). Father Morales himself was wounded on a leg, leading San Vitores to order him back to Guam; all of this occurred in October of 1668

(ARSI, Philipp. 13, Hist.: 1663-1734, fol. 5v). Although the violence was only sporadic at this early stage, it would soon claim its first martyr.

That protomartyr was Father Luis de Medina (1637-70). As his hagiographers emphasized, he took a leading role in the resolution of local conflicts (Ledesma, 1670, fol. 8r; Florencia, 1673, fols. 36-42; García, 1673: fols. 96, 255-56); thus, the end of 1669 found him back at the island of Tinian serving as a mediator between two rival villages, Marpo and Sungharon⁹. Medina induced rival leaders to promise to forget past trespasses through long, appeasing speeches and peace talks, both of which were heavily freighted with exotic ceremonies and symbolism. As Broggio points out, this mediation model was not new but in fact resembled the pacification strategy employed by the Jesuits in their "popular missions" to Catholic Europe (Broggio, 2005: 57-89). In the frontier missions of "the Pacific", as in Europe, clergymen acted as moral authorities who could guarantee a state of peace and well-being¹⁰.

On January 24, 1670, after exchanging the customary turtle shells, the two villages were reconciled, and at the place where the ceremony took place, the priests erected a shrine to Our Lady of Peace (García, 1673: 86; see also Morales and Le Gobien, 2017: 147-48). An improvised squadron of Mariana volunteers remained there for two months to ensure that the peace would hold. When the conflict was instead renewed, these men were attacked. One of the priests' Tagalo assistants, a twelve-year-old boy named Andres de la Cruz, was murdered in the ensuing scuffle, as was Mexican-born Captain Diego Bazán¹¹. The failure of Medina's efforts were an ominous sign of what was to come.

⁵The moments of violence and tension were intermixed with longer periods of peace and relative tranquility, and even during times of conflict, violent deaths were not as frequent as the traditional historiography has suggested. The level of violence was overstated by Jesuit reports, probably as a result of the order's hagiographic desire to magnify the danger and violence they experienced in the islands. See: (Hezel, 2014: 1-16; Hezel, 2015).

⁶After a brief stay in the Marianas, he returned to Manila, and from there, he was sent to Madrid as procurator of the Jesuit province of the Philippines. "Primus catalogus anni personarum anni 1671," ARSI, *Philipp.* 2-II, Cat. trien.: 1649-96, fol. 353v.

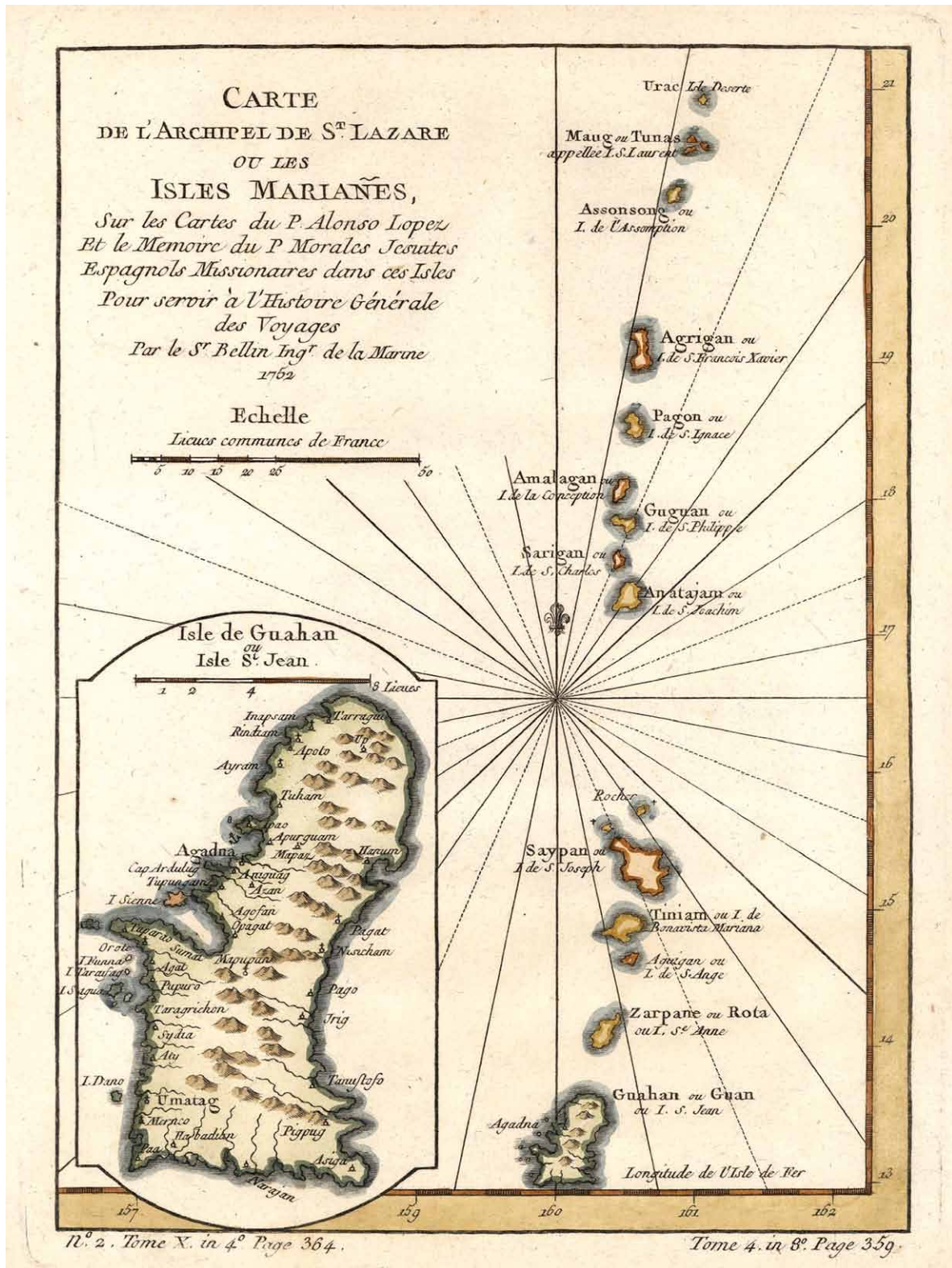
⁷Cardeñoso was born on December 22, 1635, in Paredes (Cuenca, La Mancha, Spain), and became a Jesuit on June 2, 1664. He died in 1715. "Primus catalogus anni personarum anni 1684," ARSI, *Philipp.* 2-II, Cat. trien.: 1649-1696, fol. 424r.

⁸The Marianas Squadron was created by San Vitores after the violence that erupted in 1669 revealed the missionaries' need for armed defense. See García (2004: 218).

⁹The generosity that the Jesuits showed Quipuha, whom they presented with "a gift of two steel arches and a hat," caused other Chamorro leaders to feel slighted (García, 2004: 218-24).

¹⁰As a colonial invention, "the (Spanish) Pacific" refers to a set of societies that are too heterogenous and culturally diverse to form a coherent cultural region. Matt K. Matsuda presents it instead as a mosaic in which the histories of Asia, the Pacific Islands, and Pacific Mexico are pieced together (2006: 763). In her *Pacific Worlds*, Matsuda analyzes a translocal history that emphasizes the "interconnectedness of different worlds" (2012: 5-6).

¹¹De la Cruz was a singer (a boy soprano) who also helped the priests in the sacristy. RAH, *Cortes* 567, 9-2676/4, fol. 2r. Captain Bazán died from his wounds on March 31, 1671. RAH, *Cortes* 567, 9-2676/8, fol. 28v; "Noticias de las islas Marianas enviadas el año de 1670," April 22, 1670, ARSI, *Philipp.* 13, Hist.: 1663-1734, fol. 50r; Ledesma, 1670, fol. 9r.



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Figure 25: Father Alonso López's map (c. 1672). Courtesy of the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC, Guam).

On January 27, 1670, Father Medina went to the island of Saipan, located some three miles north of Tinian, and saw that San Vitores's preaching had failed to produce real conversions among the natives. He was incensed to learn that a *sangley* (Chinese trader) named Choco, the "perverter of the *Marianos* [Mariana natives]", had turned the natives against the missionaries (Flores, 1673, fol. 30v; García, 1673: 76-77). Choco, known to history as Choco Sangley, had been the captain of a ship that was wrecked off the coast of Saipan more than two decades before the Jesuits' arrival. Having settled in the area known as Merizo (or Malesso'), in the southwest of the island, and married a local woman, Choco soon gained ascendancy among his Mariana neighbors based on the variety of skills and knowledge that he possessed (García, 1673: 76; RAH, Cortes 567, 9-2676/8, fol. 6r; ARSI, Philipp. 13, Hist.: 1663-1734, fol. 5r-8r; Morales and Le Gobien, 2017: 131-32). When the missionaries arrived in Saipan, he spread the rumor that the holy water and oils they used to baptize children, the elderly (*manamko*), and the infirm were meant to cause their deaths¹².

In his exemplary hagiography of Medina, Father Francisco de Flores (1619-95) describes how the Virgin Mary had appeared in a dream to a newly Christian native of Saipan. In it, she lovingly cared for eight older children while breastfeeding two babies. Cerberus, the Hound of Hades, was tied at her feet, an evident sign that good had triumphed over evil, saving "those innocent children [from] the perverse Sangley, who had barked so much against them" (Flores, 1673, fol. 43r). The native spoke to Father Medina of his dream, and so—secure in the knowledge that he had the powerful Lady as his ally—the priest continued his religious work. That work included the baptism of children, especially those who were sick. Not to baptize someone under such circumstances, Medina believed, would condemn their souls to hell, and while adults could make the

choice themselves (thanks to the Jesuits priests who had providentially arrived), infants could not.

Medina's messianic fervor and determination overcame the obstacles presented by his lame leg and stutter as he tore the bones and amulets worn by children and adults from their bodies¹³. But since many of the baptized children died after receiving the sacrament, Sangley's warnings convinced the Chamorro that Medina and his lay assistants, Agustín and Hipólito de la Cruz, were indeed murdering and devouring their children (Flores, 1673, fol. 39r). On January 29, 1670, two days after their arrival on Saipan, in the third village that they visited, Father Medina and his assistants were attacked by a man called Poyo—nicknamed "the killer" (and later baptized as Luis)—and his accomplice, Daon (later baptized as Vidal)¹⁴ (García, 1673: 95-108; Morales and Le Gobien, 2017: 154). Thus did thirty-three-year-old Luis de Medina become the first martyr of the Marianas (although he was not, as we have seen, the first member of the mission to be killed: that "honor" was shared by Lorenzo Castellanos and Gabriel de la Cruz) (Burriza, 2009: 527). Layman Hipólito de la Cruz, a talented harp player whose music served to attract and appease the Chamorro and who was from the island of Cebu in the Visayan Islands (Islas de los Pintados), was also killed¹⁵.

On July 23, 1671, San Vitores's young assistant, José de Peralta, a Criollo born in Mexico's Puebla de los Angeles (formerly Tlaxcala), died after receiving eighteen wounds in an ambush orchestrated by the followers of Hurao, a local Hagåtña

¹² Ledesma, 1670, fol. 9v. According to Manuel de Solórzano's *relación*, the Jesuits had baptized 13,560 chamorros by June 1669, and 200 of the baptized children had died after receiving the sacrament. "Descripción", fol. 124r.

¹³ Juan de Santa Cruz to the Jesuit superiors, "Más sobre la vida y martirio del padre Luis de Medina", May 22, 1670, AHCJC, EI-b-9/5/1-7: "Martirios y varones ilustres", EI-b-9/5/2: "Martirios, naufragios, &.", fol. 8r. This letter is also found under the title "Copia de documentos antiguos del Archivo de la Misión de la Compañía de Jesús, no. 1", in *Historia misionis*, vol. 3, AHCJC, Antigua, EI-a-13: "1593-1890," fols. 604r-615r.

¹⁴ See also Ledesma, 1670, fols. 50v-52r; "Historica narratio illorum (1668-1673)", ARSI, *Philipp.* 13, fols. 95r-110r, in Lévesque, vol. 6, 1995: 40-41; Ledesma, 1670, fol. 10r. According to the list of martyrs, Medina died "*in odium sacram baptismati et fidei christianae praedicationis a barbari*". AHCJC, EI-b-9/5/1-7: "Martirios y varones ilustres", folder EI b-9/5/2: "Martirios, naufragios, &.", loose leaves. See also Flores, 1673, fols. 38r-42r.

¹⁵ The use of music, dance, poetry, and drama to enrich rites, spectacles, and school curricula was an important element in Jesuit education and missionary work (Summers, 2000: 659-79; Irving, 2019: 211-34).

ma'gas (leader) who hoped to rid the island of the newcomers. Peralta was on his way to cut and gather wood with which to make crosses to mark the homes of the new Christians (“Historica narratio illorum (1668-1673),” in Lévesque, 1995a: 47). The Spaniards avenged Peralta’s death by slaying Guafac (or Huasac, also known as Cha’fa’e), a rebellious *indio principal* (well-respected member of an important family) whom they associated with the Prince of Darkness. This led to the massive uprising against the missionaries that would come to be known as the First Great War of Guåhån or the First Chamorro War¹⁶.

For eight days, Hurao and his followers besieged the palisade that the Spanish had built around the church and the Jesuits’ residence. In one of the clashes between Spanish and Chamorro forces, he was captured. His men, disheartened, agreed to a negotiation, which led to his liberation. Father San Vitores hoped that this gesture of goodwill would help the Jesuits establish friendly relations with the Chamorro rebels and bring about peace. But the Spaniards’ attackers interpreted the priest’s act as a sign of weakness and, on September 21, renewed their attacks. In an attempt to counter the Spaniards’ musket fire, the Chamorro resorted to magic, surrounding the wooden Spanish fort with the skulls of their ancestors and calling upon their power. But it was all for naught. On October 20, 1671, after crushing defeats delivered through the superior weapons and war tactics of the Spanish, the Chamorro rebels surrendered –perhaps convinced that the invaders and the Christian God, whose existence and power were identified with the Jesuits’ labor in the Marianas, were too strong for them– (Vidal Figueroa, “Relación,” fol. 3v).

In response to these events, San Vitores wrote to the court asking for permission and funds to build a *presidio* (the official name given to a soldiers’ garrison in a military district) in the Marianas. Such forts were fundamental institutions in frontier territories¹⁷. Recent events had shown that the Marianas had

insufficient soldiers and weapons, and that the Spaniards’ wooden palisade was inadequate as a fortification¹⁸. It seemed evident that if Spain was to exercise its sovereignty in the islands, the Crown would have to become directly involved in their defense. The existence of military forts as impregnable spaces where the Spanish could protect themselves and their subjects was the only way to guarantee the safety of the missions, since most of the villages founded by the Jesuits were not fortified¹⁹.

The peace achieved after this first war was nothing but a lull, for resistance and conflict soon arose anew. The Chamorro were organized in matrilineal clans that lived in small villages (*songsong*) consisting of anywhere from 50 to 150 homes (Ledesma, 1670, fols. 3v-4v). Solidarity among clan members was considerable, but so was the rivalry that existed between leaders such as Hurao, Quipuha, and even Choco. The Jesuit missionaries became unwittingly enmeshed in these rivalries, endangering their lives and –especially– those of their assistants and the new Christians, who were forced to live in the villages and assist the priests in their performance of baptisms and preaching of the Gospel.

In January of 1672, Father San Vitores decided to erect four churches or missions that would minister to ten villages each (“Relación y documentos referentes a las islas Marianas, 1668-1673”, AHCJC, FIL PAS 52, fols. 340r-342v). As the missionaries and their assistants worked, violence simmered. It reached a boiling point between March 31 and April 2, 1672, over which time anti-Christian Chamorros killed four Philippine-born laymen brought to the Marianas from Manila and New Mexico (“Historica narratio illorum (1668-1673”,

¹⁶Joseph Vidal Figueroa, “Relación de la dichosa muerte del Venerable Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores...”, in “Carta escrita en la ciudad de México por el padre Joseph Vidal...”, N.p., 1674, fols. 2v-3r.

¹⁷In the immense and hostile lands of New Spain’s Gran Chichimeca, for example, *presidios* were the linchpin of Spanish military strategy (Miller, 1975: 3-4).

¹⁸In a letter that he wrote from Mexico in 1674, Jesuit procurator Joseph Vidal Figueroa informed Diego Luis de San Vitores’s father, Don Jerónimo San Vitores de la Portilla, that there were only twelve Spaniards and seventeen Filipino natives with the ten Jesuits. “Relación”, fol. 2v. Moreover, Jesuit historian John N. Schumacher has written that only twelve of the thirty-some men that accompanied the missionaries were regular soldiers, contradicting Driver (1989), who follows Ibáñez (1886), and the thesis that the Jesuits had many more military men at their command (Schumacher, 2001: 478-79). The missionaries evidently needed more soldiers, for on February 22, 1672, they asked the Crown to send two hundred men –Pampango and Spanish– and a Spanish commander (*cabo*) who had the same “piety and prudence as Captain Antonio Nieto”. “Apuntamientos de lo que parece más necesario al presente estado de estas islas Marianas según la relación que va aparte de los sucesos”, n.d., ARSI, *Philipp*. 13, Hist.: 1663-1734, fols. 74r-74v. This request was not answered until July 5, 1679 (Lévesque, 1995b: 19-20).

¹⁹For more on this, see: (Vitar, 1997: 102-10; Calvo, 2000: 21-43; Hausberger, 2004: 131-68).

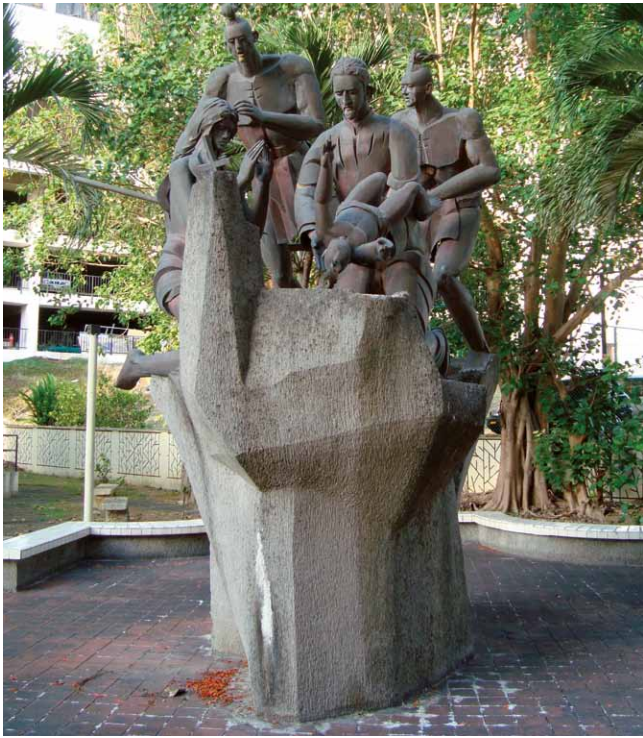


Figure 26: Diego Luis de San Vitores' martyrdom. Monument in Tumon, Island of Guåhån. Photo: Alexandre Coello de la Rosa.

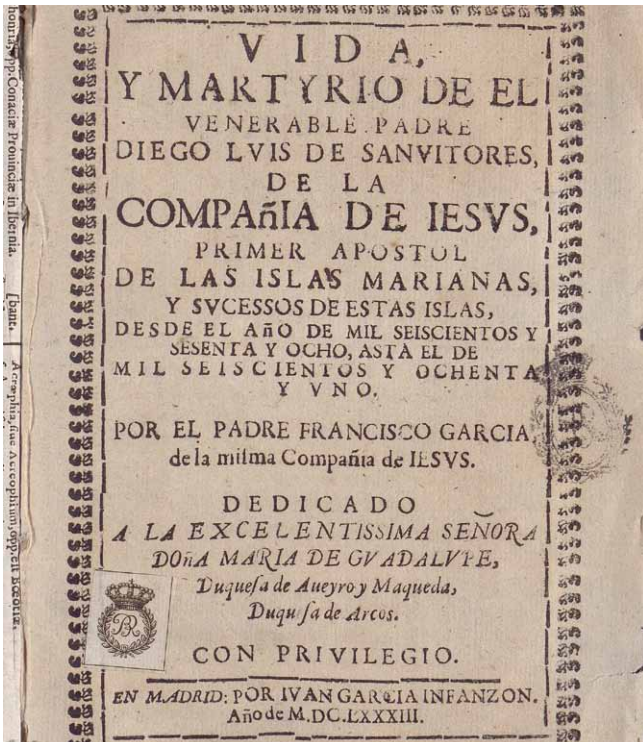


Figure 27: *Vida y Martirio del venerable padre Diego Luis de San Vitores (...)*. Published in Madrid in 1683. National Library Collection. Images from the Spanish National Library Collection.

in Lévesque, 1995a: 164): Nicolás de Figueroa, Damián Bernal, Manuel de Nava, and Pedro Calungsod (Bisaya)²⁰. The newcomers' "chief," Diego Luis de San Vitores, was also slain (AHCJC, EI-b-9/5/1-7: "Martirios y varones ilustres", EI b-9/5/2: "Martirios, naufragios, &.", loose leaves). On April 2, the missionary was baptizing a little girl named María Assión at the beach of Tumón (or Tunjón), on the island of Guåhån. There, he was attacked by her father, Matapang (or Mata'pang), for baptizing his daughter against his will. Matapang pierced the Jesuit's chest with a lance while another attacker, Hirao, split his head open with a scimitar-like weapon ("Historica narratio illorum (1668-1673)", in Lévesque, 1995a: 52-53).

Panegyrist like Andrés de Ledesma (1671-75)²¹ were invested in presenting Jesuit missionaries as victims of unjustified Chamorro abuse. By emphasizing the occasions on which natives threw rocks and lances at the missionaries, they created an inflated impression of the natives' bellicosity while highlighting the heroic demeanor of the Jesuit fathers (Ledesma, 1670, fols. 8r-9r). This was part of the symbolic construction of the frontier, which rested upon the representation of its inhabitants as savages (Giudicelli, 2005: 157-73). As part of this construction, hagiographies (saints' vitae) presented the Jesuits' tormentors as intrinsically evil, in a direct counterpoint to the orthodox discourse of Jesuits as good. The representation of those who violently resisted evangelization as anthropofagous, idolatrous, and violent was a literary product of Jesuit hagiographers; by imputing such "pragmatic savagery" to their confreres' killers, they placed them at the bottom of the human genre (Rubial, 2011: 212). Since the recalcitrant natives lacked humanity, they occupied a pre-social state that was the inverse of one based on "human and Christian" morals (Giudicelli, 2005: 157-73). This inversion was made explicit in the martyrdom chronicles of missionaries slaughtered in America, which followed a narrative convention wherein native religions were described as diabolical inversions of Christian (Catholic) rituals (Ahern, 2007: 279-98). It was a trope that reflected the Jesuit interpretation of the new colonial

²⁰ For more on the life of Pedro Calungsod, who was beatified by Pope John Paul II on March 5, 2000, see Mojares (2000: 34-61).

²¹ Ledesma was born in Cartagena on January 16, 1610. He joined the Society of Jesus on December 6, 1627, and became a graduate and professed of the four vows on December 7, 1650. "Primus catalogus anni personarum anni 1672", ARSI, *Philipp.* 2-II, Cat. trien.: 1649-1696, fol. 360r.

reality as a permanent war between God's children and the followers of Satan²².

Following this logic, the Jesuits' deaths were not defeats, but victories: to promote evangelical ardor among the Society's members, hagiographers always described the dead as "religious heroes" whose violent deaths were joyous and happy. Martyrial sacrifices were redemptive, for, according to the Gospel of Saint Matthew (10:32, 39), whoever lost their life for Christ's sake was granted eternal life. In Father Manuel de Solórzano (1649-84)'s words,

"Those islands have been bathed in the blood of illustrious martyrs, three of the Society, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, Father Luis de Medina, and Father Francisco Ezquerria, and fourteen secular companions of our mission's priests. This animates me so much that nothing seems too difficult for me, for even that which is hardest to do gives me the solace of hoping that I may die for Christ. And thus, I give myself over to the dangers of the seas and the land with the greatest confidence, for I know that neither the sea nor the land, nor angels or men can harm me if God does not give them license; and if He gave it to any creature, I will know that I die because His Majesty wants it, and thus his Divine Will shall be done onto me" (Solórzano to his father, February 20, 1676, letters, fol. 115r; Coello and Atienza, 2020).

Martyrial discourses often presented the martyrs as heroes, with their exemplary actions and incorruptible virtues at the forefront and attention given to their supernatural gifts, if there was a consistent pattern of such elements (García, 2004; Aranda, 1690; Boye, 1691). Martyrdom was not, after all, achieved solely through violent death: the cause of that death had to be the martyr's ardent devotion to the faith. It was a divine gift that guaranteed salvation, which meant that after the deaths of Fathers Medina and San Vitores, many of their confreres, including young Father Solórzano and those Jesuit fathers who also died during the Second Chamorro War (1684), hoped to imitate (*imitatio*) (Strasser, 2015: 573-77; Strasser, 2020: 32). However, as Brockey noted, there is a clear paradox: while the vast majority of martyrs who died for the faith in Japan were laymen and women, the reports dwelt primarily on the deaths of priests and friars. As he points out, "the reason for this lies in the fact that laymen were not responsible for promoting the cult of martyrs; members of religious orders were, and these authors first memorialized their own" (Brockey, 2017: 210).

²²Ines G. Županov has looked at how Francis Xavier's hagiographies illustrate this need to "organize and make sense" of Portugal's possessions in Asia in providential and messianic terms (Županov, 1995: 135-61).

The mission in the Marianas

Francis Hezel
Micronesian Seminar

The islands that later came to be known as the Marianas were the first that Magellan encountered during his historic voyage across the Pacific in 1521. During a brief layover at Guam in March of that year, Magellan and his half-starved crew welcomed dozens of islanders on their three ships before a fight erupted, thus initiating the relationship between the Island Pacific and the West. Magellan's voyage may have put the Island Pacific on the Western map, but it was Miguel de Legazpi who, in 1565, claimed formal possession of the islands for Spain. Following Legazpi's visit, the Manila galleon route was established, with Guam serving as a provisioning stop-over on the annual run. Still another century would pass before Spain finally established a permanent presence in the island group.

1. Arrival of first missionaries

In June 1668, six Spanish Jesuits, led by Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, arrived at Guam to found the first mission in the island group. This event represented a significant milestone inasmuch as it was the

first mission established anywhere in the Pacific¹. The achievement was not easily accomplished, however. For five years San Vitores, whose family connections provided direct access to the Spanish court, appealed directly to the Queen Regent, Mariana of Austria, to secure permission and funding for the mission. When authorization was granted, despite the resistance of the governor of the Philippines, Mariana was awarded the compliment of having the islands named for her (García, 2004: 140-3) (Figure 28).

The Jesuits were not accompanied by the troops usually assigned to protect the missionaries in newly colonized parts of the world. San Vitores, confident of the gentleness of the island people, claimed that there was no need of a military detachment. In fact, he argued that a military garrison would create more problems than it would solve. Instead, he selected 31 lay volunteers, a mix of Filipinos and Creoles from Mexico, to assist the priests and protect them—his *Escuadrón Mariano*, as he called it. The group was a rag-tag lot

¹The next missionary thrust, initiated by British, would not occur for another century.



VERDADERO RETRATO DEEL V. P. DIEGO LVIS

G.^o Forman sculp.

DE SANVITORES.

Matrin. 1682.

Figure 28: Portrait of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores that appears in the book about his life and death in the Mariana Islands. Images from the Spanish National Library Collection.

that included two 12-year-old boys, tradesmen, a married couple, and only one individual with any military experience (Viana, 2004).

Soon after disembarking at Hagatna (Agaña), the missionary band received a hearty welcome from the local chief of Hagatna, who had invited other leaders to attend the gathering. All the local chiefs were presented with a piece of iron hoop, a prized commodity in a society that depended on shell and stone for fashioning its tools. Within the next day or two, the missionaries baptized 23 islanders, mostly young children, and plans were already underway to spread out and bring the gospel to the main villages on the island (Coomans, 1997: 5). Before long, the missionary party, with the help of the islanders, erected small wooden huts to serve as the church and the residence for the priests and their helpers. Meanwhile, three of the priests were assigned to the islands of Rota and Tinian to undertake the conversion of the northern part of the archipelago. A school for boys was opened in Agaña, the main village on Guam –the first formal education offered anywhere in the Pacific–.

San Vitores himself presented a strange spectacle as he walked barefoot wearing a cloak of plaited palm leaves over his threadbare black cassock with a conical palm-leaf hat on his head. His own mission approach, patterned after techniques that he had successfully used in the Philippines and Mexico, was to march into a village at the head of his mission helpers as they chanted a religious refrain like “*Nuestra alegría/ Jesu y Maria*”. He would then go from house to house baptizing and singing prayers composed in the island language. San Vitores, who often chanted and sang until he became hoarse, was fittingly described by his first biographer as “Christ’s troubador” (García, 2004: 184).

2. Violent resistance

Despite their enthusiastic reception and their early successes, violent encounters soon began to occur with frightening frequency. Just two months after their arrival, one of the Jesuit priests was seriously wounded. Not long afterwards, two of the lay helpers were killed; and then one of the priests met his death at the hands of angry islanders. The mounting

violence was attributed in part to the story spread by a Chinese resident, shipwrecked years earlier, that the priests were poisoning the children with the water they used for baptism. But the missionaries provoked a hostile reaction when they destroyed the ancestral skulls carefully preserved and venerated by the islanders on the grounds that they were nothing more than religious idols. Then, in April 1672, Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores was killed together with his young assistant, Pedro Calungsod, after baptizing an infant against the wishes of the child’s father. In recent years both were recognized as martyrs for the faith, San Vitores through beatification and Calungsod by full canonization.

The first thirty years of the mission were tumultuous ones. There were occasional attacks on priests and small mission parties, often in retaliation for personal offense given or due to resentment at the missionaries’ belittlement of island cultural practices. Spanish troops, finally summoned by the Jesuits following the death of San Vitores, punished such offenses. Frequently this punishment took the form of putting to the torch canoes or homes abandoned by the islanders. On at three occasions, large numbers of island men gathered to surround the missionary compound in Hagatna, now protected by a fortification and hold the newcomers prisoners in their own dwelling for months at a time. Even these long sieges ended with surprisingly little loss of life. Somehow, despite these violent outbreaks, the missionaries continued their evangelization, and the number of Christians increased steadily. In fact, in some of the later violent encounters the missionaries received more support from local forces led by newly baptized islanders than from Spanish troops.

By 1690 the violence had all but ended as most of the island population was converted. The total loss of life in what are sometimes called the “Spanish-Chamorro Wars” was perhaps 200 in all: about 120 islanders and another 80 of the “Spanish” –or an average death rate of four islanders and three outsiders a year–. Even if the death toll in hostilities has been greatly exaggerated in early histories, it is true that the island population suffered a drastic reduction during this period –not because of warfare, but because of the deadly epidemics that were almost a yearly event–. The pre-contact population of an estimated 40,000 plunged to 4,000 by 1710, the year of

the first census. In just over forty years the population of the Marianas had been reduced by 90 percent (Hezel, 2015: 79-81). This near-extermination of the local population was a tragedy that had occurred repeatedly in those lands colonized by Spain where people had not yet developed the immunity to diseases that the visitors inadvertently transmitted through their contact.

3. Resettlement of the survivors

Local people, once scattered in small hamlets throughout the island, were starting to be resettled into central villages as early as 1680 during a lull in the hostilities. The practice of *reducción*, a trademark of Spanish colonial administration everywhere, was intended to do more than just provide administrators and missionaries ready access to the people. It was to offer local people the blessing of *cris-tianidad*, the faith community that provided regular liturgical celebrations, instructions in their religion, and the social support needed to sustain the belief of these new converts.

The consolidation of the surviving Chamorro population was a process that continued for half a century, concluding only when the last of the people from Saipan moved to Guam in the early 1730s. Thereafter, the ten northern islands of the archipelago remained uninhabited for more than a century, while the entire population was concentrated on the large island of Guam and the nearby island of Rota at the southernmost end of the chain. Guam was divided into six *partidos*, each consisting of a resettlement village together with its surrounding land; Rota had just one (Hezel, 2000: 27).

4. Village life

The village consisted of a church and rectory surrounded by a cluster of dwellings, most of them built of nipa thatch. Except for Hagatna, which had been designated the capital and dignified by the term *ciudad*, the villages had 200 or 300 residents. Some of the houses once scattered along the shore were rebuilt in orderly rows; roads were widened and straightened. Besides the dwellings and the nearby sheds that served as cookhouses, there might be a few large

canoe houses lining the shore. The young men's clubhouses that formerly were found in most villages had been destroyed at the insistence of the missionaries, who regarded them as little more than dens of promiscuity.

Local people supported themselves, as they always had, by subsistence farming and fishing. They spent much of their time on their ancestral estates—or in the case of those resettled from other islands, on the lands the Spanish had given them to farm—growing rice and taro and the other usual root crops². But their crops included popular items such as corn, newly introduced by the Spanish, while the domestic animals they raised now included chickens, cows and especially *carabao*. The *carabao* became a trademark of village life in the Marianas, where until World War II it was used as a beast of burden and sometimes eaten as a feast food. In 1698, one missionary listed among the food items traded to visiting Spanish ships “pigs, calves, watermelons, bananas, pineapples, sweet potatoes and melons as good as those in Spain” (Anonymous Jesuit, 19 Sept 1698, in Atienza and Hezel 2021). Tobacco, however, soon became the central commodity in the island economy and the most common medium of exchange as the entire population, young and old, took up the habit of smoking pipes and cigars. “For one leaf of tobacco”, a Jesuit wrote, “a man will work all day” (Anonymous Jesuit, 19 Sept 1698, in Atienza and Hezel 2021).

In addition to their traditional work, women now spent much of their time weaving the cloth that was in such great demand to make the simple clothing worn by everyone in the village. While clothing was imposed by the priests, village people dispensed with it when they were not in church or engaged in religious activities. On the other hand, clothing had an appeal for some villagers, who used it as a bodily adornment or to display their religious devotion. As clothes became more commonly worn, women acquired one more task: laundering the family clothing. This they did in the company of other family members or neighbors so that it became something of a social event.

²The practice of regular work visits to these land parcels, known as *lanchu*, remained a strong feature of island life right up to modern times.



Figure 29: *Indios de Umatac*. Anonimus. Malaspina Expedition. Laid paper and pencil. Museo de America Collection.

Authority in the new village remained with the traditional village chief. Under Governor Saravia, who began the resettlement in 1680, the legitimacy of their authority was recognized by Spanish officials and village chiefs were given the title *maestre de campo*. At first this worked well, but later, under a string of governors who were notoriously avaricious, most of the village chiefs requested that the governor find someone to replace them. Understandably, they found it difficult to comply with the harsh demands for village labor—demands that far exceeded what was permitted by Spanish law and would do

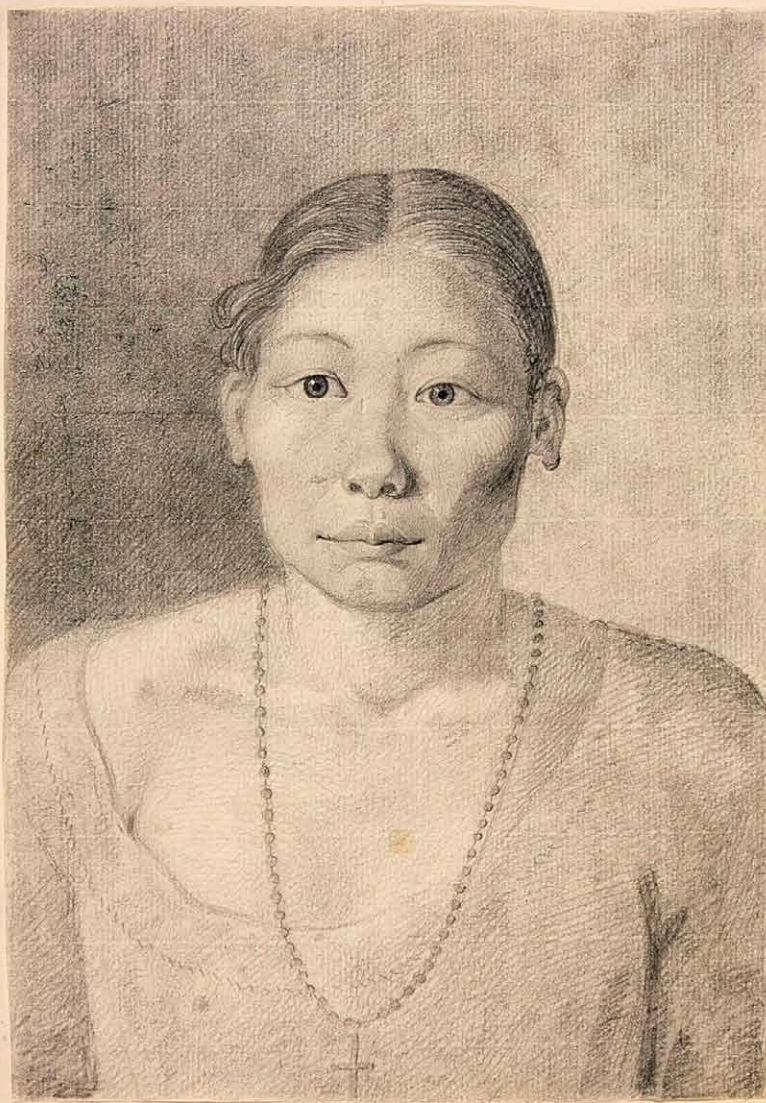
little more than enrich the governor—. These self-serving governors—Damian Esplana, Juan Antonio Pimentel and Luis Tagle—ruled for a total of 25 years between 1683 and 1725. During those hard years, the governors were able to get what they wanted by appointing a Creole or Filipino, usually a retired soldier, as *mayordomo* to exercise *de facto* authority over the village (AGI Filipinas 99, f33. in Atienza 2014: 38). After the last of this string of governors left office, the added title was eliminated and authority returned to the traditional village chief.

5. The village church

The church building, which stood at the center of the village, became even more prominent as the old wooden structures were rebuilt in stone. As in other parts of the Spanish empire, village life in the Marianas soon came to be regulated by the church bells. They tolled for mass in the morning, for rosary in the afternoon, three times a day for the *Angelus*, and the *De Profundis* at the death of anyone in the community. The whole village would turn out for mass on special religious feasts recognized throughout the year. But the feast day of the patron saint of the village church was celebrated with extraordinary aplomb: on this special occasion the procession and the feast that invariably followed drew crowds from other villages on the island. Within a short time, the church determined not only the order of the day, but the yearly calendar as well.

The Jesuit missionaries described with evident satisfaction the devotional practices among their newly converted island people. In Hagatna, one missionary helper marveled, women would meet in the church to sing their prayers every evening, “with some of the prayers beginning at 7 o’clock, some at 8, and some at 9. Music could even be heard at 10 in the evening” (Bustillo, Annual report for 1689-1690, ARSJ Filipinas 14, ff. 75-83). Young people may have no longer chanted aloud their creation myths, but boys and girls would sing the litanies in harmony as they romped through the hills or worked in the fields. In the church that had just become central to village life, there was a rich variety of outlets through which people could express their musical talent: parish choirs, chanted prayers and sung devotions.

7-9



MVGER DE LA ISLA DE GVHAM.

32

Figure 30: Guam Island woman (1789-1794) - Juan Ravenet 1776-1821. Drawing. Laid paper and pencil. Archivo Naval Collection.

Right from the outset the converts to Christianity displayed a strong affection for Mother Mary, missionary letters report, “with many hugging the statue in church and praying the rosary while walking or at home” (Cardenoso, letter of 1693, ARSJ Filipinas 14, ff. 83-5). This devotion, so quickly elevated to a central place in people’s practice of their faith, may reflect the importance of women’s nurturing role in the island society. In the new church they continued to play the prominent role they had in their pre-contact village community. Even if the main authority figure in the church was the foreign pastor, select women became recognized in their role as *techa*, or teacher. Always more than simply catechism instructors, these reliable women became the heart of the parish, signs of stability, and decision-makers in the life of the church. In effect, women soon acquired in the new church a role that would have been similar to the one they enjoyed in traditional society.

6. Confronting the spirits

Traditional island life embraced a network of social relationships that included people’s bonds with the unseen spirits that were believed to exercise control over so much of what happened in the village. The spiritual dimension was as critical in traditional village life as it was church-centered new village.

Island culture placed huge emphasis on respect for the dead and veneration of ancestral spirits. The skulls of deceased family members, mentioned so often in the old missionary accounts, served as shrines to their spirits (García, 2004: 194). The bones of beloved family members were cleaned and kept in caves where they were honored and sometimes consulted through *makåna*³. Missionaries inveighed against this practice, destroying ancestral skulls whenever they could on the grounds that they were sacrilegious. Yet, the church offered alternative means of honoring the dead. The early Jesuit missionaries mention the sung funeral masses in the parish churches and describe the line of acolytes

³This is the chamorro word that refers to the person who has contact with the spirits, allowing himself to be possessed in order to gain access to information that could benefit the family of the departed.

and clergy accompanying the casket, “draped in black cloth stitched with crosses”, to the cemetery for religious burial in a grave blessed with holy water. Already by 1698, the people in the village had begun the custom of gathering nightly to recite the rosary for anyone who had recently died in the village (“Puntos para la carta annua”, 1698, RAH, Cortes 567, leg 12; cited in Hezel 2000: 20). This celebrated custom of the novena, with the rosary recited each evening by a gathering of the family and friends, was not unlike the traditional island wake, which might extend to seven or eight days. The mourners would “spend those days singing sad songs and having funeral meals around the mound they raise over the grave” (García, 2004: 174; Coomans, 1997: 18).

Besides the ancestral spirits venerated by the islanders, there were also the harmful nature spirits that had to be dealt with. In place of the traditional remedies, usually dispensed by spirit mediums to ward off the power of malevolent spirits, the church offered a wealth of symbolic means for affording protection. When an island leader found that rats were attacking the crops, he was instructed to raise a cross in the middle of the field after it had been blessed with holy water (Bustillo, 23 May 1690, ARSJ Filipinas 14, ff. 400-1). The missionary reports at this time (1690) are filled with stories of how people sought protection from malevolent spirits under the new religion. “The sick began drinking holy water... to ward off death and aid recovery. A cross could be found in just about every house since it was revered as a means of protection against diabolical powers and other evils” (Hezel, 2000: 20). Erecting a cross, drinking holy water against disease, and receiving priestly blessings were among the various means of protection offered to the newly converted people.

All of this exemplified the growing belief that the new religion offered even more powerful resources than the old for protecting people against harmful spirits, just as it provided adequate alternative forms for honoring the spirits of the deceased.

7. Missionaries and opposing forces

The battle for souls, in the minds of the early missionaries, was fought against the superstitious beliefs and the lascivious customs of the islanders they

sought to convert. In fact, during the earliest years of their work in the Marianas, the opposition the missionaries faced was from islanders they had angered for one reason or another. In the ambushes and skirmishes that occurred time and again during those years, twelve Jesuits died violent deaths. Twenty of the 31 lay helpers who accompanied the first band of Jesuits also lost their lives in the on-going hostilities. Yet, they were easily replaced, and the number of Jesuits assigned to the mission grew to fourteen by 1680. The risk of violent death in the islands, far from deterring volunteers, encouraged them, for the Marianas had the same appeal to those Jesuits seeking martyrdom that the French mission in the New World did. As reports of the Marianas mission began to circulate throughout Europe, the missionary band in the islands became more cosmopolitan as it grew in size. Within a few years of its founding, Dutch and Sicilian Jesuits arrived; and soon Bohemians, Austrians and Italians were added to the mix. In fact, the Jesuit who served the longest in the islands—48 years—was Brother Jacopo Chavarri, a Neapolitan by birth.

Because of the early opposition the missionaries encountered, the Spanish government sent troops to protect the missionaries and appointed a civil governor to administer the growing garrison. The number of troops, most recruited on board the galleons, expanded by 1680 from twenty to 130. The Jesuits, who were at first happy to have these reinforcements to protect their vulnerable new mission, soon were complaining about the excesses of these troops. Besides the sexual liberties the soldiers were taking with local women, they were using their position to seize whatever else they wanted from local people. One Jesuit complained, “The thefts that the soldiers have carried out among the *Indios*, and the other extortions, have been endless” (Solorzano, 20 May 1681, ARSJ Filipinas 13, f 248). But the troops themselves were becoming impoverished as their numbers increased and their salary diminished. In the end, the troops would continue to be exploiters just as they were exploited by their own authorities.

If the military operated independently of the mission and its goals, the same could be said of the civil governors. A few of the governors shamelessly exploited their troops and the local people to make

their own fortunes. Three of the governors—Esplana, Pimentel and Tagle—were especially notorious for their corruption, as the documents of that time attest. In their attempt to gain control of as much of the annual subsidy as they could to invest in the galleon trade, these governors would find reason to reduce salaries even as they marked up food items in the government store by as much as 500 percent (Quiroga, 26 May 1720, AGI, Filipinas 95, f 24).

As the church took root and early local resistance all but ended, the missionaries found other forces at work to hinder their efforts. Ironically, the new opposition they faced as the mission matured was from the very people who had been posted to the islands to protect them and safeguard their work.

8. Period of tranquility

By 1730, the mission had acquired a certain measure of stability. With new reforms introduced to correct administrative abuses, the soldiers were paid their salary in cash and the harsh work demands on the islanders were relaxed. A pastor was appointed for each of the villages and church life could be carried on without the drama of the recent years. The mission schools, begun a year after the arrival of San Vitores, educated a steady stream of young boys and girls in matters of faith and in the basic skills they would need to interact with their expanded world in the future. Besides the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán and Escuela de las Niñas, the Jesuits operated an agricultural school on farmland in the village of Pago where students learned different trades as they cared for the missionaries’ livestock and crops (Bustillo, 23 May 1690, ARSJ Filipinas 14, ff. 75-83).

The population of the island group had stabilized at about 2,000, with most of the local people peacefully residing in the villages that had been designated for resettlement. While the church might have remained central to the life of the village, it did not exercise full control over the lives of the villagers. Many of the village people had family estates in the interior, known as *lancho*. They would split their time between their residence and their estate, some returning to town only for Sunday services.

At different times civil authorities in the Marianas, witnessing the population plummet and the cost to

the Crown of maintaining this colony, recommended a drastic solution: one governor proposed that the Spanish simply abandon the island group and the entire population be relocated in the Philippines (Bustillo, 14 April 1702, ARSJ Filipinas 14, ff. 324-5; Hezel, 2000: 47). The Jesuits, of course, objected strenuously to such proposals, which would have ended the mission that they had nurtured with their own blood. In this they were supported by the Spanish Crown, which resolved to maintain the colony as a defensive outpost for Spanish shipping if for no other reason.

Life had settled down in the islands to the point of tedium. There was little excitement other than the arrival of the yearly galleon; mission letters were merely a recital of marriages and deaths and favors granted. The one bit of glitter in the otherwise dreary procession of years were the festivities celebrated in 1747 at the coronation of King Ferdinand VI; the description of the event filled page after page of the Spanish reports. Yet, at bottom, the silence and tedium were reassuring, for they served notice that the colonization of the island group was completed; Spain and the people of the Marianas had learned to live with one another in peace (Hezel, 2000: 52).

9. End of an era

Jesuit work in the Marianas came to an abrupt end in 1769, shortly after Spain banished Jesuits from its realm. The banishment by Spain, soon after similar decrees by Portugal and France, was part of a widespread reaction to the Jesuit Order that resulted in its universal suppression by the Pope a few years later. With the expulsion of Jesuits, who had initiated and staffed the evangelical mission for 101 years, the church in the Mariana Islands was entrusted to the Augustinian Recoletos in the Philippines. They would assume responsibility for the mission until nearly the end of the 19th Century, when Spain ceded its title to the Marianas to other powers.

During the century of Jesuit work in the island group, a total of 74 Jesuits served in the mission. Half of them ended their lives there. The Jesuits had begun their work alone, without the usual colonial and military personnel that were normally a part of such mission attempts. But they had the assistance

of a varied group of laymen as they went about their work. This band of helpers over the years included a few remarkable figures such as Jose Quiroga, an experienced soldier who led a austere life and provided long service to the mission. They had endured the trials of the first two decades to see the people they served settle into the peaceful Christian life they had always intended for them. Their successors, the Recoletos, would minister to a people who would see waves of new visitors, presenting additional cultural challenges, wash over their islands during the following century.

10. The impact of the Church

The conversion of an island people San Vitores initially viewed as peaceful and well disposed to the faith turned out to be far from the simple task he imagined. His attempt to bring the blessings of the gospel precipitated cultural conflict that soon turned violent. That, in turn, led to Spanish retaliation once the military force and the administrative apparatus was expanded sufficiently to allow for this. Hence, the pathway to conversion in the Marianas, as in so many other parts of the world, was through conquest and colonization. In the end, the island group had lost most of its people to disease, the survivors had nearly all become Catholic and were resettled in a handful of villages, and the culture in the Marianas had been greatly transformed. The faith had been planted in the islands, as the missionaries envisioned, but the human damage was undeniable and the cultural disruption was real.

Even as the church became the center of village life, it continued to introduce major new features. It enforced obligatory standards of dress, established a new daily order that revolved around church devotions, created religious organizations that quickly evolved into social groups, provided a host of occasions for village fiestas, and altered the ways in which islanders dealt with the spirits. The church could do all this more forcefully than it could in earlier years, if only because each village now had a resident pastor.

But if the church was an instrument of cultural disruption, it also served as a vehicle for maintaining many of the elements of pre-contact island life. With its complex liturgical and devotional system, church

life provided the villagers with a host of opportunities to display many of the cultural features that had once been so important in their traditional social life. Among the most prominent ones absorbed into the church were: the love of music, opportunities for feasting, village gatherings, celebration of the dead and placation of malevolent spirits. These cultural features may have been expressed in new forms –those supplied by the church– but the features themselves carried on through the years. Hence, the flavor of much of the traditional society lived on, even if now embedded in an organization that was expressly religious.

The church also had a unifying effect on the people. Membership in the church provided a new relationship that brought villagers together more strongly

than ever before, whatever their birthplace and lineage. The outreach of the church extended beyond the village to other parts of the island, and even to other distant islands. As would later happen elsewhere in the Pacific, the church served as an instrument of unification since it offered extended “kinship” ties well beyond what the customary clan could provide. Perhaps we might say, then, that the church, despite the turbulence it provoked, did accomplish at least part of what evangelization was intended to achieve: the pacification of the islands.

Overall, the church could be said to represent both a force for change and a medium of continuity. Hence, it was the seed of the process that would result in a new shape of the island and its culture.

Gender and daily life in the Jesuit mission. The ABERIGUA project

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1. Introduction

The 6 March 1521 was one of those dates that leaves a mark on entire populations: in this case, that of the Chamorro people of the Mariana Islands. On that day, Magellan's expedition anchored in Guam, with only three of the five ships that had originally departed from Seville. The first interaction between Oceania and Europe took place when the islanders went to meet the ships. (Bayman and Peterson, 2016: 231; Rogers, 2011: 7). This episode, which ended, according to Pigafetta (1999 [1525]: 17) with the death of seven islanders and the burning of several canoes and some "forty or fifty houses", boded ill for the pre-colonial Chamorro Latte culture. In fact, the Magellan expedition placed the archipelago on the radar of a colonial ambition that would affect all its inhabitants, and only get worse after the permanent colonisation, which began in 1668, when Diego Luis de Sanvitores established the first Jesuit mission in Hagåtña (Agaña), the present-day capital of Guam.

The Jesuit missionaries soon realised that a growing sector of the local population that had initially

received them in a friendly manner, would fight the mission, which, though conceived as a peaceful project, was incompatible with their customs. Overwhelmed by the situation, Sanvitores' decision to request military aid from the crown was instrumental in initiating a resettlement process, known as the Spanish *reducciones*, in which local men and women were relocated to a few settlements, mainly in southern Guam (Driver, 1988; Hezel, 2015). Many of them were separated from their lands (and those of their ancestors), relocated to unfamiliar territories and forced to live under a new spatial logic based on the imposition of foreign institutions and customs and the destruction of their own.

The *reducciones* involved the implementation of strategies and policies designed to "civilise" the local population by imposing a daily existence in keeping with Jesuit rationality that was tantamount to an attack on traditional routines. The *reducciones* racialised and indigenised the local population, fostered new social hierarchies and promoted new models of masculinity and femininity in a much more asymmetrical power relationship than the one that had existed until then between men and women (Montón-Subías, 2019). Perhaps the most calamitous consequence of

this new era was the collapse of the Chamorro demography, which endangered the continuity of the colony (Hezel, 2015: 80-81). In this article, I will outline how these processes are studied by the ABERIGUA project, which is not only an acronym for “Archaeology of Cultural Contact and Iberian Colonialism in Guam and the Mariana Islands” but means “investigate” in the Chamorro language.

2. The new colonial normality

Although human history is a continuous process, plagued by change and continuity, certain historical events represent real turning points. One of them is undoubtedly the conquest and colonisation associated with the Iberian monarchies at the end of the Middle Ages. Interactions between populations multiplied on a scale (local, regional and, for the first time, global) and at a pace never experienced before, and awareness of our globality grew (Montón-Subías and Abejez, 2015: 23). The changes were of such magnitude that a transformation of the world as such took place (Quijano, 2000, 2016; see also Wallerstein, 1974; Gruzinski, 2012; Giráldez, 2015).

This transformation led to a patriarchal shift (Federici, 2004; Mies, 1986; Segato, 2011) that altered the lives of women, men, boys, girls and possible others across the globe. Researchers such as Laura Souder (1992) and Anne Perez Hattori (2018), among others, have postulated that this shift was triggered by the colonisation of Guam. The aim at ABERIGUA is to place at the centre of our research elements such as everyday customs, the human body and material culture, which we understand to be constitutive parts of this turning point rather than merely the passive result. To this end we pay special attention to Maintenance Activities (Figure 31), a research project by a group of Spanish feminist archaeologists, focussed on the repetitive, non-specialised daily practices that are essential to sustaining and reproducing life everywhere (González Marcén et al., 2008). The Jesuit mission interfered with these activities with the sole aim of replacing the Chamorro cultural logic with their own (Montón-Subías, 2019). Although the changes made by the Jesuits resulted in new daily routines, their forced imposition also established authentic reservoirs of cultural continuity (Montón-Subías and Hernando, 2021) and contributed to an identification with the Chamorro culture that has persisted to the present day (on

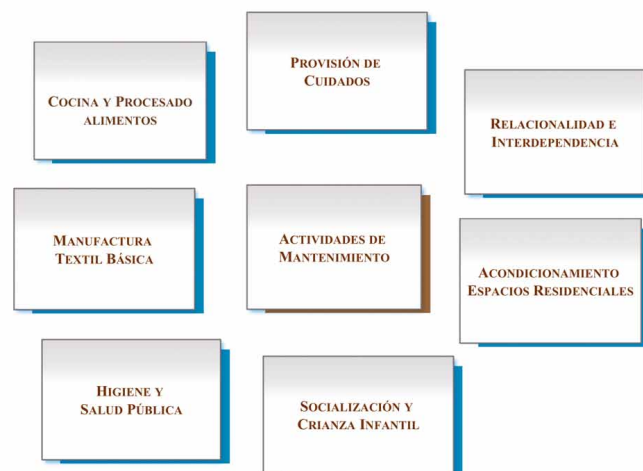


Figure 31: Maintenance Activities.

cultural continuity, see also Clement, 2019; Diaz, 1994; Leon, 2020a; Lujan, 2020; Na’puti and Lujan, 2015; Hattori, 2006, 2018; Perez Viernes, 2016; Souder, 1992).

The Jesuit missionaries arrived in Guam with accumulated experience in running colonial missions. After the construction of their first church in Hagåtña, they soon applied for funds to build their first school. With a capacity for influencing children’s socialisation and education, schools proved to be a particularly appropriate mechanism for influencing the future (Jaulin, 1973: 167). Spanish sources praise the effort put into the “hunting” of boys and girls “who were to be like the leavening that would season the dough of those islands with their good example” (García, 1683: 240).

Prior to the mission, the socialisation of children was a family and community affair. We know that seventeenth century Latte societies had oral traditions, and that they were governed by recurrent tasks related to horticulture, gathering jungle resources, shellfish harvesting, fishing and maintenance activities (Carson, 2012; Dixon et al., 2011; Manner, 2008; Russell, 1998). Historical texts inform us not only of the existence of lineages in which rank depended, possibly, on matrilineal filiation, but also of revered figures, who, in all likelihood, were local chiefs who belonged to the highest-ranking lineages (see also Driver, 1983: 208). Juan Pobre de Zamora, a pre-colonial Franciscan missionary who spent a few months in the Marianas in 1602 noted that these revered figures were called *magaries* or *magaries* (Martínez, 1997: 446) and *chamuri* (Martínez, 1997: 467), and that they enjoyed respect, authority

and certain privileges, although not real power over the rest of the community. This was also emphasised later by the Jesuits (Ledezma, 1670: 4; Sanvitores et al., 1671; Lévesque, 2000: 15). The sources also indicate the presence of some women in this social position (García, 1683: 205, 577-578; Lévesque, 2000: 18). In this type of society, in which there is neither a clearly defined functional division of labour nor a pronounced social stratification, doing things the same way they have always been done is valued and pursued (Clasres, 2014; Elias, 1989; Hernando, 2002). It is important not to forget this if we are to fully understand the significance of the changes and continuities that followed the *reducciones*.

The construction of schools meant that for the first time, a part of the socialisation of children was externalised, in segregated spaces specially designed for this purpose, usually located next to churches. While we would like to know more about how these schools worked and how they taught, the sources are not loquacious in this regard. Nonetheless, what is really important here is the influence of the schools on their students and the role they played in fostering an identification with Jesuit rationality (Molina, 2013), which was aimed at breaking with this local tradition. New ways of eating, dressing and healing and new approaches to sexuality promoted by the schools were not only different but often irreconcilable with previous habits. We can deduce that important sectors of Chamorro society understood the cultural threat posed by the schools because they launched attacks and developed strategies to reclaim their children. Gabriel de Aranda, for example, reproduces a letter from the Jesuit missionary, Sebastián de Monroy, which narrates how the people of Orote had “stolen” the children from the school to take them to another village where they had “retired” (Aranda, 1690: 377). Schools also established the basis for intergenerational conflict (García, 1683: 240; Aranda, 1690: 341), while the cultural distance between those who went to school and those who did not also increased.

Undoubtedly, schools were also a powerful device for transmitting gender ideology because the Jesuit missionaries had a very clear idea about the roles, behaviours, attitudes and values that should characterize men and women, and that the natural state of the latter was subordination to the former. Francisco García (1683: 595), for example, praises the effects that marriage had on the Chamorro women. He points out

how “these women, brought up in a land where the wife commands, and the husband obeys” were made to accept “the subjection to their husbands, recognising them as Superiors and heads”. Undoubtedly, the Jesuits’ interpretation of the Latte system was mediated by their own system. Therefore, this perception of the “command” of women is possibly a bias towards gender relations that are less asymmetrical than those that existed in Europe. In any case, the greater power attributed to women by the sources is restricted to the family sphere, where they enjoyed more privileges in marital disputes, such as custody over children when the parents decided to separate.

The Jesuit schools also fostered new bodily habits and, with them, new cultural values. Perhaps one of the most obvious was the introduction of clothing, which led, in turn, to changes in textile manufacturing (Montón-Subías and Moral, 2021). With the exception of the *tifis* or sex covers worn by women over 8-10 years old (Martínez, 1997: 450; García, 1683: 198), sandals and woven palm hats, Latte Chamorro people did not usually cover their bodies with clothing. For the Jesuits, these naked bodies were synonymous with “barbarism”, and they put all their efforts into “civilising”, or rather, clothing the local people, not without the reluctance, once again, of those who did not want to renounce their cultural codes. Dressing the body meant much more than covering it with strange garments. The dress functioned as a disciplinary apparatus, that represented values such as modesty, shame, decency, discretion and virtue, and dictated how a person should be.

Another passage from Francisco García illustrates how the maintenance of clothes was the responsibility of the females. Referring to the young Chamorro women married in Hagåtña to Spanish and Filipinos, he comments that “they went to mass every day, and then performed family duties, spending the day sewing, washing clothes, and doing other household chores” (García, 1683: 561). Before colonisation, women were also in charge of textile manufacturing and cooking. Other maintenance activities, such as child socialisation, were shared between men and women, as were agricultural tasks, gathering jungle resources, and fishing and shellfish harvesting within the lagoon (the area between the reef and the beach). Other practices, such as deep-sea fishing, were, on the other hand, a male preserve. What is significant is not so much the fact that colonisation reinforced the association between women and

maintenance activities, but that they would be carried out in a more unequal setting. Chamorro women thus suffered the double process of subordination so characteristic of colonialism: to colonial agents and to the men of their own group. Chamorro men also suffered subordination, but it was most likely in parallel to the empowerment over their own women through the institution of marriage, new forms of patrilineal kinship and new political positions from which the women were excluded (Souder, 1992: 224-5).

As mentioned above, maintenance activities also sustained important cultural continuities. This is the case of textile manufacturing with coconut and pandanus leaves (Anderson-Taft, 2019a; Auyong, 2019; Flores, 1999, 2021b; Tolentino, 2021e), an activity currently reclaimed as part of the *Kostumbren CHamoru* (<https://www.guampedia.com/voices-of-our-elders/>), which refers to traditional practices and values used to express Chamorro identity and defend cultural continuity. Palm objects were an indispensable element of Chamorro daily life both before and after the *reducción*. Juan Pobre de Zamora's account mentions palm matting used as mattresses and blankets, tables for eating, hats, baskets for sending gifts or carrying betel nuts, boxes to hold ancestors' skulls and covers for the deceased (Martínez,

1997: 444, 447-448, 451). Earlier sources also mention the technique for crafting boat sails (Kerr, 2013: 22; Donoso, 2016: 2-3) and baskets for carrying slingstones (Kerr, 2013: 23). All these uses are confirmed by seventeenth century colonial sources, which also mention the manufacture of curtains and matting for the walls of houses (Lévesque, 1995b: 124), small baskets to collect the souls of the deceased, ornaments to decorate the streets for burials of leaders (Sanvitores et al., 1671: 125), sandals (Lévesque, 1995b: 39; 1995c: 429), cradles, dishes on which to serve food, and even of a kind of armour (Lévesque, 2000: 12, 27). Some annual letters also inform us that in the Jesuit schools the girls continued to make palm mats as well as learning to weave and sew with new materials from abroad (e.g. ARSI, Ancient Company, Philipp.14, f. 82r).

The persistence in the manufacture and use of objects that belonged to the Latte material culture undoubtedly contributed to mitigating the feelings of dismay and disorientation that must have followed the forced renunciation of many traditions and the relocation to *reducción* settlements, far from ancestral lands. Through the weaving of plant fibres and the transmission of this know-how to future generations, the women nurtured and kept alive the connection

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Figure 32: CHamoru basketry made with pandanus leaves, in both sides *kostat tengguang* bags, baskets in the center (1886-1887). MNA Collection, from left to right and top to bottom: CE2139, CE6996, CE2138, CE6993. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

with their ancestral traditions, for themselves and for the group as a whole. Weaving palm objects was a true act of cultural reaffirmation and group survival in the new normality. Many of these objects continued to be used as elements of daily life after the *reducciones*. Some nineteenth-century texts, including those written during the Freycinet (1829: 317-8) expedition, indicate as much. Preserved in the Museo Nacional de Antropología in Madrid are fans, baskets, bags, sandals and mats from this period in time (Figure 32), which are similar to the objects described in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources and in the drawings made during the previous expedition.

3. The ABERIGUA Project: Excavations at San Dionisio Church, Humåtak

Along with the schools, the Jesuit churches played a fundamental role in the colonisation of native subjects. ABERIGUA has been excavating at the colonial church and cemetery of San Dionisio in Humåtak, southern Guam since 2017 (Montón-Subías et al., 2020). We can deduce from the words of the Franciscan missionary, Juan Pobre de Zamora, that Humåtak was one of the

main Latte settlements (Martínez, 1997: 448) before colonisation. Subsequently, it was chosen as a location for one of the *reducción* settlements for the Chamorro population. However, documents from the end of the nineteenth century portray it as a decadent place, a shadow of its former self (Olive and García, 1887: 42). Today, Humåtak is a small and economically depressed village, but it is also the place where, according to tradition, Magellan arrived in 1521. Although there is no complete agreement on this (Rogers and Ballendorf, 1989), there is no doubt that Humåtak was a technical stopover for Manila galleons, as they sailed across the Pacific from Acapulco to Manila. Very probably, when the Manila galleon trade ended in 1815, the town underwent a process of progressive decline that explains the image portrayed in nineteenth century documents. But for the duration of the trade route, Humåtak was the second most important city in the colonial administration. A residence for the governors (known today as *palasyo*) and a series of defensive fortifications were built there (Delgadillo et al., 1979; Driver and Brunal-Perry, 1994) (Figure 33), as well as the San Dionisio church. As a result, Humåtak is one of the places in Guam, and indeed in all of Oceania, with the best preserved “Spanish” architectural heritage.

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Figure 33: Nuestra Señora de la Soledad's Fort, Humåtak, Guam. Photo: Sandra Montón for ABERIGUA project.



Figure 34: San Dionisio's walls at present. Photo: Sandra Montón for ABERIGUA project.

Francisco García (1683: 585) mentions that the construction of the church began in 1680 and that in 1681 it was consecrated to Dionysius the Areopagite. Most probably, the first San Dionisio church was built from perishable materials (García, 1683: 586), which in the years to come would be destroyed on several occasions as a result of natural and manmade changes (Haynes and Wuerch, 1993: 15). The remains visible today, however, correspond to a massive architectural undertaking, built with coral ashlars (Figure 34).

Although we do not know the exact date when the church acquired such a configuration, the first drawings to portray it in this way date back to the eighteenth century. The original site was finally abandoned in 1902 after an earthquake. Later, in 1939, a new San Dionisio was built a few metres further west, just above the remains of the governor's residence (*palasyo*).

Our excavations at San Dionisio were the first to be carried out as part of a long-term systematic research project. Our objectives are both general and specific. We seek to better understand the origins and evolution over time of missionary colonisation in the archipelago, as well as the impact of this colonisation on the local population. We also aim to determine the archaeological sequence (from construction to abandonment) of this mission and evaluate its foundations with a view to the involvement of the community in its reconstruction and periodic maintenance. Shortly after the excavations began, we discovered a cemetery in front of the main façade, as foreshadowed by oral tradition and photographic evidence from the twentieth century. So far, we have recovered 15 primary burials and 15 secondary burials, the nature of which is still under investigation. Interestingly, the area closest to the main façade seems to be reserved for perinatal individuals, infants and young children (Figure 35).



Figure 35: Pits for the burial of perinatals, babies and young children in front of the main façade of San Dionisio. Photo: Sandra Montón for ABERIGUA project.

Undoubtedly, the funeral ritual was another of the customs that underwent an important transformation with the colonisation of Marianas, because during the Latte period it was common to bury the dead under or in the vicinity of the houses. Archaeological investigations have documented post-mortem alterations to Latte skeletons, as well as secondary inhumations, in some cases of skulls only (Stodder et al., 2015: 533, 543). Spanish sources report the veneration of ancestor skulls inside houses (Martínez, 1997: 448-449; Aranda, 1690: 220) and the reuse of human bones to manufacture weapons (García, 1683: 200). This has been confirmed by archaeological discoveries.

By relocating the dead to the church, the mission removed the celebration of death from the spaces used by the living. This process was contested by the local population and caused several confrontations. We know, for example, that it was difficult to bury in the Christian cemetery Quipuha, one of the local Hagåtña leaders who had helped establish the first mission (García, 1683: 409). The sources also mention that the Jesuits burned effigies of native idols in Pigpug and forced the locals to rebury the skulls of their ancestors (García, 1683: 408). Perhaps this explains the discovery of the remains at the church that have been subject to secondary burials.



Figure 36: Buttons from the San Dionisio's necropolis. Photo: Enrique Moral for ABERIGUA project.



Figure 37: Slingstone from San Dionisio's archaeological excavations. Photo: Enrique Moral for ABERIGUA project.

In addition to the osteoarchaeological remains, our excavations have also recovered ceramic used for building, fragments of amphoras, buttons made from bone (Figure 36) and iron nails. These materials are currently being studied and will provide insight into the changes that took place after 1521, as none of them were typical of the previous Latte world.

On the other hand, sling projectiles (Figure 37), shell beads and certain types of handmade ceramics bear witness to cultural continuities that, like the production of palm textiles, must have kept alive the link with the Latte tradition.

Undoubtedly, archaeological research at the San Dionisio church will provide a better understanding of how missions functioned in specific locations. San Dionisio was established as part of the global expansion of Jesuit missions in the seventeenth century. It bore testimony to the advance of the Jesuits on the island, their expulsion, their replacement by the Augustinian Recollects in 1769 and the subsequent taking of colonial power by the United States, shortly before Spain's abandonment of the archipelago in 1902. The church also witnessed episodes of native resistance, in which it underwent destruction and reconstruction several times, in parallel with a process of empowerment over the community that can be seen in the increasingly monumental architecture that distinguished it from the ordinary dwellings of the local population.

I would like to point out that ABERIGUA began excavating in San Dionisio at the request of the Humåtak community, and that the project was conceived from the outset as a community archaeology project that would bring together archaeologists interested in Spanish colonialism on the island and the Chamorro people of Humåtak eager to disseminate and divulge the rich cultural and historical heritage of their community. A consortium was formed between the Guam Preservation Trust-Inangokkon Inadahi Guahan (an NGO that promotes Guam's culture and its historical sites)¹, the Humåtak Mayor's Office, the Universidad Pompeu Fabra and the University of Hawai'i-Manôa, with the active collaboration of the Humåtak Community Foundation-Fondasion Komunidåt Humåtak. I must also add that the excavations at San Dionisio are the first in a larger programme that includes other representative enclaves of the colonial period.

4. Conclusions

Centuries of colonialism have forged a diverse heritage, both tangible and intangible, in Guam. San Dionisio is an example of the former; Catholicism is an example of the latter (Atienza and Coello, 2012). But there is much more. The Chamorro people understand that although influences have converged

¹<https://guampreservationtrust.org/>

in their heritage from different parts of the world, their archipelago is home to an unmistakably Chamorro way of life, as is defended by Toni “Malia” Ramirez in *guampedia*². That is why I tend to reject or put in quotation marks the adjective “Spanish” that is sometimes used to describe the Chamorro legacy, and which, in my opinion, appeals to that Eurocentric sense of unilateralism. If anything, it is a “Spanish” legacy that is genuinely Chamorro.

Undoubtedly, the archaeology of the Latte period is much more interesting in terms of cultural activism (Carson, 2012: 5, 11; Hunter-Anderson, 2011, 2019; Montón-Subías, 2021: 434) than the legacy from the Spanish colonial period. But the Spanish legacy also plays an important social, cultural and political role (Bayman and Peterson, 2016). Although local attitudes towards this heritage vary, significant sectors of the population claim it as their own. *Guampedia*, a community-authored encyclopaedia, recognises both the traumatic consequences of Spanish colonisation and the fact that “it has become part of the heritage and history of the Chamorro people and part of what they will pass on to their children”³. The Guam Preservation Trust has and continues to devote effort and resources to it. The same mind-set is shown by the community of Humåtak, with whom we excavate, and by people from other localities who visit us while we are working. I would like to emphasise that this recognition does not entail a celebratory attitude towards colonialism; on the contrary, it is perfectly compatible with outright criticism.

In fact, the discourses of celebration and “discovery”, with exceptions, are not liked in the Marianas, where what happened in the past is still very much alive in the present; a present that warns of a growing occupation of its lands by new U.S. military bases (Camacho and Monnig, 2010: 150; Barnett 2019). Anti-colonial activism is increasing in direct proportion to this theft. Although this activism is directed against the USA, it is clear that Magellan’s circumnavigation was the starting signal for the occupation of Oceania. In fact, the commemoration of the fifth centenary of Magellan’s expedition has not been free of contradictions. Michael Luján Bevaqua, a historian, writer and activist, summed up the situation when he empathised with those who proposed ignoring the anniversary at the same time as affirming that “if we disregard it instead of using it to explain how Spanish colonisation has impacted the history of the Chamorro people, we may be silenced again”⁴. He went on to warn that the fifth centenary would then become a narrative of glorification of the European explorers with the great Magellan at the head.

I believe that these celebratory narratives must also be rejected in Spain. From here, the former metropolis, we should rethink the discourses with which we want to relate to the populations we colonised, which is also to rethink how we want to relate to each other: whether from a perspective based on Eurocentric colonialism or depatriarchisation-decolonisation. The latter is what we at ABERIGUA are trying to do, with greater or lesser success, and that is why we have collaborated in the exhibition that has given rise to this catalogue.

² <https://www.guampedia.com/manila-galleon-trade-route-la-nao-de-china-a-legacy-in-the-marianas/>

³ www.guampedia.com/manila-galleon-trade-route-la-nao-de-china-a-legacy-in-the-marianas/

⁴ <https://eu.guampdn.com/story/opinion/columnists/2020/12/24/bevacqua-if-chamorus-ignore-magellan-anniversary-we-risk-being-ignored/4024978001/>

Things, ideas and people: An anthropological perspective on the history of contact in the Mariana Islands in the 17th century

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Colonial relationships always imply the existence of an unequal balance of power between the coloniser and the colonised and, therefore, an asymmetrical transfer of usage, customs and traditions. The history of the Mariana Islands presents a peculiar case featuring an entropic process of adaptive resistance (Atienza, 2019; Coello de la Rosa and Atienza, 2020: 40); this meant ever-increasing complexity and entropy, therefore, of information and of possible conjunctions, possibilities and perspectives. In addition, the Manila Galleon, a steady channel for uninterrupted multicultural communication for more than two centuries (1565-1815), provided a key element that allows modern observers to find change and continuity walking hand in hand in the Marianas today. There are many reasons for this transformation, but to understand the process, we must look not only at material factors linked to technological development, but also at symbolic ones. The latter are key to understanding the development of Chamorro culture and its prototypical importance in generating models that may allow us to overcome ideologically driven post/(neo)-colonial thinking today.

The first human colonisation of the Mariana Islands dates back to at least 1500 B.C., making it the

first known sea journey of more than a thousand nautical miles (Carson, 2014; Petchey et al., 2017). After these first settlements, which left little material activity and no known burials, a stable population –the pre-Latte culture– gradually established itself and spread from coastal areas towards the interior of the islands. Finally, around the close of the first millennium A.D., a population shift occurred (Carson, 2016). The Latte culture, whose characterising feature was the construction of houses on megalithic pillars called *latte* stones, took over in the Marianas. In 1521, some twenty-five generations after this shift, the Magellan/Elcano expedition appeared over the horizon. In 1668, more than a century later, the Jesuit Diego Luis de Sanvitores established the first permanent mission in the Marianas. Just as heat bleeds between surfaces, this encounter began a process by which culture, both material and immaterial, began to be transmitted between formerly distant islands. This transfer led to a unique way of being in the world. Such is the way of life of today's Chamorro people, who as of March 2021 –500 years after the first contact with Europeans– are once again seeing the billowing sails of *Juan Sebastián de Elcano* over the bay of Agaña.

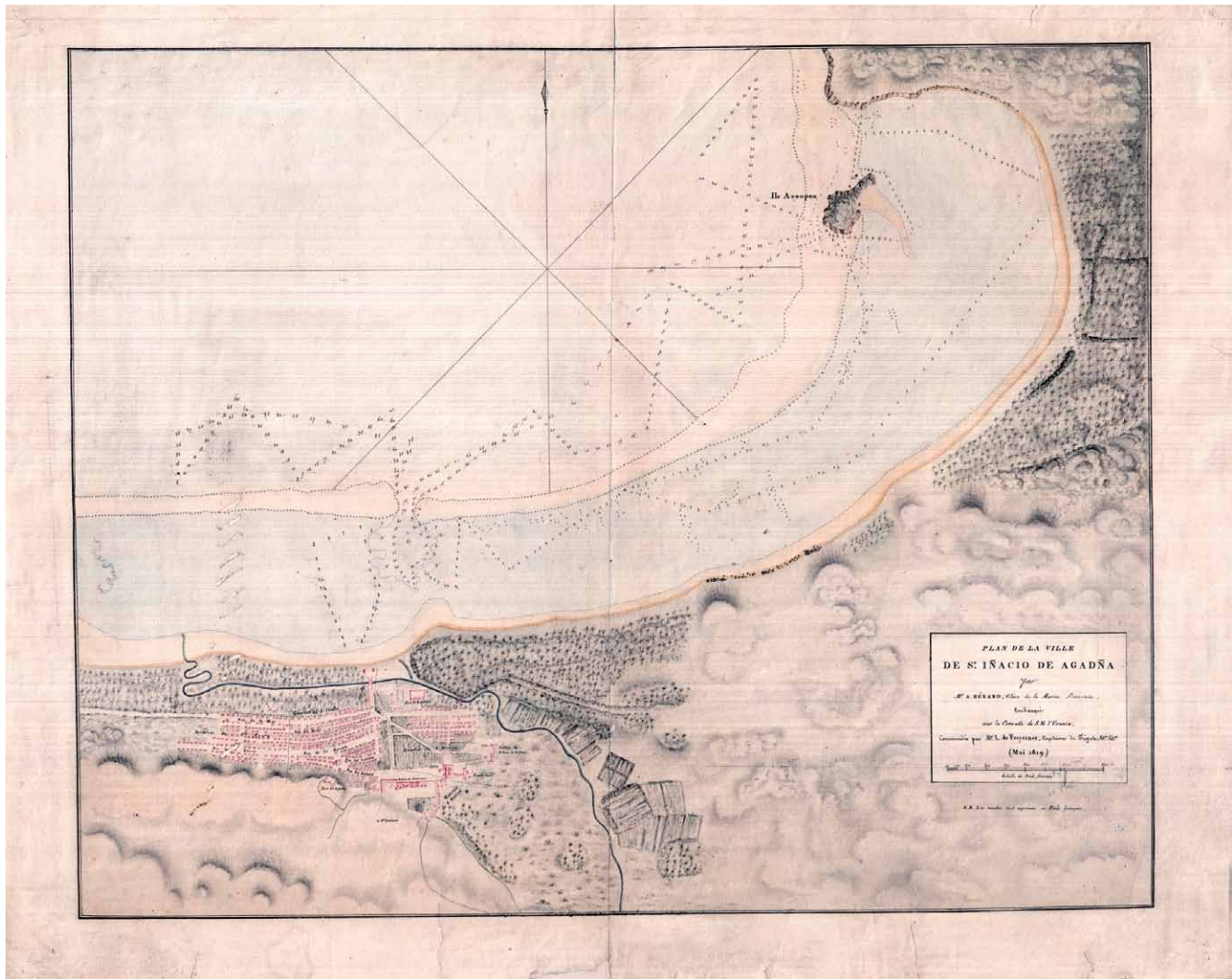


Figure 38: *Plan de la ville de San Iñacio de Agaña*, 1819. Archivo Naval Collection.

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The continuous exchange between the Manila Galleon and indigenous Marianas Islanders triggered processes of economic and cultural inflation in the archipelago. The main goal of the Spanish galleon was to reach the city of Manila, where silver from the Americas could be traded for Asian products. In this system of trade, the Mariana Islands represented a welcome –if not always necessary– stopover for more than a hundred years (1565-1668). The permanent settlement of European missionaries and their associates in 1668 launched a huge wave of introductions to things, ideas and people that would accelerate the process of ethnogenesis of the Chamorro people. In these pages, I would like to put forward a short reflection on this process and its scope, taking as a focal

point a 1668 letter written by Diego Luis de Sanvitores to Francisco Bello, the Philippine procurator in Mexico¹, in which Sanvitores asked for the support he needed to be able to provide the mission with people and supplies.

When the Spanish arrived in the Marianas in 1521, the Latte culture possessed a developed lithic industry, a practical and simple pottery now known as Marianas Plain, and sophisticated navigational skills (Carson, 2012). They did not have iron, although they were aware of its existence due to previous incidental contacts (Quimby, 2011). Like other Micronesian

¹RAH 9/2676 doc. No. 4.

cultures, they had developed the ability to build megalithic structures. Coconut and pandan trees provided the necessary fibre for textiles, especially sails for boats (proas and *galaides*), mats used to cover houses, and baskets, traps and other tools. Yams, breadfruit, taro and small amounts of rice provided for the population's basic carbohydrate needs. These were supplemented with proteins and fats from pigs, dogs

and various marine animals: fish, several molluscs and other reef resources. People also ate crabs, lizards and some fruits. Turtle shell was used as currency in ritual and trade exchanges. Their only weapons were the sling and the bone-tipped spear. Spearheads were often made using human bones from one's ancestors, whose skulls were often cleaned and kept in the home (see Martínez, 1997: 441-474).



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Figure 39: *Galaide* canoe model (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2848. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.



Figure 40: Bone spearpoint (900-1695). MNA Collection: CE6976. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

In this context of limited natural resources and “things”, the presence of Spanish ships with manufactured products undoubtedly had an impact on indigenous status systems and their underlying ontology. Access to status and chieftainship in the Marianas was linked, as in much of Micronesia, to matrilineal affiliation, but also to the leadership ability of individuals (Petersen, 2009). According to early Spanish chronicles, the matrilineal Chamorro clans were organised into two major groups, the high-status *matao* and the low-status *managachan* (Morales and Le Gobien, 2013; Driver, 1977; Martinez, 1997). This hierarchical classification between clans of different status is not unique in Micronesia and has been described on other islands in the region, such as the Yap Islands and Palau (Alkire, 1977). The *matao*-affiliated clans had access to the best resources on the islands, including access to reefs with good fishing and openings to the sea. The coastal *matao* clans controlled the trade between islands, while the lower status *managachan* clans were relegated to the interior of the island. There, they lived in the highlands and along rivers, and they engaged in agricultural practices.

From 1521 until the establishment of the first permanent mission following the arrival of the San Diego galleon in 1668, the arrival of products, mainly iron, likely had a major impact on island status and power systems, increasing intra-ethnic tension. The massive influx of machetes, nails and axes, among many other manufactured goods, altered traditional processes of redistribution and access to prestige goods. As a consequence, it may have affected the political and leadership capacities of certain chieftains over others. However, trade during these years of sporadic contact took place almost exclusively on the ocean, outside the reef, so access to these new foreign products remained mainly in the hands of the *matao* clans, as these clans possessed the vessels necessary to make contact with the Spanish and controlled the coasts. However, after the first permanent mission was established in 1668 on the island of Guam, the gradual and steady trickle of Spanish products inland began, democratising access to these goods and further impacting traditional systems of power.

The San Diego galleon, which transported the first Jesuit missionaries in 1668, encountered economic and technological products typical of a seventeenth-century island people when they landed on Guam. Besides people and their ideas, the galleon carried the following products:

“wheat and flour, wine for Mass, wafer irons to make the Eucharist, ornaments of many colours, [...] chalices and mid-sized missals, breviaries and Roman handbooks, bells, at least two or three medium, glass cruets, hourglasses or sand clocks and sundials, mirrors, large needles for navigation and a stone and magnet to tune them, normal jug for wine at Mass, spectacles of various strengths for the elderly, normal and surgeon’s bags, shaving razors, scissors, penknives and kitchen knives, small amber stones, flint, steel and sulphur for making fire, white and blue thread for sewing, normal needles and sailmaker’s needles, cord of various sorts for nets, large and small fish-hooks, pins, thin and thick wires, paper for writing and rag paper, quills, handsome feathers, tinsel and other things of that sort that my companions have requested to appease those poor people and which I, so as not to disappoint them, place here. Whistles, rattles, flutes, bagpipes or any other instrument that is easy to play; clarinet or cymbal, harp, guitar, strings, drum; charms, garnets, beadglass.

Iron, which is the most essential thing in those lands, and the steel that they call *coronilla*. Two or three *arroba* weights may arrive, along with some hoes, axes, hatchets, saws, large and small files, large and small nails, large and small hatchets, large and small padlocks with their rings, hinges and things for doors and houses. Ploughs, garlic and onions, seed maize, rice, lentils, chickpeas and other fruits and vegetables that seem suitable to send. Various animals for husbandry and for tilling the land. Birds, pigeons and some of those macaws that they so admire [...] Pots with bails and other things needed for cooking. Pots, pitchers, round jugs and other pottery items that may arrive safely, remedies against mice, even if only *rejalgar* [poison], and colours for painting. Cloth and canvas of any kind, cordovan leather hats, soles, tanned leather, white and coloured ribbons, stockings or that fabric used to make Castile blankets. Crosses, and if there are any, small crucifixes, medals, even if they are of the kind sold in Mexico. Earth from San Pablo, prints of holy icons, especially of the mysteries of our Holy Faith, the life of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin, of the Judgement and other novenas. Children’s booklets, catechisms, some pre-made rosaries and an oven and instruments with which to make them. Indian blankets, hats, cassocks and poor people’s dresses, cordovan leather and soles for shoes” (Letter from Diego Luis de Sanvitores to Francisco Bello, Mexico, 1668).

This is the list of objects that Diego Luis asked the Jesuit procurator Francisco Bello to obtain and load on the ship that would take them to the mission in the Marianas. We know that Diego Luis, a missionary from Burgos, obtained the support of the brotherhood of

St. Francis Xavier in Mexico and the money necessary to buy the goods he needed (García, 1683). Through similar studies in more recent contexts, such as the Melanesian “cargo cults” (see Thorpe, 1972) or the incorporation of the Kichwa-Otavaleños into the international and globalised market (see Atienza, 2009), and making use of our ethnographic imagination (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 18) we can speculate about the impact that such a quantity of new objects would have produced when they abruptly fell into an indigenous world. Turtle shell, a traditional currency used to avoid conflicts, to ask for a woman’s hand in marriage and in other ritual exchanges, immediately lost almost all its value when matched against the iron, machetes, hatchets and nails, along with tobacco and, to a lesser extent, Spanish currency, imposed as the main instruments of exchange. In this context, men and women from low-status clans could acquire prestige goods brought by *gilagu* –outsiders– and throw off traditional systems of power and social control.

Along with iron “things” came a multitude of new “things” to eat. Some, such as maize, tobacco, and various sweet and hot chillies, could be transplanted and cultivated on the island. These were incorporated into

the local diet, creating a new, unique Insular Pacific cuisine, as well as new forms of labour and property. Other products, such as wine and wheat flour, never took root. These had to be constantly imported to maintain the missions. Animals arrived along with these products; they spread progressively across the island, changing the diets –and consequently the bodies– of indigenous people (Wiecko, 2011; Pollock, 1986; Peña, 2019), who were soon also clothed in new fabrics.

The Chamorro language was also significantly impacted by the introduction of these products. In a matter of months, it had to add a huge number of new words, some of which were likely difficult to understand due to their usage or their conceptual indeterminacy. These ranged from objects such as the *ténidot* (*tenedor*, fork), *lamasa* (*la mesa*, the table) and *katsunes* (*calzones*, trousers) to philosophical and theological concepts like *Yu’us* (*Dios*, God), the *bitben* (*Virgen*, Virgin Mary), the *Espiritu Santo* (Holy Spirit), *isaov* (*pecado*, sin), *libetát* (*libertad*, liberty) and even the idea of the nation, called *i tano*. Over the years, the Chamorro language would come to draw up to 60% of its lexicon from Spanish. It was “directly and profoundly” affected by Spanish and later by American English (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2009: 22).



Figure 41: Machete and sheath (1886). MNA Collection: CE5804. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

The San Diego galleon brought not only things, but also things that contained ideas. Among these idea-containing things were the first books that travelled to the Marianas. In addition to the catechisms, books of novenas and liturgical writings, there is a note in pencil in the corner of Diego Luis de Sanvitores' 1668 letter to Francisco Bello stating that books were being brought from Manila for the mission and that the priests would bring some more. The note also requested a copy of the "*Spiritual Conquest of Paraguay* by Father Antonio Ruiz, Father Joseph Acosta's *De Procuranda Indorum Salute, Política Indiana* by Solórzano and both volumes of *Indiarum Lure*".

Diego Luis and his companions were undoubtedly inspired by the *Spiritual Conquest of Paraguay* (Ruiz de Montoya, 1639) to implement a strategy of evangelisation and political reorganisation of the missions in the style of the Jesuit *reducciones*. Justifications for these could also be found in Juan de Solórzano's *Política Indiana* (1736: 180-186) and in the work of Acosta (1984: 541). They must have found the political and geographical similarities with their own situation relevant, such as the profound decentralisation of local power and the dispersed settlement patterns of the Guaraní, Chamorro and even the *bebetrias* of pre-Incan Peru. In the Mariana Islands, there was "neither lord or captain"² among the chiefs. Power was shared among the chieftains of various clans. These were wrapped up in constantly shifting conflicts and alliances, and this political fragmentation had an impact on the type of dispersed settlement, granting a certain level of autonomy to the various clans. According to Morales and Le Gobien, all the islands were "full of villages scattered over the plains and mountains, some of which consist of a hundred or a hundred and fifty huts" (2013: 129).

The indigenous settlement pattern, the difficulties involved in communication and the lack of missionaries available to administer the Catholic sacraments led the Jesuit missionaries to resettle the indigenous population into *reducciones*, following the Paraguayan model. Father Antonio Ruiz de Mendoza described these *reducciones* in his *Spiritual Conquest* (1639: 6r) as follows: "the villages of the Indians, living according to their ancient customs in the mountains, hills and

valleys, or in hidden gullies, were three to four or six single houses, separated by a league or two or even more from each other. The diligence of the [missionary] fathers reduced them into larger towns and to political and human life, to grow cotton with which to clothe themselves: because they commonly lived in nakedness even without covering what nature hid". The policy of resettlement into *reducciones* was carried out in Guam primarily between 1680 and 1700 and ended with the relocation of Saipan Island's indigenous people to Guam in 1731 (Hezel, 2021: 2). This resettlement inevitably caused a cataclysmic disruption to Chamorro life. Among other things, it changed their relationship with the land, land ownership, power relations and kinship systems.

Traditional systems of indigenous power were reconfigured into the indigenous colonial militias. These, together with the indigenous magistrate – charged with upholding proper doctrine and public morals in the *reducciones*– served as nuclei of indigenous colonial organisation in the Mariana Islands. In 1681, in an elaborate military ceremony, the governor and captain-general Antonio de Saravia accepted oaths of allegiance from the main chieftains who had allied with the Spanish, granting them in return new titles and symbols of colonial power, such as field marshal, captain, sub-lieutenant and sheriff. This new hierarchy of leaders loyal to Spain and the King, undoubtedly based on pre-colonial structures, would be integrated into the *reducciones* and daily Chamorro life (Atienza, 2013a). It would also serve as a vehicle not only for political change, but also for adaptive resistance by the Chamorro people through which traditional power systems would remain in place well into the nineteenth century.

In Guam, unlike Paraguay, no *encomienda* was established. Instead, the indigenous people were taxed through labour on public projects or products. Due to the abuse of this prerogative by governors such as Pimentel (1709-1720) and Sánchez de Tagle (1720-1725), among others, a narrative of *Spiritual Conquest* resonated with some Jesuit priests, who saw in the governors, mayordomos and magistrates a version of the abusive *encomenderos* and *banderiantes* of Paraguay. Antonio Ruiz de Mendoza closed his work by copying in its entirety the Royal Decree of 14 April 1633, in which Philip IV prohibited indigenous labour in the province of Paraguay as a way of paying tax, instructing royal officials to look for alternative

² Pilot's route for the Legazpi expedition, Jaime Marín and Diego Martín, Archivo General de Indias (AGI) MP-Filipinas, 2, f. 6.

products of the land that indigenous people could potentially use.

This was a constant refrain in the Mariana Islands and the cause of continuous disputes between the main interest groups: civil, religious and indigenous. Finally, according to the census of 1758, the Jesuits succeeded in enforcing the regulations suggested by Juan de Solórzano (1736: 185) in his *Política Indiana*, which recommend that “no Spanish, Black, mixed-race people or Mestizos live in their [indigenous people’s] towns, unless they are Mestizos born to Indian women of the same town. Spanish travellers should only stay two days, merchants three, and if there is an inn, they should not stay in Indian houses”. The non-indigenous population was concentrated exclusively in the villages of Agaña and Umatac, and Spanish administrators were designated for the five indigenous villages created by the resettlement of those living outside *reducciones*. The relative isolation of the indigenous people, despite the profound impact of colonisation, would help preserve indigenous cultural systems as they participated in a continuous dialogue with the colonial culture, giving them a certain agency and capacity to renegotiate their identity and way of life.

Another important element of the political and social organisation of Chamorro life was the existence of the “bachelors’ house” –*guma uritao*– where bonds between young people were strengthened. Young men would remain in the house until they married, and joined married society, usually by moving to the home of the bride’s brother (Cunningham, 1984). In these houses, young unmarried men learned to master basic male tasks such as fishing, sailing and warfare. It was also the place where young men were introduced to sexuality. Each group of young men living in a *guma uritao* had a few young women who, after an agreement with their parents had been reached and certain gifts provided, dedicated themselves to the care of the young men, including sexually. The Jesuits considered the sexual activities of young women in the *guma uritao* to be more demeaning than traditional prostitution because of the role of the parents in selling or renting their daughters. This “immoral” aspect of these houses, together with the high-conflict and violent character of the Chamorro *uritaos*, led the Jesuits to condemn them as centres of rebellion and impediments to the salvation of souls. With the support of the local authorities, the Jesuits therefore actively sought to destroy them (Morales and Le Gobien, 2013: 210- 240).

The destruction of this system inevitably led to a profound breakdown in traditional socio-political structures. The *guma uritao*, like other bachelors’ houses in much of the Insular Pacific, kept young, violent and sexually eager young men away from the villages where women and married men lived a different life. It is also important to note that the fact that teenage boys went to the bachelors’ house associated with their mother’s family in matrilineal, avunculocal cultures was fundamental to strengthening the bonds between males of the same lineage. Without the bachelors’ houses to establish and bolster these relationships, patrilineal identification could more easily erode the experience of matrilineal kinship. This process accelerated after the abolition of the bachelors’ houses, enabling the rise of a bilateral system.

At the same time, the introduction of a Christian morality that rejected sex outside of monogamous marriage and upheld the indissolubility of marriage also affected kinship structures, as well as the conception and function of gender (Strasser, 2020). Here, we must mention that the refusal of the Jesuits to marry women from the most prestigious clans –due to the Catholic priests’ vows of chastity– made political relations between the indigenous elite and this new Jesuit elite arriving from Europe more difficult.

Lastly, the San Diego galleon, like those that would follow it, brought people. Recent genetic studies (Vilar et al., 2013; Pugach et al., 2021) indicate that up to 92% of the Chamorro population in the Mariana Archipelago belong to a haplogroup common in the islands off Southeast Asia but unusual in Oceania. This high frequency of the haplogroup indicates a uniformity most likely maintained by geographical isolation. Contact with Europeans introduced a complexity factor to the uniform population it encountered.

Diego Luis mentioned in his letter to the procurator that “there will be 25 of us in total, including the missionaries, officials, and servants with the women and children”. He himself, plus four more missionaries, “Father Tomas Cardeñoso, two other priests and a friar”. Francisco de Mendoza and Esteban Diaz, from the Philippines, were later assigned to the mission as interpreters since they had been shipwrecked in the Mariana Islands and lived there for more than twenty years. Diego Luis also mentioned “Don Juan de Santa Cruz, *panday* master of iron, who comes with his wife, who will be a teacher for girls, and with a sister and a son, a child of sixteen months; this is a reputable family and a good Christian example for those

poor people, and they may teach them the many other trades that they know, like weaving, tilling the soil, etc". Also dispatched to the Marianas were Felipe Sonson, *panday* master of church and carpentry works, and the following officers and support workers: Juan de los Reyes, Domingo de la Cruz, Domingo Mindoro, Pascual Francisco (weaver), Andres Ysson (farmer), Julio de Santiago (*cantor*), Felipe Socson (*cantor*), Andrés de la Cruz and Domingo de Lastres (sailor). The San Diego's admiral, Bartolomé Muñoz, may have added more volunteers to this first mission upon their arrival on Guam, but such an event is not mentioned in the letter.

Over the next few years, the picture grew more complex, with the count of "Spanish" coming to include soldiers and convicts from Castile, Galicia and the Basque Country. Jesuits came from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands. Some Criollos and Mestizos came from New Mexico and Peru. From the Philippines came Pampangos, Tagalogs and Bisayas. They were joined by some Chamorros from various clans and lineages. Finally, some enslaved Africans also arrived. We must recognise that when people came from such varied places, they brought not only complexity and entropic movement, but also introduced new spiritual entities (Atienza, 2017).

The religion of the Chamorro people, like that of most Austranesian cultures, was oriented almost exclusively towards ancestor worship. This, together with the certain ritual prohibitions, comprised the core of religious belief and practice for the indigenous Mariana Islanders, as the ancestors were understood as a source of power that had to be channelled. Spiritual leaders or mediums called *makabnas* facilitated the connection with the *an-ite*, or ancestor spirits, whose fleshless skulls were kept in order to establish contact with their spirits, receive blessings and avoid being punished. The ancestor spirits were accompanied by some major divinities associated with the creation of the world, such as Puntan and Fu'una, as well as some malevolent jungle spirits (Flood, 2001).

The Spanish galleons brought a multitude of spiritual beings ashore, and these were gradually incorporated into the spiritual world of the Mariana Islands. First, they brought new ancestors into the spiritual landscape of the island by bringing new dead. But the Spanish ships, as we can read in Diego Luis' mission reports, brought the archangels,

including Uriel and his assistant princes, the Holy Spirit, St Anne, St Joachim, St Ignatius of Loyola and St Francis Xavier; and, of course, Jesus and his mother Mary³. The Virgin Mary would play a key role in the processes of assimilation and evangelisation due to the matrilineal nature of Chamorro kinship systems.

The general tendency of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century was to accept pagan festivals and customs as long as they did not involve the practice of mortal sins, while reconceptualising them as Christian practices. In the case of the Mariana Islands, for example, the Jesuits saw the indigenous belief in a hell –*sasalâguan*– where those who had died a bad or violent death were forgotten and ended up suffering forever as a good thing and a positive sign for the possibility of converting the indigenous people. Although the indigenous Mariana Islanders thought that a person's post-mortem fate was determined by the manner of their death, rather than the moral nature of their life, the Jesuits used the word *sasalâguan* as a Chamorro translation of "hell" (Atienza, 2017; Coello de la Rosa and Atienza, 2020). "Heaven" was conceptualised by the indigenous people as inclusion within the line of ancestors, while "hell" was ostracism and expulsion from it. Both were integrated into an Iberian Christian world view brought by the seventeenth-century missionaries, creating a new perspective whose descendants are still visible today (Coello de la Rosa and Atienza, 2012).

Bearing in mind all these processes of transfer and negotiation, we can and should question the traditional version of history in the region, one that has flattened the complexity of Iberian contact in the Pacific islands to a genocidal, manichean encounter that annihilated the Chamorro culture in just a few years, leaving behind nothing but desolation (Atienza, 2013b). The reality of the contact and interaction between "them" and "us" completely transcends a dialectical understanding of history to show the great generative complexity of this first contact. Now, as then, cultures change with people, their passions, their desires and their will. Every colonial project is an attack on people's freedom and therefore against their very being, but it almost never succeeds in destroying its subject, and somehow ends up generating new ways of being and acting in the world.

³ Private collection; letters of Manuel de Solórzano. Document No 13.

Sex, food and colonialism in the Mariana Islands

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1. Introduction

Diet and sexuality are two spheres of daily life with a deep connection among many human groups. The American anthropologist Sidney Mintz wrote that “ingestion and sexuality, both intimate manifestations of our nature as living creatures [...] stand in different but parallel relationships to our human consciousness” (Mintz, 2003: 29). These relationships are evident in areas such as language (Flores, 2009). This is even the case in our own society, through colloquial expressions such as “he’s a snack”, or through the analogies we draw between food and genitals, for example, in Spanish we refer to the penis as “cucumber” or “turnip”, or to the vagina as “fig”, or “papaya” in some Latin American countries. On beyond language, Claude Lévi-Strauss’ book *The Savage Mind* exposes the links that exist between the rules of marriage and the dietary prohibitions of certain societies in Africa and Oceania. Lévi-Strauss affirms that “these comparisons are only particular instances of the very profound analogy which people throughout the world seem to find between copulation and eating” (Lévi-Strauss, 1997: 157).

Before the arrival of Europeans to the Western Pacific archipelago known as the Mariana Islands, the

Chamorro people, whom we will discuss in this chapter, seem to have established similar correspondences between food and sexuality. One example can be found in the song *Huyong Akaga*, which Chamorro mothers sang to their daughters to encourage them to have relations with young men (Clement, 2011: 50). This song, recorded by the French naturalist Louis de Freycinet in the early 19th century, goes like this:

«Hodjong akaga makanno! Come out, my dear daughter, to be eaten!
Sa pago nai um manngbi because right now you are delicious,
Sa guin la-muna um daghi because later, you’ll be frustrated
Dja um bago pulan sapit. and you will be the one who suffers”¹.

The song’s lyrics are bursting with analogies between food and sex. The metaphor of “being eaten” is undoubtedly a reference to the sexual act. Similarly, the word “*manngbi*” – “*mannge*” in the modern Chamorro language – means “delicious” and is used to allude to the sexual attractiveness of the young woman at whom the song is directed. Also, “*daghi*”, which Freycinet

¹Translation by the authors, based on the transcription and translation of the Chamorro into French by Louis de Freycinet (1829: 369).

translates as “frustrated”, is rendered as “*dagge*” in modern Chamorro; this is a word used to refer to taro or any other tuber that is over-ripe. The song refers to the moment when the young woman, as she grows older, loses some of her attractiveness and her suitors (Clement, 2011: 50).

These analogies between food and sexuality did not disappear with the arrival of Spanish colonialism in the Mariana Islands. The historian Gregorio Saldarriaga has proposed that, in colonial encounters, the relationship between food and sex can be traced using European documents, which sometimes refer to the dietary and sexual practices of the indigenous populations to justify the colonists’ actions and their presence in the “new” territories. For example, Saldarriaga notes that many of the earliest Spanish chronicles and reports from the Americas mention the sexual “excesses” in which the indigenous people engaged during their celebrations, at the same time as consuming food that the Spaniards considered “inedible” (Saldarriaga, 2009: 30). In describing these practices, the colonisers were signalling that indigenous people did not know how to distinguish between “decent” and “indecent” behaviour, or even between “edible” and “inedible” foodstuffs and attributed this ignorance to their moral inferiority. These descriptions therefore represent a materialisation of power and a part of the exercise of domination. By casting indigenous populations as morally inferior, Europeans justified the need to “reduce” them to a “civilised” life through conquest and evangelisation. As we shall see, in the Mariana Islands, the Spanish also attempted to change the dietary and sexual behaviour of the Chamorro people to adapt them to what they saw as a “civilised” way of life.

The aim of this chapter is to outline the changes and continuities in dietary and sexual practices in the Mariana Islands during the Spanish colonisation of this Micronesian archipelago. Based on our respective doctoral research, we will delve into the reasons that led the colonisers to so determinedly want to control and transform the productive and reproductive activities of Chamorro communities. As Saldarriaga points out, when Europeans mentioned these types of activities in their documents, they did so to paint indigenous people as inferior, legitimising the conquest and evangelisation of indigenous communities (Saldarriaga, 2009: 30). As we shall see, this also happened in the Mariana Islands. The history of

food and sexuality during the Spanish colonial period in this archipelago is therefore a story of conflict, resistance and adaptation.

2. The first instances of culinary and sexual (con)fusion

Contact between the Chamorros of the Mariana Islands and Europeans first occurred in March 1521, when the ships of the Magellan-Elcano expedition weighed anchor next to one of the islands –probably Guåhan (Guam), the southernmost and largest island– as they sailed through the archipelago as part of the first-ever global circumnavigation. We owe our knowledge of this first encounter to the expedition’s chronicler, Antonio Pigafetta. The Italian sailor’s account reveals the fascination that the naked bodies of the Chamorro women awakened in the crew:

“The women go naked, covering only their nether regions with a strip of tissue, as thin as paper, which is found between the bark and the wood of the palm; these women are beautiful, delicate and whiter than the men, they wear their very black hair loose, and it reaches almost to the ground²” (Pigafetta, 1988: 17v).

It is significant that Pigafetta declared his admiration for the nudity of the indigenous women but did not make any moral judgements about it. However, over time, the nakedness of the Chamorros came to be seen through a moralised European lens. This is apparent in the case of Marcelo de Ribadeneira. This Franciscan friar wrote a brief description of the Mariana Islands based on the now-lost account of Fray Antonio de los Angeles, who lived on the islands from 1596 to 1597. In his work, Ribadeneira wrote that the Chamorros were “barbarians”, and that this barbarism was shown “in the total nudity of their bodies” (Ribadeneira, 1601: 76, see also Montón-Subías and Moral de Eusebio, 2021).

The Pigafetta and Ribadeneira accounts reveal a process of racialisation of Chamorro women that Piña

² Translation by the authors. The original text in Italian reads: “*Le femmine vanno nude; se non che dinanzi a la sua natura portano una scorza stretta, sottile come la carta, che nasce fra l’albore e la scorza della palma; sono belle, delicate e bianche più che li uomini, con li capelli sparsi e lunghi, negrissimi, fino in terra*”.



Figure 42: *Quidam indiani ducem Candish in itinere adoriuntur*, plate XII of the book *Tabulae & imagines as Septimam et Octavam Americae Partem*, that was brought to light by the De Bry brothers and widow in 1599. Courtesy of the State Library of New South Wales.

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(2017) describes as “ero-exoticisation”: Europeans eroticised these women by describing them as “beautiful” and “delicate” while at the same time exoticising them by calling them “barbaric”. Through this ero-exoticisation, both women’s bodies and the territories in which they lived were coded as “devourable” and “consumable” by whiteness (Piña, 2017: 41), in this case that of the European colonisers. These colonisers were quick to attribute characteristics related to exuberant sexuality to the Chamorro women, who were described as “shameless³”, “lustful” (du Nort, 1602:

34) and “lewd” (Fernberger, quoted in Wernhart, 1972: 192-3). Over the years, these moral evaluations eventually became prejudices that spread to other Pacific islands (O’Brien, 2006), making indigenous women a prime target of missionary regulations and sexual abuse by colonisers, as we shall see below.

Along with the bodies of the Chamorros, the natural resources of the Mariana Islands also aroused the interest of Europeans during these first moments of contact. In particular, the food available on the islands was interpreted as evidence of their material poverty. One of the aspects that most drew the attention of the Europeans was the absence of cattle. The royal cosmographer Juan López de Velasco gave an account of this in the sixteenth century, when he stated that “the land of all [the Mariana

³“Derrotero del piloto Rodrigo de Espinosa del descubrimiento de las islas del Poniente”, 1564-1565 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Patronato 23, R.16, 37r).



Figure 43: Fishing harpoon, *fsga* (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2122. Photo: Arantxa Boyero Lirón.

Islands] is poor and miserable, because there are no kind of livestock or birds, but for some like turtle-doves and some seagulls and gannets; one [island] has rice, sweet cane and ginger and sweet potatoes; there is no iron or metal in them” (López de Velasco, 1894: 607). Later, other descriptions, such as that composed by the cosmographer Nicolas Sanson (1652) or those written by the Jesuits in the mid-seventeenth century, echoed this same idea, helping popularise the image of the Marianas as a poor and barren land. To remedy this situation, the Spanish thought it necessary to introduce new foods, such as maize, wheat and cattle, which could make the archipelago a suitable place for what they considered a civilised way of life (Peña, 2019).

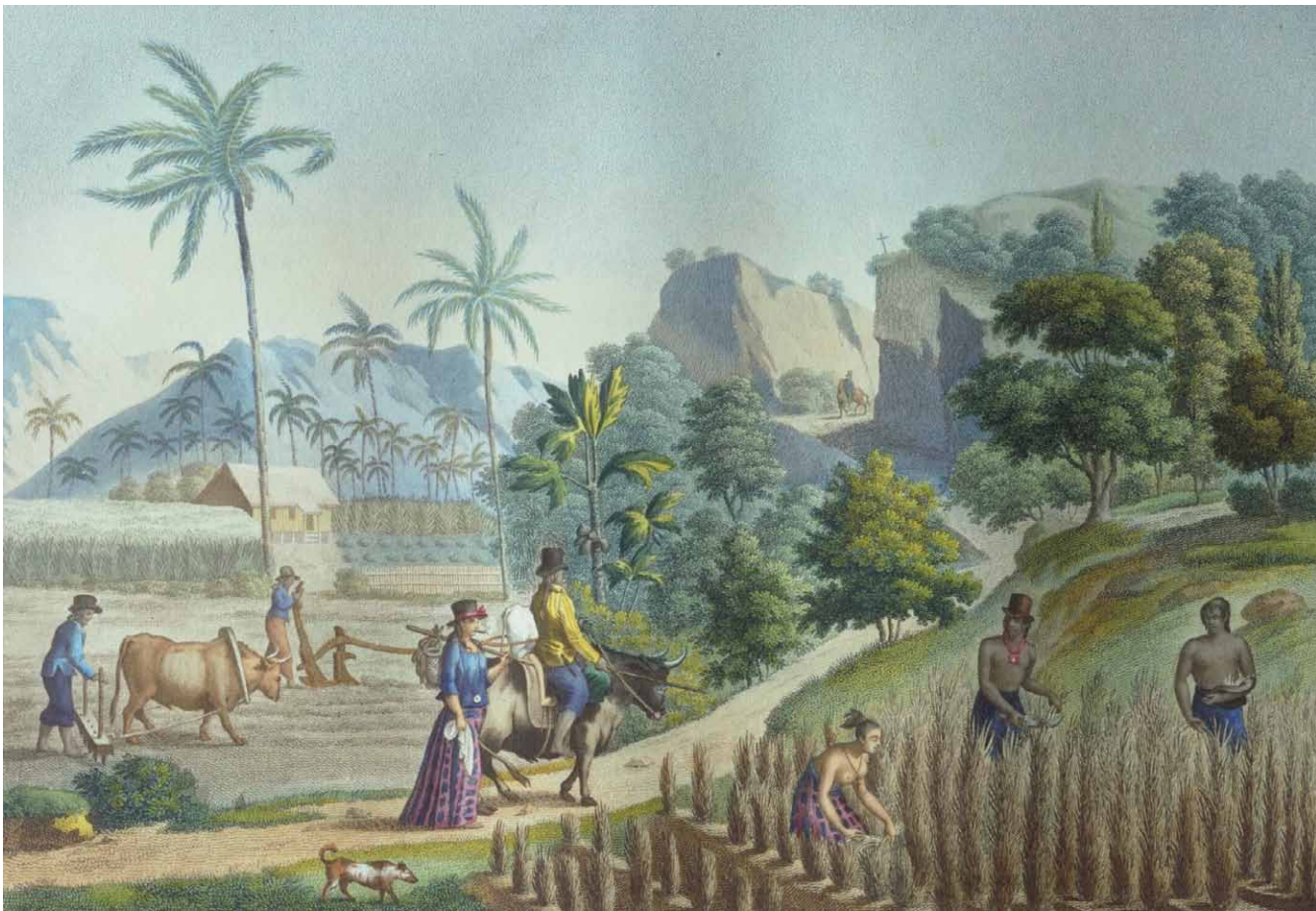
During this period, the Chamorros’ food-gathering activities also generated interest among the Spanish. From their first arrival in the Americas, Europeans saw the subsistence strategies of indigenous populations as clear indicators of their degree of civilisation (Pagden, 1982). In the case of the Mariana Islands, many early observers looked positively on the fact that the Chamorros had small gardens in which they cultivated certain foods, such as rice and different local tubers. However, in the eyes of the Spanish, the way they produced these resources –namely horticulture– was not the most effective form of land use. For this reason, as the following excerpt reveals, the Spanish thought that the Chamorros, who were skilled fishermen, spent too much time fishing, leaving aside other more profitable activities, such as agriculture: “their ordinary sustenance is fish from the sea, of which they have plenty. And although they plant rice, raise chickens and coconuts that are said to have been left to them by

the Spanish, everything is scarce and poor because they are more inclined to fish than to cultivate the land⁴”. Therefore, in Spanish minds, the Chamorros had to learn how to properly manage and use their own lands. This idea was also present during the colonisation of America, when colonists tried to show indigenous populations the ‘proper’ way to manage the land and produce food (Earle, 2012: 78-83).

3. “Civilising” taste, colonising desire: the early years of the Jesuit mission in the Mariana Islands (1668-1698)

After almost a century of intermittent contact between Chamorros and Europeans, the Jesuit Diego Luis de Sanvitores arrived in Guam in 1668, accompanied by a number of missionaries and lay assistants, to establish a mission from which to convert the local communities to Catholicism. Although some Chamorro clans initially welcomed these first settlers, within a few months, other clans strongly opposed their presence. This opposition should be understood as the result of several factors, namely the internal struggles that existed within Chamorro society, the resistance of the *macanas* – Chamorro religious leaders– to the practices that the missionaries wanted to impose, the Chamorros’ rejection of baptism, and conflicts that arose from the Jesuits’ desire to eradicate the “public houses” or *guma’ uritao* (Atienza, 2013: 17).

⁴ “Informe de Luis Pimentel, procurador de los jesuitas de Filipinas, sobre los inconvenientes e inconvenientes de la evangelización de las islas de los Ladrones. Sin fecha” (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Filipinas 82, N. 8).



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Figure 44: Ile Guam: Travaux d'Agriculture, page 70 of the book *Voyage autour du monde: entrepris par ordre du roi ... exécuté sur les corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820*, by M. Louis de Freycinet. Courtesy of the State Library of New South Wales.

To understand this topic, it is important to note that, for the missionaries, the evangelisation of the Mariana Islands not only meant changing the religion of the Chamorros, but also changing any parts of their way of life that ran contrary to Christian doctrine. Once they arrived in the Marianas, the Jesuits quickly found that indigenous dietary and sexual practices were radically different from their own. Consequently, they labelled these customs as unbecoming of a “civilised” way of life. In fact, Chamorro dietary practices comprised one of the local customs that the clergy most insistently sought to change. Specifically, the missionaries wanted the Chamorros to abandon their traditional subsistence activities –based on gathering, fishing and horticulture– in order to devote themselves exclusively to European-style agriculture and animal husbandry. A key step towards implementing this plan was the resettlement of Chamorro villagers in new population

centres, known as *reducciones*, which were built in locations that the Spanish considered more suitable for farming and cattle raising.

The resettlement of the Chamorro population to the *reducciones* and their assimilation into a new food production system did not go smoothly. The missionaries indicated as much when they wrote that they had to “force them [the Chamorros] to till and improve the land, planting a lot of maize, rice and the roots that serve as bread here, so that there would be an abundance of food everywhere, and the garrison would have plenty of it⁵”. The move to the *reducciones* contributed to changes in the Chamorro diet as well as

⁵ “Relación de los sucesos más notables de las islas Marianas desde junio de 1681 hasta junio de 1682” (Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, Cortes 567, 9/2677, N. 33).



Figure 45: Rake model (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2869. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

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causing the abandonment of many traditional subsistence strategies. According to the Jesuit accounts, the Chamorros who had been resettled began to eat maize and pork, dietary changes that the Jesuits saw as important steps towards transforming Chamorro society into a “civilised” one⁶. It is important to note, however, that despite these changes, documents reveal that throughout the seventeenth century, many traditional Chamorro foods, such as breadfruit (*rimai*), fish, yams (*nica*, *dago*) and taro (*suní*) continued to play a major role in the diet of the local population.

The sexual practices of Chamorro communities also became a target of Jesuit missionary policies. According to the missionaries’ annual letters and reports, two main obstacles prevented the sexual mores of the Marianas Islanders from conforming to Christian doctrine. The first of these was “their common custom of repudiation⁷”, that is, the ease with which Chamorros dissolved their “marital” bonds. The resistance of the

⁶ “Relación de las cosas más notables que han sucedido en las Islas Marianas desde el mes de junio de 1678 hasta mayo de 1679. Y del estado en que queda esta Cristiandad” (Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, Cortes 567, 9/2677, N. 19).

⁷ “Relación de las empresas y sucesos espirituales y temporales de las Islas Marianas, que antes se llamaban Ladrones, desde que el año de sesenta y ocho se introdujo en ellas el santo evangelio por los religiosos de la Compañía”, dated in Manila, 24 May 1676 (Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, Cortes 567, Legajo 10 9/2676, N. 8, 41r).

Chamorro communities to the adoption of indissoluble Christian marriages was so strong that this sacrament was one of the last to be introduced in the archipelago, as period documents indicate:

“the [sacrament] of the Eucharist was not yet in use; and neither is that of marriage, because of the difficulty of discouraging them from repudiation, which they have employed whenever they please, [and will do so] until the temporal and political government is more established, and forcefully restrains them in the constancy of the indissolution of marriage⁸”.

The above quotation shows that the Jesuits had no qualms about using force to coerce people into following those parts of their doctrine that generated the most resistance among the indigenous islanders. The second obstacle to sexual regulation that the missionaries encountered was the *guma’ uritao*. This Chamorro institution, which the Jesuits refer to in their writings as a “public house” or “house of unmarried men and women”, was a building where young Chamorro people lived for a time before finding a partner to live with. Missionary documents indicate that there was at least one in each village, or two in the largest

⁸ *Ibid.*, 21v.

settlements (Solórzano, 1687, cited in Repetti, 1947: 432). There, the young men and women of the islands reportedly had sexual relations “promiscuously with no one to prevent them⁹”.

These “promiscuous” and premarital sexual relations horrified the Jesuits. However, the missionaries were not able to dissuade the Chamorro youth from going to these “public houses”, so they turned to the militia to put an end to them: “by order of the captain, the houses dedicated to sensuality and turpitude were burned, in which, as in temples of abomination, the young men and a single concubine, accomplice to their crimes, served the devil with immeasurable ugliness” (Jaramillo, 1680, quoted in Lévesque, 1996: 306).

The *guma’ uritao* came to play such a central role in the conflicts between the Spanish and Chamorros that such confrontations could be considered in some measure as “ethnosexual” conflicts, defined by archaeologist Barbara Voss as “the clash between incompatible cultural beliefs and practices related to sexuality” (Voss, 2008: 196). The Chamorro communities did not take the destruction of their *manggumma’ uritao*¹⁰ lying down. Instead, they resisted in two ways: first, by rebuilding the *manggumma’ uritao* despite the prohibitions and warnings of the Spanish governors¹¹. Second, when Spanish soldiers burned a *guma’ uritao*, sometimes the young Chamorros from the village would retaliate by going to a Spanish settlement and burning the Jesuit church and school (Bowens, 1676, cited in Lévesque, 1995a: 355), since they knew that the schools were the new space built by the missionaries for the (sexual) socialisation of young Chamorro people. A Jesuit report from 1682 declared that “there is no longer any memory of those old public houses¹²”. Ultimately, the conflicts between the Spanish and the Chamorros resulted in the disappearance of the *manggumma’ uritao*. However, as we will see below, sexual violence against the

Chamorro population continued during the following decades in the new *reducciones*.

4. Life in the *reducciones*: labour exploitation and sexual violence

Around the close of the seventeenth century, the Chamorro populations of the entire archipelago were forcibly relocated to a few villages built on the island of Guåhan. Consequently, as the new century began, the islands and their indigenous inhabitants found themselves under the control of governors and missionaries, who were placed at the top of the colonial hierarchy. This situation had a significant impact on Chamorro diets and sexuality, especially due to the significant degree of power accrued by the governors of the Marianas and the impunity with which they acted in the archipelago.

In the early eighteenth century, the Chamorros were the main labour force working for the new food production system that the Spanish had imposed. Obligated to engage in agriculture and animal husbandry, the fruits of their labours were supposedly allocated to feed the military contingent stationed on the islands. However, the governors and their allies, namely the magistrates, took advantage of their position to personally profit from Chamorro labour. This is why, in addition to cultivating the land and raising livestock, Chamorros were forced to carry out other food production activities, such as hunting animals, fishing, preparing salt and rice, and producing alcohol. Any surpluses were monopolised by the governor and local magistrates.

The gruelling labour to which the local communities were subjected had significant repercussions on their way of life. One of the most dramatic was inability to find enough food for themselves, as the governors and magistrates did not usually provide Chamorro labourers with food during the workday, and the work was so demanding that people did not have time to cultivate their own land. This exploitative situation was condemned by the missionaries and other contemporary observers, who believed that the steady decline in the Chamorro population –a trend already visible by the beginning of the eighteenth century– was closely linked to the labour system that had been imposed. To cope with these abusive conditions, the Chamorros had to cooperate. This is

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4v.

¹⁰ Plural of *guma’ uritao* in Chamorro.

¹¹ “Relación de las cosas más notables que han sucedido en las islas Marianas desde el mes de junio de 1678 hasta mayo de 1679, y del estado en que queda esta cristiandad” (Real Academia de Historia, Madrid, Cortes 567, Legajo 9-2677, N. 19, 3r).

¹² “Relación del estado y progreso de la misión de las islas Marianas desde el junio pasado de 81 hasta el de 82”, 1682 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Filipinas 3, N. 151).



Figure 46: Agagna: Ile Guam. *Occupations Domestiques*, page 69 of the book *Voyage autour du monde: entrepris par ordre du roi ... exécuté sur les corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820*, by M. Louis de Freycinet. Courtesy of the State Library of New South Wales.

why, according to some testimonies, among married couples, women were responsible for providing food for their husbands, while unmarried Chamorros took turns finding food for one another¹³. Some documents also indicate that Chamorros often foraged in the “bush”, that is, in areas that were not under cultivation, so it is likely that they continued to collect foodstuffs that were part of the pre-colonial diet. In fact, some testimonies indicate that, throughout the

eighteenth century, the Chamorros continued to eat as they did “before the conquest¹⁴”.

The corrupt behaviour of the governors and their deputies and magistrates were also reflected in their sexual practices. Both the Jesuits and some members of the militia condemned the sexual “excesses” of governors such as Juan Antonio Pimentel, who was accused of committing “twisted things and abominations more suitable for dirty old men who have

¹³ “Carta de José de Quiroga y Losada sobre los malos procedimientos de Juan Antonio Pimentel con los naturales que han pasado de cincuenta mil a cuatro mil”, dated in Agaña, 26 May 1720 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1).

¹⁴ “Consulta del Gobernador de Filipinas a SM Acompaña padrón general de los naturales cristianos que habitan en las Marianas. Reproduce lo que ya tiene expuesto sobre las Marianas que no está conforme con el dictamen del gobernador de ellas”, dated in Manila, 30 June 1728 (Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesús a Catalunya, Barcelona, FILPAS 83, N. 23).

turned away from God's eye¹⁵", with the orphaned girls he kept in his palace. Moreover, when these girls reached a certain age, the governor married them off, "some with reasonable consent, and others almost by force¹⁶", to his soldiers. Following Pimentel's example, some of his magistrates abused the women of the towns they governed. If the husbands of these women agreed to these assaults, the magistrates offered them higher positions in the militia. However, if they resisted, they were "relegated" from their positions or even "beaten with sticks¹⁷". The sexual abuse perpetrated by the colonial authorities against Chamorro women therefore played a fundamental role in the organisation of the military hierarchies of the archipelago during the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Beyond these abuses, the new sexual order of the *reducciones* was upheld by different institutions that regulated sexual encounters in various ways. These included the churches, Jesuit colleges, sacraments such as marriage and confession, religious congregations and the Inquisition. The Holy Office of the Inquisition, for example, was established in the archipelago in 1695 as a branch of the Mexican Inquisition. It had three representatives in the Marianas: a commissar, a notary and a deputy, who were charged with reporting any sexual "crime" that fell under the ambit of the Holy Office. One of these crimes was bigamy, or the act of marrying a second time while already married. Although the inquisitorial records on bigamy in the Mariana Islands are relatively few and far between, it should be noted that they represent only a small portion of all the cases that occurred during the Spanish colonial period (Coello de la Rosa, 2016: 223).

Another sexual crime prosecuted by the Inquisition was solicitation, or the licentious behaviour of priests who "solicited" sexual encounters from their parishioners during confession (González, 2002: 17). Although there are not many records regarding this crime in the Marianas either, there is one case that stands out for its political angle: that of the Jesuit Francisco Xavier (Franz) Reitterberger. This

German priest was accused of sexually abusing some women of the congregation at Nuestra Señora de la Luz, a church which he himself had helped to found. Several of the women of the congregation testified against him, testifying that the Jesuit "ordered them to go onto all fours... and licked the woman's nether regions¹⁸". However, it is striking that the inquisitorial case against Father Reitterberger did not begin until 1774, seven years after his death. According to Coello de la Rosa, this is because the purpose of the case against Reitterberger was intended not only to investigate his licentious conduct with the women of the congregation, but rather was aimed at smearing the name of the Society of Jesus as a whole, which had been expelled from the islands in 1769, only a few years prior (Coello de la Rosa, 2016: 322). Reitterberger's case is therefore yet another example of the strategic and contentious role played by sexual encounters during the colonisation of the Mariana Islands.

5. Conclusions

As we have seen throughout this chapter, during the colonisation of the Mariana Islands, Chamorro diets and sexuality were a target of Spanish colonial policies. However, not all the colonisers sought to modify Chamorro dietary and sexual practices for the same reasons. While the missionaries tried to change both spheres to fit with what they considered a "civilised" way of life, the archipelago's eighteenth-century governors and other colonial authorities used their power and influence to sexually abuse indigenous women and to force the Chamorros to produce resources that the authorities used for their own benefit, posing a threat to the Chamorro communities' very survival. These abusive and corrupt behaviours were condemned by the missionaries and other contemporary observers, showing that food and sexuality not only generated conflicts between the Chamorros and the Spaniards, but also between the colonisers themselves.

¹⁵ "Carta de Joseph de Quiroga y Losada", dated in San Ignacio de Agaña, 26 May 1720 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Filipinas 95, N. 1, 3r).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3r-3v.

¹⁷ "Auto: En la ciudad de Agaña, por el Capitán don Manuel Díaz Dozal, juez pesquisador del Gobernador de las Islas Marianas", dated in Agaña, November 1724 (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Ultramar 561, 38-81, 54, 65).

¹⁸ In other words, the genitalia (see González, 2002: 149).

¹⁹ "Año de 1774. Proceso original, perteneciente a la revelación del sigilo de la confesión, que de orden del ilustrísimo y reverendísimo señor don fray Antonio de Luna, obispo de Nueva Cáceres, y gobernador apostólico de Cebú, se ha hecho en estas islas Marianas" 1774 (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Inquisición 1162, 63r).

Despite the coercive nature of colonial policies, the Spanish did not succeed in completely transforming the traditional Chamorro way of life. As we have seen throughout this chapter, the indigenous people of the Mariana Islands resisted the imposition of new customs, especially those that sought to modify their diet and sexuality. Spaces for indigenous agency in the colonial system allowed the Chamorros to preserve certain parts of their pre-colonial dietary practices, such as subsistence strategies like gathering and particular foods like breadfruit and taro. In the

sexual arena, colonial policies were more successful in stamping out Chamorro sexual practices and institutions, such as the *guma' writao* and the practice of marital repudiation. However, the success of these colonial policies was not total, since the new sexual order that was established in the archipelago after the forced resettlement of the Chamorros brought with it new practices that were deeply problematic to some of the colonisers, especially the Jesuits, such as bigamy, solicitation and sexual violence perpetrated against Chamorro women.

From the Enlightenment to Industrialisation. 1769-1899. A century of change in the history of the Mariana Islands

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The order to expulse the Jesuits from the Spanish territories, signed in 1767, became effective in the Mariana Islands on November 2, 1769, with the departure of the last three remaining Jesuits in the archipelago and the confiscation of their papers and property. The Order of Augustinian Recollects had agreed to take charge of the spiritual administration of the territory, and they did so, even after the return of the Jesuits to the Philippines in 1858 and up to the twentieth century. During the transition between the two religious corporations, which was not exempt from difficulties and scandals¹, the Augustinian Recollects of the Marianas were directed at first by Fray Andrés Blázquez de San José and Antonio Sánchez de la Concepción (Ruiz de Santa Eulalia, 1925). In the early years of the nineteenth century, with fewer human and material resources than their predecessors, they encountered serious difficulties in attending to the parishes on Guam and Rota, which were the only inhabited islands after the resettlement of the Chamorros of Saipan on Guam in 1722.

¹See the interesting study of the inquisitorial process against a Jesuit congregation, by Coello de la Rosa (2013a). See also Coello de la Rosa (2013b).

The last third of the eighteenth century witnessed significant changes in the agricultural and livestock farming resources of the territory. These changes and the diversification of trade after the creation of the ill-fated Royal Company of the Philippines, accelerated the process of incorporation of the territories and their inhabitants to the scope of the other territories belonging to the Spanish crown in Asia-Pacific. The possibility of direct trade between Manila and the Spanish peninsula made self-sufficiency a requisite in the Marianas. When the first deer were brought from the Philippines, they were accompanied by a ban that lasted for two decades to prevent hunting and consumption, so that the animals could reproduce freely: “They had been brought from the Philippines and even from Acapulco with horses, asses, and mule cattle, and the aforementioned Governor [Tobias] has brought fallow deer from Manila which have multiplied prodigiously; and it is of great succour their meat, very delicate in those countries” (Malo de Luque, 1790).

The changes during the last decades of the eighteenth century placed the archipelago, to a certain extent, within the modernizing and centralizing currents of the Bourbon state at the time. The celebrated governor, Mariano Tobias, was the main architect of these

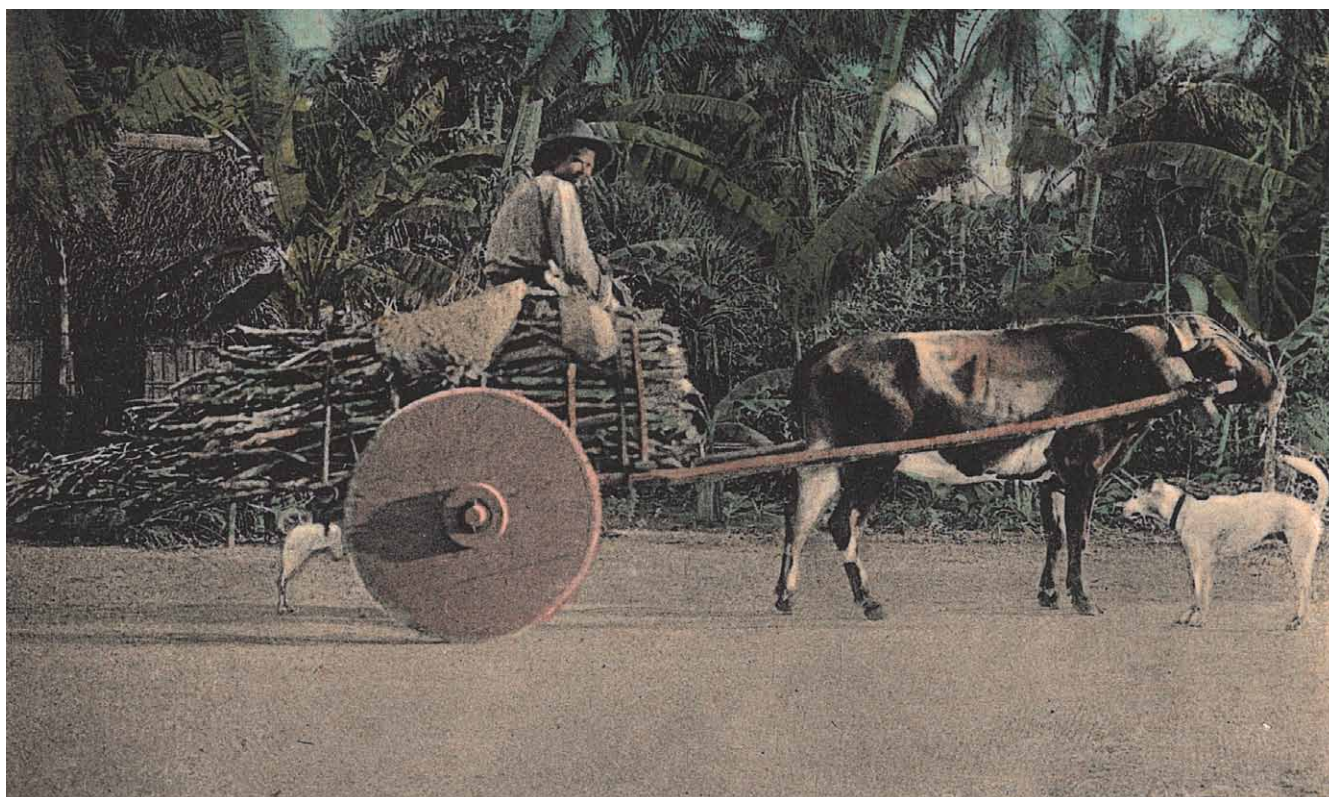


Figure 47: Postcard of the beginnings of 20th century in Guam showing a *karetan vaca* ("cow cart"). In the first decades of the 19th century the colonial government distributed lands, seeds and tools to the inhabitants of the Marianas, in an effort to reach the economic self-sufficiency in the territory. Private collection.

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changes, with the distribution of farmland to the local population, the process of independence from Mexico and the attachment of the government of the Mariana Islands to the administrative authority of the Philippines in 1817, which brought in a new period of change (Pozuelo, 1997).

A first, unsuccessful reform project, which took place between 1817 and 1822, was followed by the implementation in 1828 of a plan, promoted by the Captain General of the Philippines, Mariano Ricafort, which was one of the most important administrative changes of the nineteenth century, with a huge impact on the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands (Valle, 1991). The definitive abolition of government farms and ranches, especially San José de Dandan in southeastern Guam, resulted in the unloading of tax burdens on the local population. In fact, it was the low pay on the royal farms that caused, among other grudges, the barely quelled rebellion by numerous Chamorros and mixed-race people in Agaña against the governor (Coello de la Rosa, 2013b). These farms have left an imprint on the toponymy on Saipan (Gualo Rai) and

on Guam (Gualo Pale, an archaic name referring to an area between Mongmong and Gayinero, at the foot of Santa Rosa Mountain in northern Guam, where the former Jesuit farm was located).

There were two key governors during the first half of the nineteenth century: Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Villalobos (1831-1837) and Brigadier Felipe de la Corte y Ruano-Calderón (1850-1861). Both left a tangible imprint on the archipelago's material heritage and created a lasting impression. Villalobos, in particular, was remembered into the early years of the twentieth century (Safford, 2016: 119).

The economic reforms of 1828, which were promoted by Philippine Captain General Mariano Ricafort and implemented by Governor Medinilla during his second term in the archipelago, brought about a major change in the colonial economic system of the Mariana Islands. His successor in the government of the Marianas, Francisco de Villalobos, distinguished himself from other initiatives in his efforts to alleviate the situation of the leprosy patients, who received support in a hospital on the outskirts of Agaña near



Figure 48: Postcard photo taken during the Japanese administration, showing a backstrap loom, traditionally used in the Northern Mariana Islands by the Refaluwasch population. Private collection.

the Adelup peninsula. These measures were complemented by the expansion of the cultivable area of the Atantano swamp, east of Agaña, to plant rice. Villalobos also tried in vain to bring the smallpox vaccine to the Marianas².

The island of Tinian, with no natural rivers, had been practically uninhabited since the forced resettlement, called *reducción*, at the end of the eighteenth century. Tinian was an exception in that it maintained its character of royal farm, breeding cattle and employing workers called *carolinos*, in order to produce and sell macerated and dried meat called *tapa*, which sustained the lepers in the old hospital in Adelup (Driver, 2007: 12). Economically more profitable systems of exploitation in Tinian, Pagan and some other islands of

the archipelago, were proposed, studied and applied. This led to the lease of the islands to individuals who invested in their development and made the sovereignty of Spain visible to ships visiting the islands until the last year of Spanish sovereignty.

The economy of the territory, after the cycle of transformation between the years 1815 and 1828 (end of the Acapulco-Manila Galleon route and the Ricafort reforms, respectively), was to a large extent linked and subordinated to that of the Philippines, although the Marianas benefited from the presence and small-scale trade of whaling ships around March and April, which arrived in large numbers before their decline in the middle of the century (Corte, 1876: 37, 94).

This relative dependence also existed regarding the supply of clothing and household textiles. The limited local market made the price of imported fabrics, clothes and other textiles much more expensive than elsewhere. In 1817, quality fabrics were still prohibitively expensive, as Rose de Freycinet observed: “I am sure that the price of a single shawl of

²Efforts to bring the vaccine had been unsuccessful since the Balmis expedition passed through Manila in 1809, although the governor of the Marianas had already received instructions regarding the conservation of the vaccine in America, according to a Royal Order of 1804 (NAP, Reales Ordenes, Exp. 29. Pp. 164-167). The vaccine did not reach the Mariana Islands until the 1870s. (See Madrid, 2006: 204).



Figure 49: The parish house of Merizo, built in 1856, the same year of the smallpox epidemic that ravaged the archipelago. Photo: Carlos Madrid.

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fine cashmere would be enough to cover the cost of dressing all the women of Agaña for ten years” (Frey-cinet, 2003 [1819]: 306). In 1835, there were “two or three looms” on Guam, based on both European and Chinese models (Dumont d’Urville, 1879: 478).

In 1849, the colonial authorities in the Marianas sent to the Royal Economic Society of Friends of the Country samples of locally grown raw materials, with the intention of studying its use in the manufacture of textiles and ropes: 15 pounds of raw abaca, 16 pounds of raw pineapple cloth, another 16 pounds of raw cotton and 10 pounds of raw hibiscus or *balibago* (Diaz Arenas, 1850: 31).

In the 1850s the situation had changed. The Chamorro women did not necessarily buy clothes that were not to their taste, even if they were at a reduced price. In 1853, the Augustinian Father Vicente Acosta in Agaña tried to make the Administrator of the *Obra Pia de Agaña* (Pious Endowment) in Manila understand this³. Men would not buy poorly made imported hats if they could find locally made ones. In fact, Spanish settler Francisco Tudela, patriarch of the Chamorro

³NAP. Several Provinces. Marianas, 1791-1889. B-4. SDS- 4334. *Carta del Rector del Colegio de San Juan de Letrán de Agaña al Administrador de dicho colegio en Manila*. Agaña, January 2, 1853.

family of the same name, earned extra income in 1852 by selling hats for one peso apiece⁴. However, by the time the fabrics arrived in Guam, prices in Manila had doubled, at least by the early 1870s (Álvarez, 1872: 224; Ibañez, 1886: 121). The Chamorros of the nineteenth century, with greater access to imported consumer goods through small-scale trade with whalers, and later through imported goods via Manila, seem to have paid little or no attention to ostentation, favouring as in other aspects of daily life practical and unpretentious aspects, in keeping with that sobriety that Governor Francisco Olive condescendingly acknowledged: “the chamorro, undoubtedly, is sober” (Olivé, 1887: 38). The normal dress of Chamorro men in the villages was, in addition to underwear, a pair of trousers or shorts for field work, a shirt and hat (Corte, 1876; Álvarez, 1872: 78; Ibañez, 1886: 121).

The disparity in attire noted in the mid-nineteenth century reveals an initial disproportion of economic opportunity in favour of the residents of Agaña compared to the inhabitants of the villages or the other islands. Scholar Stéphanie Coo has pointed out how the importation of affordable clothing helped to blur the differences between social classes

⁴*Ibid.*

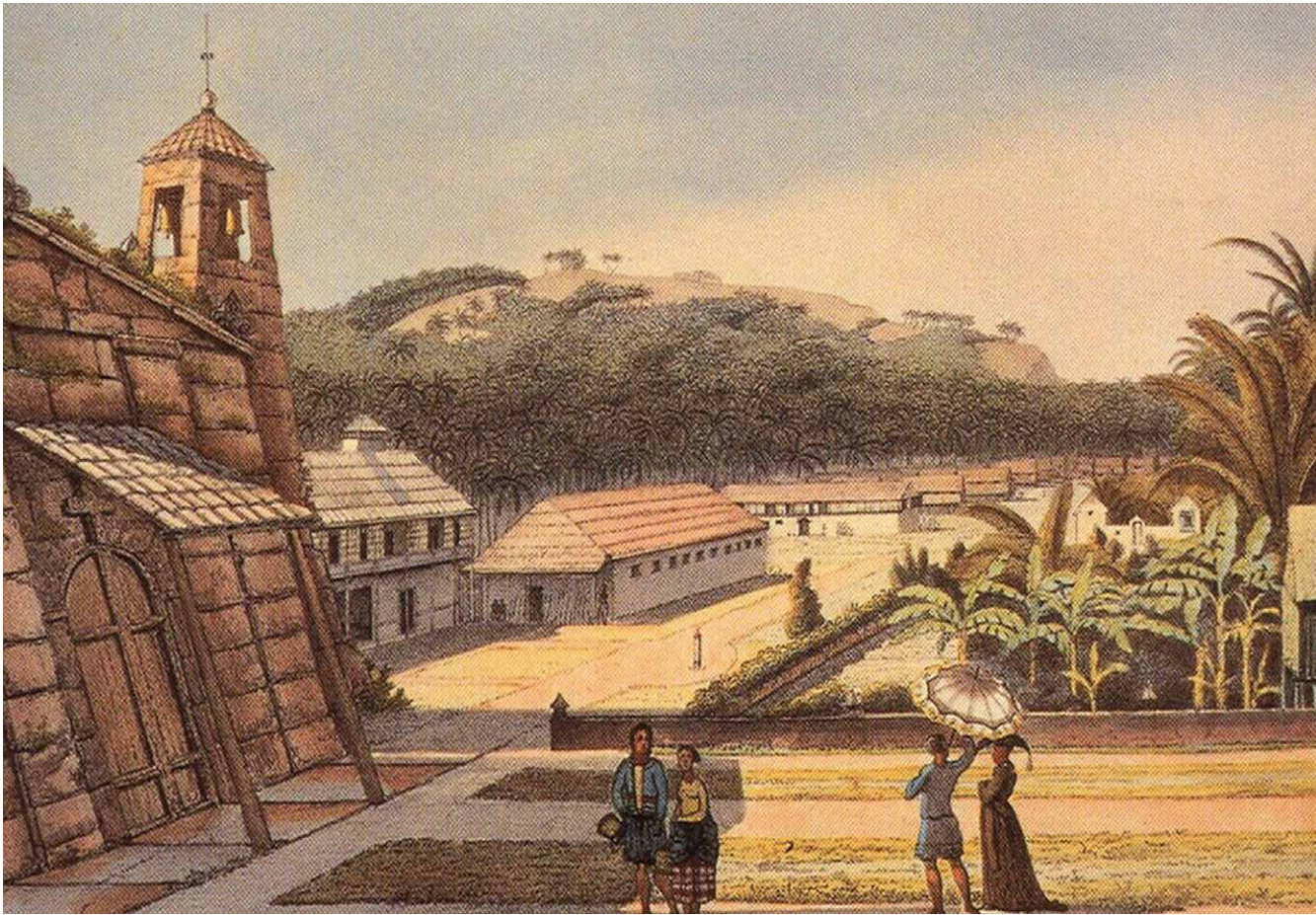


Figure 50: The city of San Ignacio de Agaña in 1817. Watercolor by Louis Choris, published in *Vues et Paysages des Regions Equinoxiales Recueillis dans un Voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1826. During the second half of the 19th century Agaña was a pole of attraction for the Guam's population.

in nineteenth-century Philippines (Coo, 2014: 100). The society of the Mariana Islands was possibly also immersed in this process despite the differences between one territory and the other.

For the Chamorro population, the smallpox epidemic that devastated the archipelago in 1856 was by far the most traumatic episode of the nineteenth century, a point of no return in the historical development of the territory and its inhabitants (Mack, 2016: 177-195).

The colonial apparatus, reduced to its minimum outside of Agaña, exerted mainly fiscal pressure on the inhabitants residing in the towns: when serving in the urban militia battalion, in the payment of taxes, and in community works, *polos* and *servicios*, in their municipal demarcation. The majority of Chamorro people lived in a subsistence agricultural economy, in which periods of famine caused by natural disasters

that affected the archipelago were not infrequent. But the generation that survived the disaster of 1856 was immersed in a slow process of change, a change that accelerated after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The town of Agaña, with its streets reorganized since 1844 and with public lighting by 1887, was becoming a pole of attraction for the rural society of the other villages of the island⁵. The progressive advance of the liberal state and the subsequent period of relative stability after the Bourbon Restoration resulted in a series of improvements to the infrastructure of the islands, which were necessarily austere, in line with the limited economic and human resources available to the colonial administration. The construction of the Courthouse and the Garrison (works on both

⁵ For a study of Agaña as a colonial town see: Galván (1998a).

began in 1872-73), the School for Girls (building work began in 1872 and was completed in 1879), the modern building of the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán, for boys (1895) and the Governor's Palace (1889) are examples of this gradual development and improvement of public facilities.

In 1870 the peseta was formalized as a monetary unit in the Marianas, replacing the escudo. Since then, all accounting has been done using this system⁶. Weights and measures (*chupas, gantas, cavañes*) were resealed and verified in 1877, when complaints were received about the illegality and disparity of their use, as the inhabitants of the towns of Guam were in the habit of selling their grain in Agaña⁷.

This development of the modern administration and attraction to the towns helps to explain the process of linguistic fusion that was practically non-existent during the previous century⁸ and the increase in the populations of Agaña and Saipan. As part of this process of integration of the population into a modernizing society, in the second half of the nineteenth century, different government employees, whether civilian or military, mixed-race or Chamorro, received pensions and decorations for meritorious service after their retirement, and enjoyed the social pre-eminence that came with that. Such were the cases of Juan de Castro and León Guerrero, Juan de León Guerrero y Borja and Félix de Torres y Diaz, whose brother José received, in addition to his retirement pension, a pension for illness contracted in the line of duty⁹. In the case of Manuel Aflagüe, one of the essential figures in the public service of the Mariana Islands in the second half of the nineteenth century, his professional career as a sergeant in the endowment company ended with a retirement pension and a pension as a state official, whose service record can be found alongside those of José Aguon and Joaquín Diaz, among others¹⁰.

⁶LCW Records of the Spanish Government in the Mariana Islands. Item 19. Order of October 18, 1870.

⁷LCW. *Ibid.* Order of January 24, 1877.

⁸The process of Creolisation of the Chamorro language was studied by Rafael Rodríguez-Ponga (2009). On the scarce linguistic exchanges between the two languages during the eighteenth century see: Madrid and Cepeda (2019).

⁹LCW Records of the Spanish Government in the Mariana Islands. Item 19. Pp. 5 et seq. *Tomas de razón de reales nombramientos de reales despachos, títulos o nombramientos*. 1887. P. 6.

¹⁰NAP Personal Records. Manuel Aflagüe y Camacho, Jose Aguon, Joaquín Diaz.



Figure 51: Spanish-Chamorro Dictionary, 1865. Book used in the elementary schools of the Mariana Islands. Private collection.

The opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 and its use by Spanish ships from 1871 onwards¹¹ had ushered in a new period in communications between the Marianas and their distant European metropolis. During the *Sexenio Democrático*, the 1869 constitution was sworn in all the towns of the archipelago on Sunday, 10 April, 1870. The entire population and all public offices “without exception” were invited to attend during its proclamation, according to a circular by the controversial governor, Moscoso, to the sub-governors of Agaña, Agat, Umatac, Merizo and Inarajan, stating that “after the act of high Mass, the municipal

¹¹The first shipping company to operate the Spain-Philippines route through the Suez Canal was Olano, Larrinaga & Cía., from 1871 to 1884, when the Compañía Transatlántica acquired the rights to the route.

corporations and other individuals employed by the government in the towns of this island will meet in the respective court houses and swear the constitution of 1869, promulgated in the nation..."¹².

In 1872 there was an attempt to depopulate the island of Rota, possibly to make it an island dedicated entirely to farming and cattle breeding. The attempt was thwarted when the inhabitants sent a request for mediation to the purser of the boat *Margarita*, Pedro Palomo, who was a relative of the *mestizo* priest Father José Palomo. A group of seven residents of Rota –Cándido Matantaotao, Francisco Masga, Mariano Mangloña, Luis Taysacan, José Songao, Juan Jocog and Beningno Soó– signed on June 26, 1872, a brief note in Chamorro addressed to Father Palomo asking Father Aniceto Ibáñez to intercede with the governor to rescind the order of transfer from Rota to Umatac that had been authorized from Manila (Madrid, 2014: 50-51).

In Spain, after the fall of the so-called Canton of Cartagena on January 12, 1874, more than 700 political deportees were taken to the Philippines and from there to the Mariana Islands, which were less populated and therefore less susceptible to being “contaminated” by the political influence the deportees could exert on the local population, and where the presence of deportations of peninsular origin would have less impact (Madrid, 2006). The deportees had different professions. They were bricklayers, bakers, coachmen, farm workers, schoolteachers and even an animal tamer¹³. To alleviate the pressure on the population of the Mariana Islands, Governor Manuel Brabo decided to distribute the deportees among the islands of Guam, Saipan and Rota, where they were taken a few weeks later. The deportees were forced to find their own sustenance, either by fishing or by feeding on the cattle of the local population or on wild plants. The native population, who in theory had to host the deportees in their own homes, lived with them as best they could, putting up with their abuse and rapacious behaviour. With the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy and Alfonso XII, President Cánovas del Castillo granted amnesty to the deportees and authorised their departure, which took place on June 28, 1877.

¹² LCW. Records of the Spanish Government in the Mariana Islands. *Orden Circular del Gobernador Moscoso a los Gobernadorcillos al margen*. April 7, 1870. Item 20. P. 305.

¹³ AHN, Overseas. 5525, box 3. Nominal list of deportees to the Marianas. Manila, March 3, 1874.

In the context of the quest for self-sufficiency of the native population of the Mariana Islands, access to farmland was not a problem, given the abundance resulting from the depopulation that occurred in the late seventeenth century. Through official concessions the land had been divided into multiple smallholdings in areas of varying agricultural or livestock farming value, and the island provided enough fertile land for all its inhabitants. The government reserved ownership of the land of those who, although claiming ownership, did not cultivate it, as a means of preventing the hoarding of fertile land into the hands of a few. From 1880 onwards, idle lands could be bought by anyone who requested them and could prove that they were going to cultivate them¹⁴.

Subsistence economy, assured access to relatively fertile farmland, a small population, conveniently limited levels of formal education, poor communications within the island, between the other islands of the archipelago and with the outside world... With these characteristics, it was practically impossible for a regularly organized anti-colonial opposition network to develop. The isolation and autonomy of the towns of Guam and the other islands meant that such opposition could take the form of passive resistance, according to need and circumstance. The positioning of individuals such as the Chamorro Luis Narciso Baza, who accused Governor Moscoso of abuses during the mandatory Trial of Residence and got him expelled in perpetuity not only from the Marianas and the Philippines but even from Madrid, shows that there existed in Guam as early as 1870 a group of natives (Chamorros, Mestizos and Criollos) with sufficient political awareness to openly confront the representatives of the colonial authority who were abusing their office (Madrid, 2006: 214-215).

On the night of August 2, 1884, the soldier on guard at the entrance to the Governor’s Palace, sentry José de Salas, fired his rifle, in a spontaneous act, at the Governor, Ángel de Pazos, as he passed by, on his way to the palace after an evening stroll, killing him on the spot (Caballero, 2010; Laucock, 1977). The specific details of this episode are not known in detail, as the summary proceedings that must have been carried out on the occasion of the crime have not been located. However, existing documentation

¹⁴ AHN, Overseas 528. Exp. 26. Provisions for the sale of idle land in the Philippines.

allows us to interpret that, although the officer who took interim charge of the government claimed to have put down an armed rebellion, the alleged confession of those supposedly involved in an anti-Spanish revolt was obtained through torture. There are also contradictory claims that the murder was most likely a spontaneous act, following an insult by the governor to the soldier, who responded by shooting him in the back¹⁵. The governor's death contributed to a series of changes in the colonial management of the archipelago. Regardless of the details of the crime, there is no doubt that the assassination of the first authority of the Marianas reactivated Madrid's attention to the "possessions" of Micronesia. This resulted in a series of measures and reforms –of little political significance– that modified the colonial scenario of the last decade of the nineteenth century, such as the suppression of the endowment company, which had been a source of abuse for the inhabitants who had to serve in it¹⁶, and greater care in the appointment of political-military governors to select more prudent individuals, such as Francisco Olive, Enrique Solano and Joaquín Vara de Rey (Driver, 2005). The appointment of leaders more committed to local development improved conditions for public education in the Mariana Islands towards the end of the nineteenth century. The reconstruction of the aforementioned Governor's Palace, which had been built in 1744 and had only been renovated once, was completed in 1889, with a new building that took advantage of the existing structures.

The effective occupation of the Caroline Islands in 1885 by Spain created a new impulse in communications with the archipelago and its immediate metropolis of Manila (Elizalde, 1992). Quarterly mail steamships linked Manila, Zamboanga (Mindanao), Yap (Federated States of Micronesia, FSM), Guam, and Ponape (present-day Pohnpei, FSM), which also provided an opportunity for advancement for the Chamorros from Guam, some of whom were employed by the colonial government and posted to Yap with their families. The Chamorro resident Bartola Garrido,

¹⁵ See, for example, the statements concerning Governor Pazos and Commander Borredá in the continuation of the history of the Mariana Islands by Father Jose Palomo, according to the typewritten copy in English, *Continuation by Reverend Padre Jose Paloma* (sic), in the MARC Library, University of Guam.

¹⁶ AHN, Filipinas. 5254. Exp. 30. Letter from the Captain General of the Philippines to the Minister of Overseas Territories. Manila, November 30, 1884. P. 25.

recognized by the Spanish government for her activity in favour of Spain during the diplomatic crisis with Germany, would be appointed as a schoolteacher in the following years¹⁷.

The Philippine revolution of 1896, with no known ramifications in the Mariana Islands, took place on December 19 and 20 with a revolt of Tagalog prisoners, who were held in the old Mariana garrison, adjacent to the Governor's Palace, which ended with the death of some 80 prisoners in a controversial episode that culminated in the resignation of the then governor Jacobo Marina (Caballero, 2006: 196-197). Amidst this scenario of turmoil in the second half of the 1890s, Japan was showing a greater geostrategic interest in the Pacific, and, as an inevitable consequence of improved communications, there were two incidents on Saipan involving Japanese subjects in 1896 and 1897, respectively¹⁸.

News of the declaration of war between Spain and the United States on April 24 and 25, 1898, didn't reach Manila until a few days after the departure of the quarterly steamer that communicated with the territories of Micronesia. With no news received in Guam after April 12, residents and authorities in the Mariana Islands were completely oblivious to the unfolding events. On the morning of June 20, 1898, four American-flagged ships arrived in Guam, the *City of Sydney*, *City of Peking*, *Australia* and the *USS Charleston*¹⁹.

Since the *Charleston* entered Apra harbour flying a Spanish flag on its mainmast (Driver ed., 2000: 45), the harbour master and the military doctor went on the harbour master's boat for the mandatory visit, imagining that it was a courtesy visit. Once on board, they were informed by Captain Glass of the war situation between the two countries and of the hostile nature of the shots fired at the fort of San Luis de Apra, a fort in ruins that had been abandoned for

¹⁷ On the Chamorros of Yap, there is a photographic and documentary exhibit by Malia A. Ramirez., *The Chamorros of Yap*, organised by the Northern Mariana Islands Council for the Humanities, 1997. On Bartola Garrido, see: (VV. AA., 2019: 20-21; Tolentino, 2021g).

¹⁸ AHN, Archivo Histórico de Exteriores. Philippines 1894-1899. Legajo H 2964. In addition to this documentation on both incidents, there is a file relating to the 1897 episode in the collections of the former Overseas Ministry, deposited in the Servicio Histórico Militar, Box 5322, already cited and summarized in the work of John Carlos Caballero Matilla (2006 [1898]: 193-195).

¹⁹ For a brief account of what happened as told by an American soldier see DeBurgh (1939: 23-29, and Vol VII, No. 1. November 1939, 26-30, 45-48). For a Spanish version of what happened, Duarte (1913: 11).

several decades²⁰. After being informed of what had happened, the military political governor Juan Marina refused the invitation to board the *Charleston* but offered in exchange the possibility of holding a parley the following morning at the pier at Punta Piti, offering guarantees that Captain Glass's freedom would be respected. The failure to comply with the terms of the meeting was reflected in the disembarkation the following morning of a junior officer in place of Captain Glass²¹, as well as in the commination for the surrender and detention of the interlocutors in an act of parliament, an act whose illegality was noted by both Lieutenant Colonel Juan Marina and the Treasury Administrator José Sixto in their respective official reports²².

The departure of the American ships left the island without any legitimately constituted authority, with a population of several hundred Philippine inmates at the mercy of events. The dubious legality of the conquest influenced the claim to sovereignty of "one of the Ladrones", mentioned in the Washington protocol of August 12, 1898. In the talks for the treaty of peace in Paris it was

negotiated not by right of conquest, but as war compensation (VV. AA., 1899; Amate, 2014). The formal occupation of the island of Guam by American forces did not take place until February 1, 1899 (Caballero, 2006 [1898]: 209).

Once the cession of Guam had been consummated in the 1898 Treaty of Paris, the sale of the archipelago of the Marianas, the Carolines and Palau was carried out in a short period of time. Talks with Germany, which had been on the verge of entering the war on the side of Spain, began even before the negotiations with the United States in Paris were completed (Elizalde, 1992: 247). The ratification of the Peace of Paris in 1899 put an end to Spanish colonial presence in the Pacific²³. The Chamorro society –a *criollo* and *mestizo* society– formed more than two hundred years after an initial process of transculturation at the end of the seventeenth century, was to begin to move away from its previous colonial point of reference, although the Hispanic traits of the Chamorro culture maintained a visibility that in many respects continues to this day (Rodao, 1998: 34).

²⁰ The possibility that the real circumstances of the situation in Guam were known to the American forces is a possibility that coincides with the recollections of Juan Marina, the eldest grandson of the last Spanish governor of the Marianas. Interviewed by the author of this article on November 21, 2002, he recalled how his grandmother Maria Malats had told him that on board the *Charleston*, his grandfather recognized among the crew or officers an American who had been on Guam shortly before. The Spanish military reports detailing this episode make no reference to it.

²¹ Lieutenant W.M. Braunersreuther, whose official report can be read at: www.spanamwar.com/Guam.htm [Accessed March 20, 2021].

²² SHM. Captaincy General of the Philippines. No. 25. *Sobre la toma y posesión por la Escuadra Norte-Americana en el Puerto de San Luis de Apra. Juan Marina Vega. Manila, 17 de noviembre, 1898*. For the version of the Administrador de la Hacienda Publica, see: (Castañeda, 1950).

²³ A sort of urban legend that maintains that Spain maintained sovereignty over some islets of Micronesia, a theory encouraged by the author Emilio Pastor y Santos in the late 1940's and within the framework of the imperial nostalgia of the early Franco regime, has been proven to be unfounded. See: (Madrid, 2013 315) and the comprehensive study by Emilio Sáenz-Francés (2015).

The Mariana Islands collections in the Museo Nacional de Antropología (MNA) and the 1887 Philippine Exhibition

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1. The Mariana Islands in the 1887 Philippine Exhibition

The Philippine Exhibition was inaugurated in the Retiro Park in Madrid on June 30, 1887. Objects were on display, not only from the Philippines, but also from the Spanish colonies in Oceania: the Mariana Islands and the Caroline Islands.

It was Víctor Balaguer, President of the Council of the Philippines and the possessions of the Gulf of Guinea, and future Spanish Minister of Overseas Territories, who envisioned the exhibition, following the success of the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia and the International Colonial and Export Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883. The aims of the Philippine Exhibition were the development of trade, agriculture and industry in the Philippines, the Marianas and the Carolines, as well as closer ties between the metropolis and the colonies (Exposición, 1887: 3-4).

In 1886, a Royal Commissary was established in Madrid, with a Central Commission in Manila and Sub-commissions in the provinces. Participation in the exhibition was conceived as a competition, with prizes for the exhibitors. A jury was set up to judge

the objects on exhibit. The Royal Commissary, chaired by Víctor Balaguer, was responsible for organising the exhibition, receiving and classifying the objects and producing the catalogue. The Central Commission and the Sub-commissions encouraged participation in the competition, as well as receiving and sending to Spain the objects that were to form part of the exposition. The Central Commission could also purchase objects if considered necessary (Exposición, 1887: 5-79).

People from the Philippines, the Marianas and the Carolines were recruited by the Royal Commissary and also participated in the exhibition: “in order to give the Exhibition, in as far as it is possible, the character of a Philippine Exhibition, and so that it may also be a manifestation of the most intimate and close union between the Philippines and the Peninsula, thirty or forty natives will attend, and among them some women” (Exposición, 1887: 52). Two people from Guam, José Aflague Flores and Antonia de los Santos León Guerrero, attended as representatives of the Marianas (Miyagi, 1975: 31-32).

The exhibition was organised into eight thematic sections and one additional section, all of which were divided into groups. Section One: “Nature of the Spanish territories in Oceania”; Section Two: “Population”;



Figure 52: General view of the Glass Pavilion of the Philippine Islands General Exhibition (1887). Author: Laurent y Cía. MNA Collection: FD2857. Photograph taken from the original, photographer: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

Section Three: “Army and armed institutes auxiliary to the administration”; Section Four: “Navy”; Section Five: “Botanical geography of the archipelago, its flora, forest and fauna”; Section Six: “Agriculture, horticulture and livestock wealth”; Section Seven: “Industry, commercial movement, traffic”; Section Eight: “General culture, public instruction, sciences and arts” (Exposición, 1887: 25-41); Additional section: “Special Collections”¹.

¹This includes the collections of a private individual and of several institutions such as the Museo Naval and the Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Exposición, 1887: 603).

The Mariana Islands were represented in all sections except the fourth, which focussed on the navy. Their representation was most abundant in the first, second, fifth, sixth and seventh sections².

Most of the exhibitors from the Mariana Islands were Chamoru. It seems to me that setting up the exhibition as a competition, in which the participants chose what objects from their culture they wanted to show, was very positive. In fact, the MNA prioritises

²For a complete list of the items from the Mariana Islands in the exhibition, see Miyagi’s article (1975: 39-43), which also includes the items from the Carolines.

working with source communities of museum collections and especially, the temporary expositions, in which it is the members of a given culture and not the museum staff who decide what to exhibit, how to exhibit and the content of the discourse (Alonso, 2019: 129-134). In the case of the 1887 Philippine Exhibition, it was the CHamoru who chose what they wanted to show. They did not, however, choose how the objects were displayed, nor contribute towards the discourse. A jury, composed of Spanish from the metropolis, rewarded the objects that participated, but did not have the power to decide which objects were worthy of exhibition. Although the Royal Commissary had the power to remove objects from the exhibition (Exposición, 1887: 91).

Despite the participation in the selection of the objects by the peoples represented, we cannot ignore the colonial interests, prejudices and the Eurocentrism of the time, all of which formed part of the aims of the exhibition and were reflected in its catalogue. This colonial paternalism is evident in Víctor Balaguer's letter, addressed to the presidents of the provincial Sub-commissions and published in the catalogue, in which he hopes that "the Exhibition will be a new bond of union between the Filipino people and Peninsula [Spain], fostering the most intimate relations between them, and the Peninsular will become accustomed to seeing in the Filipino a brother, to whom he is obliged to offer the greatest deference and consideration because he is younger and weaker, just as the Filipino should see in Peninsula only the unveiling of an affectionate mother who is concerned to raise him to the level of the most cultured and civilised peoples" (Exposición, 1887: 48).

The catalogue contains a partial account of the history of the Marianas, which offers only the point of view of the colonisers. For the writer, the history of the islands began when Magellan arrived at Guam on March 6, 1521 (Exposición, 1887: 188-191). The only reference to the CHamoru culture prior to the arrival of Europeans appears in another section of the catalogue, which mentions the *latte* stones, the pillars that supported the dwellings of the CHamoru upper caste and the constructions in which they protected their canoes. The author, however, did not believe these pillars to be the work of the CHamoru people: "It is not known how or what people were able to make those constructions" (Exposición, 1887: 142).

The objects from the Marianas and the Carolines in the seventh section, representing industry and commerce, were described as follows: "From the Marianas

and Carolines there are, in this section, samples of fabrics, boats, fishing apparatus and other objects in sufficient number to give an idea of the industries of those remote archipelagos, whose civilisation is still more backward than that of the Philippines" (Exposición, 1887: 491).

2. The MNA CHamoru collection from the Philippine Exhibition

When the exhibition concluded, some items were acquired by the recently created Museo-Biblioteca de Ultramar, and others, which were not claimed by their owners, became part of its collection (García Llansó, 1897: 33). The items remained there until 1908, when the museum closed and the ethnographic objects were assigned to the Section of Anthropology, Ethnography and Prehistory of the Museo de Ciencias Naturales, which would later become the Museo Nacional de Antropología.

Most of the cultural items are from the island of Guam and were made especially for the exhibition, and as such are dated around 1886-1887, but there are also archaeological items from the Latte period (900-1695), some of which are from the island of Saipan. These objects were exhibited in sections one, two, six and seven.

2.1. Section One, "Nature of the Spanish territories in Oceania"

The items from the Latte period were exhibited in this section and are a good representation of some of the most characteristic objects from this period of CHamoru culture. The museum preserves three shell adzes (CE2170, CE2171, CE6984; Figure 1), one bone spearhead (CE6976; Figure 40), eleven slingstones (CE2173, CE2174, CE2175, CE6978, CE6979, CE6980, CE6981, CE6982, CE6983, CE6985, CE6986; Figure 2), and one stone (CE6977) inventoried as a sling projectile, although it does not have the characteristic shape.

Adzes, called *bigam* or *gachai* in CHamoru, had blades made of stone or *bima*, a giant clam shell of the genus *Tridacna*. Adzes were used for cutting, carving and roughing wood, and were an essential tool in the construction of canoes (Tolentino, 2021a; Villagomez, F., 2021; Cunningham, 1992: 23, 55, 65; Thompson, 1945: 39).

The main weapons of war used by the ancient CHamoru were bone-tipped spears and vegetable-fibre slings, *atupat*, with stone projectiles, *acho' atupat*. Before Spanish colonisation, there were no large land mammals in the Mariana Islands, the largest being the flying fox, *fanibi*, a type of fruit bat. Thus, fish bones were used to make small implements such as fishhooks, needles and awls, and human bones, especially the tibia, were used to make spearheads. The bone spearheads were tied to a wooden shaft, about 2.5 meters long, by a cord made from coconut fibre. They were designed so that the sharp upper part, which is missing in item CE6976, would pierce the victim's flesh and the teeth would prevent it from being pulled out, without either tearing the flesh or breaking apart and remaining inside the wound. In some archaeological excavations, human remains have been found with spearheads of this type lodged inside them. Descriptions of these spears by early European chroniclers highlight their effectiveness and lethality (Tolentino, 2021a, 2021b; Dixon, 2021; Lujan, 2019a; Cunningham, 1992: 64, 71; Thompson, 1945: 19-20; Safford, 1902: 718; Valle, 1987: 76).

116 The slings were made from woven plant fibre, usually made from coconut husk fibre, *filag*, although strips of pandanus leaves, *akgak*, and hibiscus fibre, *pokse'*, were also used. The sling was a rope with a wider receptacle in the central area, where the stone projectile was placed. The most common types of stone used were limestone, basalt, lutite and marble, although projectiles were also made from coral and fire-hardened or sun-dried clay. The projectiles have an average length of between 5 and 10 centimetres and weigh between 40 and 80 grams. Their elliptical shape, with pointed ends is characteristic of projectiles. The CHamoru warriors were experts in handling slings, and they threw the stones with great aim. The ends of the sling were held in one hand, and with a twisting motion over the head, they increased the force against the target before releasing the stone. A shot to the head or heart could be fatal (Tolentino, 2021a; Aguon, 2019a; York and Aguon, 2019; Dixon, 2021; Lujan Bevacqua, 2019a; Cunningham, 1992: 71-72; Thompson, 1945: 19-20; Safford, 1902: 718; Valle, 1987: 76).

According to the exhibition catalogue, two exhibitors provided archaeological objects, Mariano Fausto and the governor of the Marianas, Francisco Olive García. Though they were on display in section one, they were placed in different groups. The objects presented by Mariano Fausto were exhibited in the

archaeological objects group; the objects presented by the governor, were inappropriately exhibited in the minerals group.

Group 6: archaeological objects

“1.- Fausto (Don Mariano).- *Saipan*, Marianas. Collection of prehistoric instruments made from stone and shell found in the ruins of ancient dwellings. Prehistoric snails, called *casco* and *rosca*, found in ancient ruins on the island of Saipan. Fragment of a column from the ruins of Tinian” (Exposición, 1887: 216).

Group 11: minerals

“27.- Governor (M.P) of the Marianas. Collection containing stone axe, a spearhead made from bone, three shell coins, ten slingstones and an ancient sling” (Exposición, 1887: 225).

It is most likely that Mariano Fausto was also the exhibitor of the above-mentioned shell adzes and that the bone spearhead, CE6976, formed part of the items exhibited by the governor. Either the governor of the Marianas or Mariano Fausto could have been the exhibitors of the slingstones and the stone.

As for item CE6973 (Figure 5), the ancient sling placed on exhibit by the governor, it is unlikely that it comes from an archaeological site from the Latte period, as no slings or other implements made of plant fibre have been recovered in excavations, given their perishable nature.

2.2. Section two, “Population”

Of the objects in this section, the MNA conserves items used for clothing and items used for the serving of food, made from coconut leaves or coconut husks, *niyok* in CHamoru.

Group 16: furniture and clothing

“79.- Portutusach (Don José).- *Agaña*, Marianas. An ordinary CHamoru suit, consisting of a hat, a shirt and a pair of trousers. A pair of *doga* sandals for the countryside. A pair of sandals for the countryside. Two pairs of *chinela* shoes” (Exposición, 1887: 264).



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Figure 53: Sandals, *doga* (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2156 and CE2157. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

Of these items exhibited by José Portusach, the pair of sandals (CE2156 and CE2157; Figure 53), called *doga* in the CHamoru language and made from coconut palm leaves, are preserved in the MNA. In pre-colonial times the CHamoru wore sandals of this type to protect their feet, especially when walking on sharp surfaces such as coral. During the Spanish colonial period, these sandals continued to be used to work in the fields (Flores, 2021a; Cunningham, 1992: 43; Thompson, 1945: 10).

Group 19: beverages and food

“38.- Muñoz (Don José).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Dudós*, water *tabo* containers. *Quichalas*, coconut spoons. *Goja*, palm fans” (Exposición, 1887: 293).

Of the objects exhibited by José Muñoz, two *tabo* water containers (items CE2168 and CE2169, the latter with a handle; Figure 54), a *quichala* coconut spoon (CE2158; Figure 67) and two fans (CE2136 and CE2137; Figure 90) are preserved. Another *tabo* water container (CE2167), is inscribed with the name Dolores de la Cruz, she appears in the exhibition catalogue alongside a pair of sandals, two spoons and two fans, but her name is not associated with any container and in the MNA record book the source of this item is José Muñoz.

Tabos are containers made from coconut husks that are used to serve drinks. Similar containers were also made in the Philippines and have the same name. The coconut husks were also used to make spoons and ladles. The *quichala*, item CE2158, has an inscription indicating that it was used to make



Figure 54: Container, *tabo* (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2169. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

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atole, a drink made with water, grated coconut and rice, which was consumed at feasts and funerals. The name of this drink, *atole*, is a word of Nahuatl origin that was introduced by the Spanish from Mexico. In Mexico, *atole* is a hot, sweet drink made of corn flour dissolved in water or milk and flavoured with spices (Valle, 1987: 44, 53; Aguon, 2019b; Lujan, 2021a; Salas and Tolentino, 2021; Thompson, 1945: 24-34).

The fans, *gueba*, were made by braiding coconut tree leaves, and were used to alleviate heat, stoke fires and scare away flies and other insects. Fans of this type are still made to this day (Aguon, 2019b; Valle, 1987: 53; Flores, 2021b).

2.3. Section Six, “Agriculture, horticulture and livestock wealth”

Before the arrival of the Spanish in the Mariana Islands, the CHamoru made tools from wood, stone, shell and bone. Three basic tools were used for agricultural tasks: the *akoa*, a shovel with a wooden handle and a stone blade; the *dagua*, a digging stick used for planting, weeding and collecting tubers and fruit; and the *tanum*, another type of digging stick used for planting taro and rice and opening coconuts. The main crops were breadfruit (*dokdok* and *lemmai*), yam (*nika*, *dago*, *gado*), taro (*sunii*), bananas (*chotda*), coconut (*niyok*), rice (*fa'i*),

sugarcane (*tupu*), Polynesian arrowroot (*gabgab*), pandanus (*akgak*), areca (*pugua*) and betel (*pupulu*) (Cunningham, 1992: 20-21, 26, 30-31; Thompson, 1945: 29-30; Safford, 1902: 719-720; Tolentino, 2021a; Moore, 2021; Salas and Tolentino, 2021; Valle, 1987: 53-54).

The Spanish introduced new crops, such as corn (*mai'se*), sweet potatoes, citrus fruits, legumes, peanuts, aubergines, tomatoes, custard apples, pineapples and tobacco. They also introduced livestock and draft animals such as *carabao* or water buffalo, and iron (*lulok*), which replaced stone and shell, and new agricultural tools (Safford, 1902: 723-725; Valle, 1987: 15, 55-56; Cunningham, 1992: 29; Lujan, 2021b).

The CHamoru economy, based on fishing, horticulture, and inter-island trade, changed during the Spanish colonial period to focus on agriculture and livestock on farms called *lanchos*, a word that derives from the Spanish word for ranch or farm, *rancho*. During early colonial times, *lanchos* became a refuge to escape colonial control (Lujan, 2019b, 2021b; Safford, 1902: 725-726; Valle, 1987: 55-56).

All the items in this section that are preserved in the museum belong to the farming and farming tools group, and they offer an insight into the way of life on the *lanchos*. In the second half of the twentieth century, the shift from a subsistence to a capitalist economy led to the abandonment of this lifestyle (Lujan, 2019b).

Group 46: agricultural holdings and farming tools

“17.- **Castro** (Don Juan).- *Agaña*, Marianas. Model of comb or rake” (Exposición, 1887: 475).

The model, item CE2869, is made of wood and has a yoke, which is joined to the rake by two cords, made from vegetable fibre (Figure 45). The rake was used to clean, turn and prepare the soil for sowing.

“27.- **Dungca** (Don Justo).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Bilao*. *Metate*. Corn grinder” (Exposición, 1887: 477).

Justo Dungca was Guam’s first Justice of the Peace (Leon Guerrero, 2020b). The *metate* (item CE19170), or *mitati* in CHamoru, is preserved in the MNA (Figure 4). It is carved from white coral stone and is a tripod. It is Mexican in origin, just as the corn which arrived at the Mariana Islands by means of the Spanish missionaries in the seventeenth century. Corn, *mai’sé*, adapted well to the soil and climate of the islands and became the most important crop, displacing other traditional foods such as rice, as it was easier to grow. Corn kernels were ground to make flour, which was used to make *tortillas*, *titiyas*, the main staple food in the nineteenth century and during the first half of the twentieth century. Ground corn is the fundamental ingredient of another Mexican food, *tamales*. Nowadays, *titiyas* and *tamales* are part of the traditional CHamoru gastronomy and are never missing at celebrations

(Flores, 2021c; Tolentino, 2021c; Valle, 1987: 15, 55-56; Safford, 1902: 723-725).

“73.- **Martínez** (Don Antonio).- *Agaña*, Marianas. Model of a plough” (Exposición, 1887: 482).

Item CE2872 is a model of a plough, made of wood and with an iron ploughshare. It is attached to a plaster figure of a bovine animal, probably a *carabao*, by means of a rope made from vegetable fibre (Figure 3).

“83.- **Pérez** (Don José).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Camyo*. Fruit grater” (Exposición, 1887: 483).

Item CE2105 is a coconut grater or *kamyo*, composed of a wooden structure and an iron blade. This type of grater was used to grate the pulp of the ripe coconut (Figure 55). Grated coconut is used in various traditional dishes, such as *kélaguen*, grated coconut with lemon and prawns or chicken, as well as in sweets and desserts. By mixing the grated coconut with water, coconut milk is obtained, which is also used in many stews with tubers, bananas, fish or chicken. Grated coconut is used to make coconut oil for cosmetic purposes, to moisturise the skin and hair. The juice of both unripe and ripe coconuts is used as a drink and in some CHamoru dishes. The fermented sap of the coconut palm buds produces *tuba*, an alcoholic beverage of Philippine origin introduced by the Spanish. Vinegar, molasses and palm sugar can all be made from *tuba* (Aguon, 2019b; Valle, 1987: 53; Cunningham, 1992: 27; Linton and Wingert, 1946: 73; Krieger, 1943: 21).

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Figure 55: Coconut grater, *kamyo* (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2105. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

Coconut, *niyok*, was one of the staple foods in the Mariana Islands. The coconut palm was not only used for food and cosmetics, its leaves were used to make mats, baskets, hats, fans, sandals, brooms and the roofs of houses, as seen in the items displayed in section two. Coconut husks were used to make *tabos* containers, spoons and percussion musical instruments. The fibre from the husk was used to make ropes, slings, fishing lines and snares. The trunk of the palm was used for the construction of poles and beams for houses. The dried pulp of the coconut, copra, was the main export item during the Spanish colonial era, with many industrial uses, in particular the production of soap. Today the coconut continues to be of great importance in the CHamoru culture, especially in its gastronomy (Aguon, 2019b; Valle, 1987: 53; Cunningham, 1992: 27; Tolentino, 2021a; Krieger, 1943: 21).

2.4. Section Seven, “Industry, commercial movement, traffic”

The items in this section in the MNA are divided into five groups. The items are coconut fibre rope, basketry, iron machetes, harpoons for fishing and model boats.

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Group 49: yarns and ropes

“11.- Governor M.P. of *Marianas*. Bonote or punot” (Exposición, 1887: 492).

Coconut fibre ropes are called *bonote* in Spanish and *tali* in CHamoru. The above entry refers to item CE6974, a rope. The fibre from the coconut husk, *flag*, is ideal for the manufacture of ropes and cords as it is very strong and durable. To make ropes, the coconut husk was soaked in seawater to separate the fibres, which were then dried. The person making the rope rubbed the fibres with both hands against the thigh in order to twist them and form strands that were then braided to the appropriate length and thickness. This task was carried out by both men and women (Cunningham, 1992: 33; Tolentino, 2021a, 2021d).

Group 50: fabrics

“64.- Castro (Don Andrés de).- *Agaña*, Marianas. Liana baskets. Palm cigar case. Two buri palm mats. Prepared palm leaves. Unprepared palm leaves. Palm satchels” (Exposición, 1887: 501-502).

Of all these objects exhibited by Andrés de Castro, two baskets (CE6993 and CE6996), a mat, called *gua-fak* in CHamoru (CE6992), and two satchels, called *kostat tengguang* (CE2138 and CE2139) are preserved in the MNA (Figure 32). All the items are made with pandanus leaf, not with the materials that appear in the catalogue entry (liana, buri palm, palm).

The art of basket weaving and vegetable fibre weaving has been practiced in the Mariana Islands from time immemorial to the present day. The materials used most commonly are leaves from the *Pandanus tectorius* plant, *akgak*, in CHamoru, and coconut leaves. The pandanus leaves have thorns on the sides. To remove them and split the leaves a triangular cutting tool called *si'i* was used. Traditionally made from shell, after the arrival of the Spanish it retained its shape, but iron was used. After removing the thorns, the leaves were boiled in water, scraped, repeatedly rolled and unrolled to make them more pliable, and finally dried in the sun to bleach them (Anderson-Taft, 2019a; Flores, 2021b; Tolentino, 2021a, 2021e; Auyong, 2021; Thompson, 1945: 40; Cunningham, 1992: 139-140).

The technique used is plain or twill plaiting basketry. The double rim, which we can observe in the baskets preserved by the MNA, is characteristic of CHamoru basketry. This type of rim offers greater strength and resistance to the baskets (Anderson-Taft, 2019a; Flores, 2021b; Tolentino, 2021a, 2021e; Auyong, 2021; Thompson, 1945: 40; Cunningham, 1992: 139-140).

In traditional CHamoru culture, basket weaving was a female activity, although some men also wove with plant fibres. Today, both women and men are involved in basket weaving in the Marianas. They continue to make bags, baskets, mats and decorative figures, following traditional techniques and innovating with new designs and products (Anderson-Taft, 2019a; Flores, 2021b; Tolentino, 2021a, 2021e; Auyong, 2021).

Group 63: blacksmithing and locksmithing

“2.- Commander of the Garrison of *Agaña*, Marianas. Deluxe Machete. *Fusiño*, agricultural tool” (Exposición, 1887: 557).

Item CE5804 is a machete, preserved in the MNA. It has an iron blade, a bronze and wooden handle, and a leather sheath (Figure 41). A hand-written inscription on the sheath indicates that it is the machete that



Figure 56: Machete and sheath (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE5803. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

comes from the Marianas garrison. The museum preserves another machete, item CE5803, which was exhibited by Joaquín León Guerrero.

“16.- León Guerrero (Don Joaquín).- *Agaña*, Marianas. Working machete” (Exposición, 1887: 559).

This machete has an iron blade, bone handle and leather sheath (Figure 56). It also has an inscription on the sheath with the name of the exhibitor. The garrison machete is categorised as a luxury machete, while that of Joaquín León Guerrero is presented as a working machete. The difference between the two is in the shape of the blade and, above all, the shape of the handle. The luxury one is similar to the hilt of a sword and the working one is more like the handle of a knife.

The Jesuit missionaries taught the CHamoru how to work with iron in the seventeenth century and the trade of blacksmith, *herreron*, was born. Although it is believed that the first blacksmith in the islands was Choco, a Chinese man, who was shipwrecked in the Marianas in 1648 and became a chief, his prestige was related to his knowledge of blacksmithing. Farmers were to become the main customers of blacksmiths, as iron replaced the materials used in the production of tools during the pre-colonial era: stone, shell, wood and bone. The *damang*, a wooden sword, was

replaced by the machete, which became an indispensable tool. It was used for all kinds of cutting activities on the *lanchos*, as well as for hunting. The machete was also an element of social prestige. Carrying a good machete was synonymous with being a good farmer and, therefore, a man capable of providing for his family and a person who could be trusted. The CHamoru use the word *tingteng* to refer to the noise a good machete makes when its blade hits something (Lujan, 2021b, 2019b).

Group 64: hunting and fishing

Two harpoons, items CE2122 and CE2134, and the shaft of another harpoon, CE2255, are preserved in the MNA. According to the exhibition catalogue, three exhibitors participated with harpoons: Vicente L. Guerrero, Lorenzo León Guerrero and José Muñoz, all in group 64:

“16.- Guerrero (Don Vicente L.).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Fisga* fishing harpoon (two specimens)” (Exposición, 1887: 561).

“26.- León Guerrero (Don Lorenzo).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Fisga* fishing harpoon (two specimens)” (Exposición, 1887: 562).

“29.- Muñoz (Don José).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Acho-lumago*, apparatus for baiting fish. *Taraya* fishing net. Brava palm harpoon. *Nasa* prawn trap” (Exposición, 1887: 562).

It would seem that the harpoon presented by José Muñoz is the item with inventory number CE2134, as it is made of brava palm (Figure 68). It is carved in one piece and has a long, sharp point. Item CE2122 is a harpoon made from a bamboo cane shaft and 13 wooden tips (Figure 43). The tips are set on four wooden blocks and tied to the cane shaft with a cord of rolled vegetable fibre. Item CE2255 is a shaft made from bamboo cane and decorated with oblong negative motifs on a black background. This item had a second wooden body and a bone spearhead, which have been lost.

Fishing, *eguiban*, was the main source of protein in pre-colonial times. The CHamoru were expert fishermen and used different techniques and tools to fish in shallow waters inside the reef or on the open sea, as well as in rivers and streams. Depending on the type of fish and the technique used, fishing could be individual or communal. The CHamoru fished with various types of nets, with hook and line, with traps, with poison, and they caught fish by hand and with harpoons. The CHamoru name for a fishing harpoon and spear is *fisga*, a word of Spanish origin. They were single-pronged, triple-pronged and multiple-pronged, and they were made of wood or bone. The *fisgas* were used to catch fish on the reef in shallow waters. This type of fishing was called *ka'tokcha*. The fisherman stood in the water or on a rock and when he saw a fish, he threw the harpoon. Due to the refraction of light in the water, he had to aim under the position of his target in order not to miss. The harpoon was also used to catch fish by diving, this method was called *etokcha*. At night the CHamoru used *fisgas* to fish in canoes on the reef, with the help of a torch or *sulo*. One fisherman would point the torch at the prey, which attracted the fish, and another would pierce it with the harpoon. *Fisgas* were also used in net fishing, with a net called *chenchulu* (Cunningham, 1992: 31-39; Tolentino, 2021b; Amesbury, 2021; Thompson, 1945: 31-33).

In the Latte period, sea fishing, sailing and canoe building were the privilege of members of the upper caste, the *chamorri*. The catches were divided equally, and a share went to the lower caste. Most of the fishing was done by men, although women also participated, especially in hand fishing techniques, and they helped the men in fishing with nets and hooks, but they did not fish with *fisga* harpoons. The lower caste, *manachang*, could only fish in the rivers and

streams, and were forbidden to touch the canoes and the sea or to use the fishing gear and equipment of the upper caste. The *manachang* could fish in the rivers for *asuli* eels, which were taboo for the *chamorri*. They used pointed sticks as spears or would hit the eels with clubs (Tolentino, 2021f; Cunningham, 1992: 31; Thompson, 1945: 13-14).

In Spanish colonial times, the mobility of the CHamoru was limited by the government, they were cut off from the ocean in order to better control them. Fishing continued to be practiced in the sea and rivers, but it became a complementary activity (Lujan, 2021b, 2019b; Valle, 1987: 56).

Group 66: vessels

What most caught the attention of the Europeans arriving in the Mariana Islands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the elegance and speed of the CHamoru canoes. These boats seemed to glide over the water, and are compared by chroniclers to dolphins and birds, and called “flying proas”. It is estimated that they reached speeds of more than 32 kilometres per hour. They had a float or outrigger to stabilise the canoe, located on the windward side, and a triangular sail. The sail, *layak*, increased the speed of the boat by allowing it to sail close to the wind. The prow and stern were the same, because in order to change course, the CHamoru manipulated the sail and did not need to turn the boat. This symmetry contrasts with the sides of the hull. The leeward side was straight and the windward side rounded (Cunningham, 1992: 17, 149-151; Thompson, 1945: 34-36; Haddon and Hornell, 1975: 412-421; Diaz Artero, 2019; Lujan, 2021c; Goetzfridt, 2019; Tolentino, 2021d).

The first name given to the islands by the Europeans was “Islas de las Velas” (Islands of Sails), because of the large number of canoes with sails. There were several types of sailing canoes based on size, the largest being the *sakman*, which could be as long as 16 meters, followed by the *lelek*, *duding* and *duduli* canoes. The *panga* was as big as the *duduli* canoe but did not have a sail. The *galaide* was the smallest canoe, which also had no sail (Cunningham, 1992: 149-151; Diaz Artero, 2019; Lujan, 2021c; Tolentino, 2021d).

The canoes were made of wood from the breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus Mariannensis*), *dokdok* in the CHamoru language, the *ifil* or teak tree (*Intsia*



Figure 57: Canoe model (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE4720. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

bijuga), and the banyon tree (*Ficus*), *numu*. The wood was carved using shell adzes, with the help of fire. The different parts were tied together with strings made from coconut husks and they were caulked with plant fibres and sap from the *lemmai*, another type of breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus altilis*). The hulls of the canoes were painted red or orange with mineral pigments, black with soot, and white with lime, mixed with coconut oil. The paint was used to protect them from the sea water and for aesthetic reasons. The sails were made from matting, woven from pandanus fibre (Cunningham, 1992: 149-151; Lujan, 2021c; Anderson-Taft, 2019b).

The CHamoru navigators were guided by the stars, and they used their extensive knowledge of the ocean to navigate, observing the differences in the movements of the waves, the currents, the colour of the ocean, the marine fauna, the clouds and the wind. Training in sailing techniques for upper caste children began at the age of four or five, and by the time they reached the age of sixteen, they could sail on their own (Diaz Artero, 2019; Lujan, 2021c; Goetzfridt, 2019; Cunningham, 1992: 17).

Canoes were the means of transportation between the Mariana Islands and the western Caroline Islands, making inter-island trade possible. They were also used for fishing, the larger ones for deep sea fishing and the smaller ones for reef fishing (Cunningham, 1992: 149-151; Thompson, 1945: 34-36; Haddon and Hornell, 1975: 412-420; Diaz Artero, 2019; Lujan, 2021c; Tolentino, 2021d).

When the Spanish colonial government removed the CHamoru from the ocean, the large canoes and

the knowledge necessary for navigation on the high seas disappeared. By the nineteenth century, the only traditional boat to have survived was the *galaide*, used for fishing inside the reef. Unlike the *galaide* of pre-colonial times, which did not use a sail, this boat could be sailed with or without a sail. It coexisted with European-type boats, Filipino-type boats with two outriggers, and the large *sakman* canoes from the Caroline Islands. There are currently several projects in Guam and the Northern Marianas to recover and revive the ancient techniques of canoe building and CHamoru navigation (Thompson, 1945: 35-36; Haddon and Hornell, 1975: 419-421; Safford, 1902: 725; Diaz Artero, 2019; Goetzfridt, 2019).

“19.- **León Guerrero** (Don Vicente).- *Agaña*, Marianas. *Galaide*: boat used by the natives for fishing and for the transport of goods. *Baroto*” (Exposición, 1887: 567).

Items CE2848 and CE4720 in the MNA are two wooden models of canoes from the Mariana Islands. The CE2848 model (Figure 39) has an outrigger and an inscription indicating that it is a *galaide* or *baroto*, using both terms equivalently. A *baroto* is a Philippine canoe, which could have two outriggers or none at all. The CE4720 model (Figure 57) has no outrigger, but it has a split bar that could have been used to attach the canoe to an outrigger.

In the MNA collection, there are also three models of sails of vessels from the Mariana Islands (CE6987, CE6988, CE6989). Although no reference is made to them in any of the entries in the exhibition catalogue,

they could have belonged to one of the canoe models, most likely to item CE2848 because of their size. They are made from pandanus fibre, which has been woven with plain and twill plaiting basketry techniques. The CE6987 model is trapezoidal and has two carved wooden pulleys along the upper edge. As traditional CHamoru sails are of the lateen, with a triangular shape and no rigging or pulleys, it would seem that item CE6987 represents a sail with Philippine influence. Items CE6988 and CE6989 are both triangular in shape and are made from natural pandanus fibres with red dyed fibres, which form decorative bands with geometric motifs (Figure 66).

3. Other collections from the Mariana Islands at the MNA

The bulk of the Mariana Islands collections in the museum is made up of items from the 1887 Philippine Exhibition, but there are also holdings from two other sources.

In 1984, seven CHamoru items dating from the second half of the twentieth century were donated to the MNA collection by the missionary María Teresa Arias

Martínez. They are objects made from materials such as pandanus fibre, wood, ceramic and turtle shell, which the donor acquired as souvenirs of her stay in Guam and Saipan (Figure 9).

In 2015, part of the collection of the archaeologist, Julio Martínez Santa-Olalla, was deposited to the MNA by the Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Among the items are nine stone and shell objects from the Latte period, found in a cave. There are two slingstones, three stone adzes (Figure 89), two flint points and two *Tridacna* shell adzes.

We hope that this exhibition will be an opportunity to increase the collections from the Mariana islands in the MNA with modern-day pieces. The museum's acquisition policy focuses on contemporary items. Anthropology is the study of present-day cultures, and if museums only exhibit objects from the past, they are implying erroneously that only the past is of interest, that the cultures represented no longer exist, that they are fossilised in time and cannot change, when, in fact, change is inherent to all societies. With the acquisition of items from the current reality of the CHamoru culture, we can celebrate a culture that is alive and that has resisted and survived colonisation (Alonso, 2019: 134-136).

Uncle S(p)am: The expensive costs of US colonialism in Guam¹

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A quick Google Images search of Guam reveals an abundance of stereotypical Pacific Islands imagery. Sandy beaches, calm ocean waters, graceful palm trees, and clear blue skies dominate the online photo galleries. Yet Guam's reality can jar the expectations of those who expect to find a clichéd island paradise. Indeed, as a professor at the University of Guam, I have often conversed with incoming faculty, often fresh from the United States mainland, who express shock and dismay at the state of our Island, surprised to see the multiple signs of Americanization, from the plethora of US-associated businesses like Kmart, McDonalds, and Macy's to English as the predominant language in households, shops, and government offices. At first glance, Guam appears to be a prosperous island with all the amenities affiliated with modern life: electricity, running water, paved roads, shopping

¹Laurenz Fejeran, then a University of Guam undergraduate and now teaching Guam History and US History at Okkodo High School, coined the phrase "Uncle S(p)am" in a paper written for my historiography class. He has generously permitted me to use "Uncle Spam" in my writing. *Si yu'us ma'ase, Renz!*

malls, and fast-food restaurants. But this superficial show of modernity masks a deep and growing chasm of pain, loss, and conflict. Instead of idyllic scenes of native islanders fishing in the ocean or sailing in their proas, visitors encounter rush hour traffic jams and homeless panhandlers at the major intersections, as well as hospitals, schools, and dialysis centers filled beyond capacity. Instead of an island population that regularly eats tropical fish, fruits, and vegetables, they discover a population reliant upon Spam, corned beef, and other imports from the US. Indeed, the local newspapers confirm each and every day stories of an island struggling to cope with modernity.

Guam's catchiest slogan, *Where America's Day Begins*, in reference to the island's proximity to the International Dateline, itself hides a century's violence of US colonialism and militarism on Guam. It expresses an American presence backed by dollars and typically represented as exceedingly philanthropic yet perpetuating American power in the Pacific while marginalizing indigenous Chamorro land rights and cultural practices.

The tensions resulting from a massive US military presence on Guam escalate from time to time, as various of the world's nuclear powers threaten Guam while flexing their muscles towards America. A news headline on 11 March 2021, for example, stated, "Indo-Pacific Commander tells Congress: 'Guam is a target today.'" The article expressed US military desires to increase the island's missile defense capacities due to "emerging threats" in the region—in this particular instance, from China (Kaur, 2021a: 1)—. These statements were prompted in part by a Chinese propaganda video released by their Air Force in 2020 that showed a simulated bomber attack on Guam's US Air Force Base. But Guam-as-target came as no surprise to island residents. Just a few years earlier, North Korea had made similar provocations, threatening "an enveloping fire at the areas around Guam" with missiles that would take 14 minutes to reach the island (Domonoske, 2017: 1; Raymundo, 2017: 1). Yet the 2021 and 2017 threats against Guam by China and North Korea are but the latest in a series dating back to the beginning of the Cold War. Indeed, Australian scholar Gary Smith likened our region of the northwest Pacific to the USSR's "Iron Curtain," writing, "For the United States, control of the islands of Micronesia was the strategic equivalent to the Soviet Union's control over Eastern Europe" (Smith, 1991: 3). Guam figured mightily in this scenario as the US gobbled up vast tracts of island farmland in order to build its military bases, air strips, and harbors. For Guam, the Cold War has never been cold and continues to be as threatening as ever. Understanding how Guam came to be in this precarious position requires an introduction to the island's history under US rule.

1. The Splendid Little War

In 1898, US Secretary of State John Hay referred to the Spanish-American War as the "Splendid Little War," reflecting the enormous gains gotten by the US at the cost of only minor casualties. Guam's history books likewise portray this war and the island's consequent transfer of colonial power from Spain to the US as a joyful, even comical event given Spain's

inability to face off against the US military on the island (Rogers, 2011: 112; Carano and Sanchez, 1964: 219). Other sources, however, propose a more realistic view of this dramatic event. Given that the Chamorro people had for more than two centuries fallen under Spanish rule, an overnight shift of power would have been highly disturbing. An account written by Catholic priests Ildefonso Cabanillas and Crisógono Ortín, who had lived for decades in the Marianas, reports that, "The entire populace became very alarmed and their great distress was very evident.... Entire families, overwhelmed by fear and anguish, abandoned their homes and fled into the bush. A large number of devout families flocked to the church, fervently and tearfully beseeching God to put an end to this calamity" (Driver, 2000: 48).

For the Chamorro people, not only would their government shift to American hands, but their island chain would be split asunder. In their move to become a global power, the US opted to claim Guam alone, ignoring the other Mariana Islands, and opening the door for Spain to sell them to Germany, who less than two decades later would lose them to Japan as part of the spoils of World War I. The division of the Mariana Islands into two political bodies created tensions that climaxed during World War II when Guam and the Northern Marianas found itself on opposite sides of a war-not-theirs, Guam Chamorros remained steadfastly loyal to the US while Northern Marianas Chamorros understandably sided with their colonial master, Japan. The direct and indirect costs of those split alliances continue to divide the Chamorro people, more than 70 after the Second World War.

After defeating Spain in 1898, the United States would send the Navy to run the island, for Guam's true value to the US was its Apra Harbor, one of the region's best natural harbors, both wide and deep enough to handle incoming American ships. But US Navy officers were not trained to govern a new colony, and they established a dictatorial government in which the military commander had absolute power. Chamorros soon protested this extreme form of rule, writing in a 1901 petition to the US Congress that "fewer permanent guarantees of liberty and property rights exist now than when under Spanish dominion. The governor of the island exercises supreme power in the executive, legislative,

and judicial branches of government, with absolutely no limitations to his actions” (Petition, 1). Congress, however, failed to even acknowledge the petition, much less address its concerns, and proceeded to ignore further petitions in 1917, 1925, 1929, 1933, 1936, 1947, 1949, and 1950 (Hattori, 1995: 5).

US Naval rule over Guam would continue well after the Second World War, as would the consistent dismissal of Chamorro aspirations to receive an “American” form of government on the island. The native people learned to co-exist peacefully with the small-sized military presence on the island which approximated 10% of the total population and who regarded the Chamorros as child-like and incapable of self-rule. The navy-published cartoon, *More Like His Dad Every Day*, demonstrates this infantilization well (V.V.A., 1912).



Figure 58: *More Like His Dad Every Day*, *Guam News Letter*, July 1912.

2. The World’s War: Uncle S(p)am to the Rescue

Anticipating its entry into World War II, two months before Japanese forces invaded Guam, the US military relocated its white wives and children to the mainland. Left to fend for themselves were the Chamorro wives of American military personnel, some of whom were targeted for rapes and other atrocities (Merfalen, 2003; Howard, 1986). The US Navy government that had run the island since 1899 had pared down to a skeleton crew of some 500 men who specialized primarily in managing its communication systems. In fact, when the Japanese invasion force of more than 5,000 militia landed, a ragtag group of 247 Chamorros, accompanied by only a handful of US military men, fought in defense of Guam (Sanchez, 1988: 181; Underwood, 1994: 2). Organized as the Guam Insular Force Guard, this voluntary unit had received little training and was armed with few pieces of World War I era weaponry. Their extraordinary valor has been generally obfuscated by the deafening tale of American “liberation” heroics.

Japanese occupation of Guam during World War II forms such a central part of the Chamorro imagination that the entire historiography of the 20th century is shaped around it, with history books, as well as oral history accounts, typically dividing the 1900s into Pre-War, War, and Post-War eras. This outstretched coverage attests to the war’s enormous impact as Chamorros faced a plethora of previously unimaginable threats and fears over 32 months of wartime occupation. Books about this era bear titles such as *An Island in Agony* (Palomo, 1984) and *A Tragedy of Guam* (Howard, 1986), speaking to the executions, beatings, rapes, and other extreme experiences of the war. The entire population experienced forced marches and internment camps in the final weeks of the war. Thus, for the Chamorro people of that era, the shared experience of World War II provides a universal narrative of trauma, fear, and suffering. It also provides a universal narrative of salvation, liberation from enemy occupation due to the heroism of the US Marine Corps.

While America’s return to Guam in 1944 certainly and thankfully ended a harrowing enemy occupation, it also brought about unprecedented problems –not only the wartime devastation of land and property, but also

the postwar land takings by the US military—. Wartime bombardment destroyed roughly 80% of the island's homes and other structures, including almost all the capital of Hagåtña (Agaña) where half the population had previously resided (León, 1996: 109). Chamorro business leader, Anthony Leon Guerrero writes that “the American re-invasion of Guam caused more damage than any earthquake, typhoon, or other event in history.... [and] this time, even the land was ruined for farming” (León, 1996: 90). Destruction of the island was, however, not limited to US military battles against Japanese occupiers. Immediately after defeating Japan in the so-called “Battle for Guam,” the US began using the island as a base for the remainder of the war. By 1946, the military had built 21 bases and stationed more than 200,000 personnel on the island. To accommodate this large influx, native lands were confiscated, including 75% of their farmlands, as well as fishing grounds adjacent to the new military bases (Sanchez, 1988: 272).

Without access to their farmlands and fishing grounds, Chamorros desperately sought new avenues to alleviate the rampant malnutrition faced in the immediate postwar period (Sanchez, 1988: 199; Rogers, 2011: 164). Malnutrition affected nearly the entire indigenous population by war's end, due in part to widespread confiscations of food to feed thousands of Japanese soldiers (Underwood, 1994: 9). To this rescue came the victorious American forces whose military storage depots abundantly provided canned foods, so that the Chamorros, as scholar and war survivor Pedro Sanchez writes, “ate to their hearts' delight” and “hoarded cases and cans” of these rations in case the food supply was ever again threatened. Sanchez writes that “tons” of canned goods were given away, so much so that Chamorro shelters “looked like mini-warehouses” (Sanchez, 1988: 249).

Spam figured largely among the hoarded canned goods (Rogers, 2011: 185), and war commemorations on Guam invariably connect this particular brand of canned meat with freedom and loyalty to the US. The commercial advertisements below, produced for Guam's 60th anniversary of liberation from the war, illustrate an important motif in the post-war Guam story. As stated below by war survivor, Josephine Palomo, “we're very grateful, we're very thankful that our mother country came back for us. The soldiers were very, very friendly. They distributed all kinds of candies, all kinds of canned goods. And I tell you SPAM was number one!” (Dickerson & Quinn).



Figure 59: Spam, 60th Anniversary of Liberation commemorative tin.

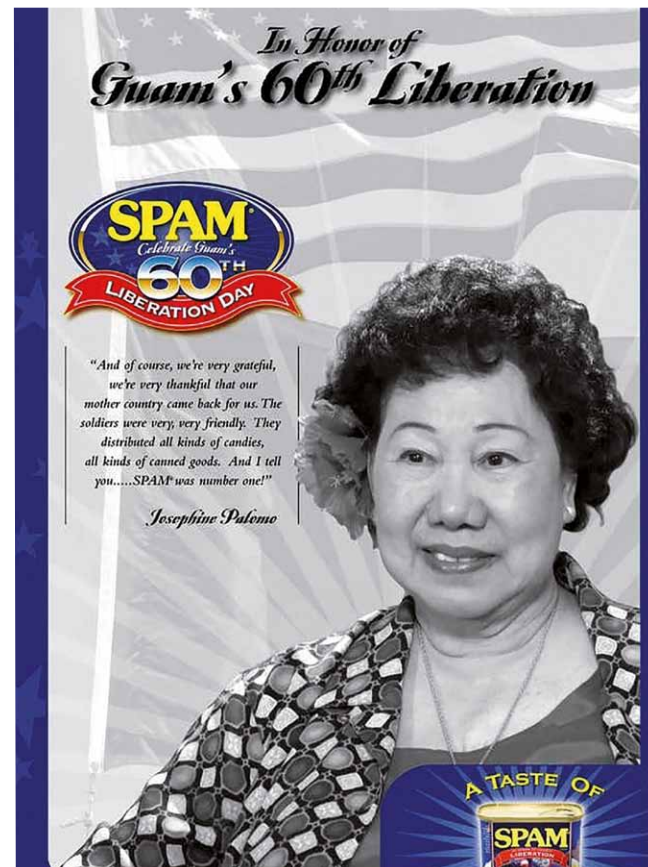


Figure 60: Josephine Palomo in a Spam commercial.

In the immediate wartime scenario, educator Pedro Sanchez describes that while Chamorros were “stunned by the total destruction of their communities” and pained to lose their land, they were also “grateful to be alive and free under the American Flag” (Sanchez, 1988: 254). Spam has since served as a powerful reminder of freedom from the war’s physical and psychological brutalities, as well as a daily sign of American heroism and generosity. It functions as a metaphor for US generosity and valor, albeit at the cost of Chamorro land and bodies.

The theme of Chamorro gratitude to the US, evidenced in part by commemorative Spam cans and advertisements, becomes the powerful, ideological banner under which the rest of Guam’s history is understood. In her powerful essay, *Psyche under siege: Uncle Sam, look what you’ve done to us*, Chamorro scholar Laura Torres Souder conveys, “The joys of ‘liberation’ were sweet. Chamorro survivors of World War II embraced all that was American with overwhelming gratitude and profound respect. Uncle Sam and his men were worshipped as heroes” (Souder, 1994: 193). Yet while “Uncle Sam is typically viewed as a great benefactor, a white-bearded Santa Claus whose generosity is unparalleled,” Souder writes, “We who have paid the price exacted from this costly relationship with Uncle Sam know better. . . . [F]or us, the war has not ended” (*Ibid*, 1994: 195).

Stripped of their farmlands and pushed out of their villages to make way for the incoming US military, Chamorros were forced to survive under new and excruciating conditions. Lack of access to farmlands ranked foremost among these changes, and by 1950, only 23% of the previously agrarian population relied upon farming and fishing as their primary occupations. By 1960, this would fall even further to 8.8 percent (Santos-Bamba and Hattori, 2020: 292), and today, Guam imports nearly 90 percent of its food (Natividad and Kirk, 2010: 3). This hyper-reliance on imported, mainly processed foods has led directly to a dramatic upsurge in non-communicable diseases such as diabetes and cardiovascular ailments. One revealing statistic shows that while only 3% of Guam’s deaths between 1910 and 1940 were attributed to diabetes, heart attack or stroke, by 2000, that number would swell to 33% percent (Had-dock, 2010: 214-219). Diabetes is now the fourth leading cause of death on Guam. Similarly, Rapadas (2007: 35) reports that “Indigenous Chamorus have the highest rates of diabetes, obesity, hypertension,

and cancer on Guam when compared to other ethnic groups”. Chamorros also comprise the largest percentage of Guam’s homeless population with annual census counts from 2015 through 2018 revealing that Chamorros comprise the largest segment of the island’s homeless population (GHC, 2018: 8). Prior to the Second World War, homelessness, landlessness, and malnutrition were not among Guam’s problems. Indeed, these form important, though little-told, parts of the US liberation story.

To survive in this new world, many of the now-landless Chamorros found themselves forced into the cash economy, although without adequate educational or occupational training. Yet jobs were aplenty due to massive construction projects to accommodate the thousands of US military now stationed on the island, and because the number of jobs far exceeded what the local population could fill, the US Navy began importing labor from the Philippines by the thousands. This new influx of foreign migrants would add yet a further dimension to the process of marginalizing Guam’s natives. While indigenous Chamorros comprised 90% of Guam’s population before World War II, each decade thereafter would see a slow decline, with the 2010 census placing Chamorros at just 37% of Guam’s total population, with 59,381 natives out of an island total of 159,358 (US Census Bureau, 2012: 24).

Landless, farmless, and now thrust into wage labor were but parts of the problem. Segregation-era American policies paid Guam’s natives only 25% of the pay that whites would receive for the same positions. As language scholar Sharleen Santos-Bamba assesses in her research of Chamorro language fluency, “the best avenue out of abject poverty was obtaining a higher-paying job, but such positions required proficiency in the English language” (Santos-Bamba and Hattori, 2020: 292). She elaborates that beginning with the postwar generations, “English was imposed as the sole official language of Guam, which, in the process, devalued the mother tongue,” due in large part so that children could “prosper in the ‘new’ postwar cash economy since it was a virtual requirement for better-paying jobs” (*Ibid*, 2020: 294).

Thus, a constellation of factors pushed and pulled Chamorros into the promises of Americanization. Economic necessities caused by the confiscation of their farms were coupled with understandably intense feelings of gratitude to their wartime liberators. Varying forms of patriotic display by Chamorros emerged after US Congress bestowed US citizenship in 1950 to the

people of Guam. Speaking English proved indeed to be a vehicle to economic prosperity as well as an emblem of pride in our newfound identity as American citizens. As articulately expressed by Chamorro scholar Miget Bevacqua, “One of the things that [Chamorros] sacrificed on the altar of Americanization was their language” (cited in Hofschneider, 2020). Moreover, American popular culture reigns on Guam, consumed in apple pies and Apple phones, in students’ aspirations to visit Disneyland instead of our own historic properties, and in our reliance upon Spam rather than farm-grown and ocean-caught foods. On its political, economic, and cultural frontlines, postwar Guam truly became “where America’s day begins”.

3. Resilient Resistance to Guam’s Second Military Buildup

The loss of our farmlands and fishing grounds has deprived us of economic sustainability. But more than that, it has also meant the deterioration of agricultural and fishing knowledge and skills, tying also to weakened intergenerational relationships. There exists now a chasm between those holding a font of traditional knowledge and those hectically pursuing modern forms of economic advancement. Furthermore, thousands of displaced Chamorros have out-migrated in search of better opportunities abroad, and the vast majority of our people have replaced our native language with English fluency. After more than 300 continuous years and four different colonial administrations, Guam remains immersed in a colonial reality deeply exacerbated by our alienation from our lands and any concrete sense of sustainability. For many people on Guam, holding tight to Uncle S(p)am’s purse strings appears to be the best, and only, scenario for survival.

Today the island faces yet another round of American military expansion, an impending military buildup that threatens to relocate thousands of US Marines from current bases in Okinawa to Guam. This process has been on-going for more than a decade, but by 2021 had made strides towards fruition. US military contractors have destroyed acres of native forest, including one that housed the ancient Chamorro village, Magua’ (Babauta, 2018: 1). Despite agreements with the US military to protect historic and cultural properties, and despite meetings with Guam’s historic preservation officers, military officials simply removed several artifacts then proceeded with levelling the ancient village. Additional aspects of

this military buildup are requirements for additional live-fire training sites, the expansion of Guam’s existing Air Force Base, the creation of berthing for a nuclear aircraft carrier, and the erection of a missile defense system (Natividad and Kirk 2010: 2).

Certainly, many people on Guam support US military activities, predictably so considering that non-natives comprise most of the population today –some 63%– while most of the Chamorros were born well after the war, without access to farming and fishing rights, speaking English, and working in an economy “geared towards the military” (Natividad and Kirk, 2010: 3). Also unsurprising, the Guam Chamber of Commerce has spoken vociferously in favor of increased military activity, viewing them as a major source of spending. A 2010 white paper by the Chamber pronounced that “Guam would benefit from an increased military presence including, among other things, opportunities to expand the economy, create more jobs, foster business, and entrepreneurship, increase government revenues, and expand tourism” (cited in Hornung, 2017: 67). Similarly, although critically limited in scope and size, existing surveys indicate that most of Guam’s population supports the proposed military expansion (*Ibid*, 2017: 67-68). The only peer-reviewed, published survey of island residents showed 53% of 403 respondents in favor of the buildup, although 74% expressed that it would not be good for Chamorro culture (Owen, 2010: 313). Interestingly, the survey reveals that opposition to the build-up was strong among the youngest respondents. Research Amy Owen surmises that, among the young, “many of whom no longer [speak] their native language, ... there has been a groundswell of Chamorro identity and cultural pride, a movement of youth, women and activists for political self-determination” (*Ibid*, 2010: 314). Nolan Flores, a member of the Guam Youth Congress, further expresses this opposition, saying that he and a growing number of his peers are “wary of the buildup” and its causes, including the “loss of natural landscapes,” as well as decreased access to land and the disruption of ancient cultural sites (cited in Kaur, 2021b: 1). Referring to the areas under military construction, Flores expressed, “Driving up there, just seeing all the fences, all the clearing of land, that has really had an effect on me.... The benefits that are touted, ... the short term gain is not worth the long term loss” (Kaur, 2021b: 2).

International support for Chamorro issues received an important boost in April 2021 when United Nations Special Rapporteurs issued a “joint allegation

letter (JAL)” on behalf of Chamorro concerns about the escalating militarization of Guam and lack of indigenous self-determination (UNPO, 2021: 1). UN experts responded to information provided by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) and Blue Ocean Law, headed by Chamorro attorney Julian Aguon, on behalf of the CHamoru people and Prutehi Litekyan: Save Ritidian, a community-based organization dedicated to defending sacred sites and protecting Guam’s natural and cultural resources. In their JAL, the rapporteurs expressed to the US federal government “serious concern over the U.S. military buildup in the absence of adequate consultation with the Chamorro people and the associated threats to indigenous lands, resources, environmental and cultural rights” (*Ibid*, 2021: 1). Attorney Aguon responded to the JAL by adding, “It is deeply validating that not one, not two, but three Human Rights Council mandate holders agree that the way the U.S. military has rolled out this military buildup is wrong. It says to the world, not just to the U.S., ... that the Chamorro people have the right to self-determination, free, prior and informed consent, a clean environment, culture, health and life –rights that should be respected–” (cited in UNPO, 2021: 1).

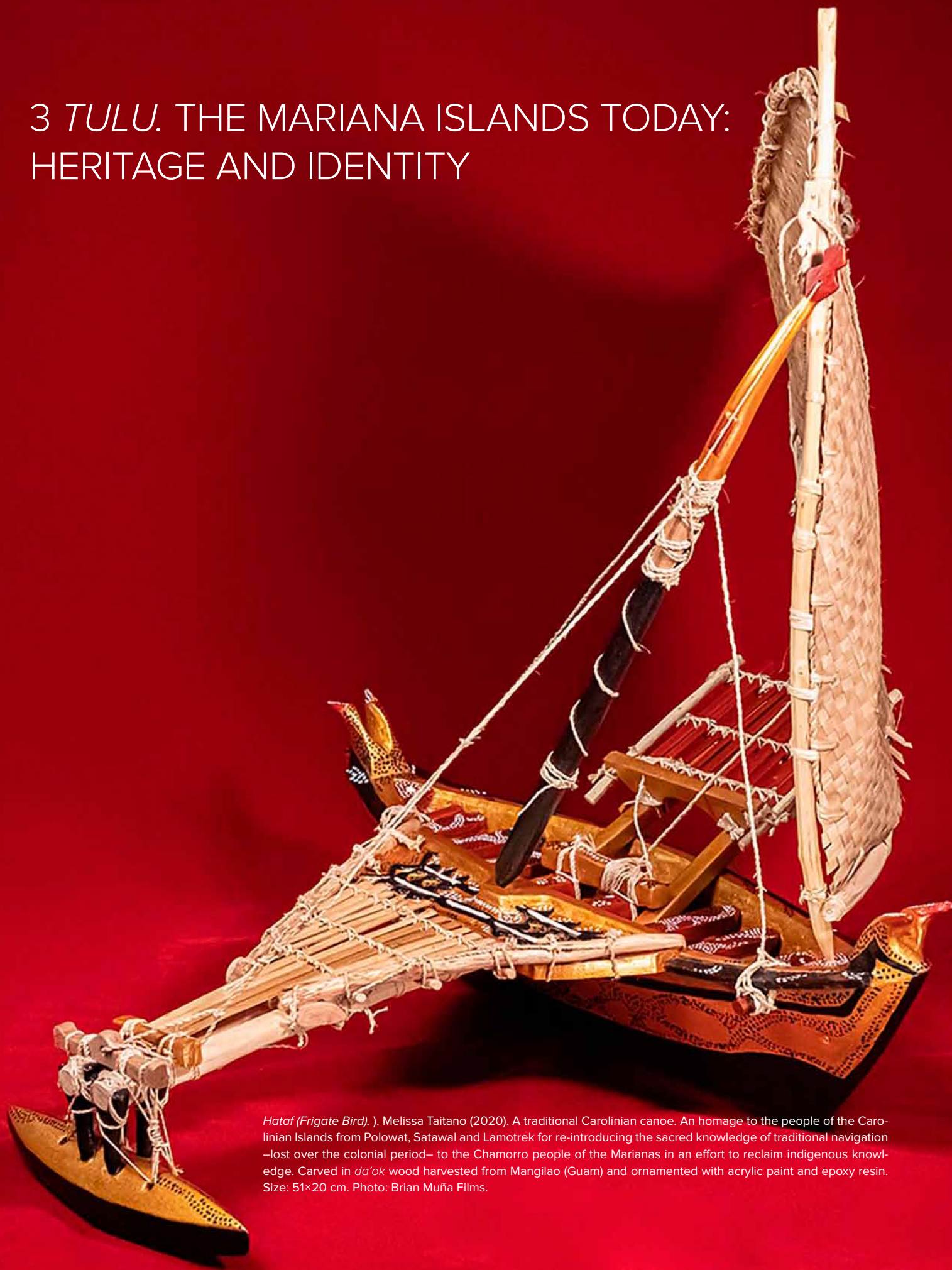
This latest protest follows a pattern of increasingly widespread native resistance, having grown exponentially in the past decade, according to Chamorro activist and University of Guam Social Work Professor Lisa Linda Natividad. As she assesses, this growing Chamorro opposition has come largely in response to aggressive military overtures by North Korea and China that, once again place the Chamorro people of Guam “in the crossfires of these geopolitical games” (Natividad and Vine, 2017: 3, 5). Resistance organizations such as We Are Guahan, Prutehi Litekyan: Save Ritidian, and Independence Guahan have pushed issues of land, culture, and sustainability to the forefront of Guam’s consciousness, ably utilizing social media and organizing

public protests to throw support across a wide range of cultural issues, including land, militarization, and sustainability.

Language activists have likewise grown in numbers and volume with each passing year. In 2017, CHamoru Language Commission member Laura Souder cautioned that the native language is “sure to disappear in the next 50 years”, estimating that 80% of Guam’s indigenous language speakers are more than 50 years old (cited in Santos-Bamba and Hattori, 2020: 288). Calls for a “concerted effort to transform the way we prioritize and teach the native tongue” (*Ibid*, 2020: 288) have led to a flowering of online resources, including language classes and dictionaries, as well as an immersion program for children and their parents (Borja, 2017; Sablan, 2019).

Guam’s future will continue to be filled with staggering challenges for its indigenous people. Issues face Chamorros in every direction: economically, including poverty, homelessness and landlessness; culturally, including language, cultural traditions; politically, with the issue of self-determination yet unresolved; and socially, with an ever-increasing non-native population that slowly pushes native Chamorros into demographic obscurity. Yet the natives are not only restless, but they are also emboldened with undying commitment to their land, culture, and families. This was true in 1521 when Magellan entered our waters, taking our life-saving food and drink and murdering seven native men, whilst concomitantly branding us as thieves. This connectedness and responsibility to the island can be heard in stories of war survivors and in accounts of contemporary Chamorros struggling to fight the oppressive allure of American dollars and military paychecks. While cases of Spam might continue to be viewed nostalgically by some elderly war survivors, more and more, the younger generations are seeing it for what it is: an unhealthy, unsustainable threat to our very lives.

3 TULU. THE MARIANA ISLANDS TODAY: HERITAGE AND IDENTITY



Hataf (Frigate Bird). Melissa Taitano (2020). A traditional Carolinian canoe. An homage to the people of the Carolinian Islands from Polowat, Satawal and Lamotrek for re-introducing the sacred knowledge of traditional navigation –lost over the colonial period– to the Chamorro people of the Marianas in an effort to reclaim indigenous knowledge. Carved in *da'ok* wood harvested from Mangilao (Guam) and ornamented with acrylic paint and epoxy resin. Size: 51×20 cm. Photo: Brian Muña Films.

Review of the Spanish Documents Collection at the Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center at the University of Guam

Omaira Brunal Perry

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The holdings of the Spanish Documents Collection are part of the Micronesian Area Research Center, MARC, created by Guam Public Law 9-106 of 11 July 1967, which authorised the establishment of a research centre for the Micronesian area. The research centre was later renamed and called the Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) in accordance with Guam Public Law 24-54 of 25 June 1997. The MARC collections were created to document a wide range of topics and time periods in Guam and Micronesia.

Since 1967, MARC faculty members have been committed to developing the Spanish Documents Collection (SDC) by gathering copies of archival records or primary sources from official archives to facilitate research on the history of the Mariana Islands. Initially, MARC Director, Professor Paul Carano, and Professor Marjorie G. Driver coordinated the work of Professors Dale S. Miyagi and Felicia Plaza regarding acquisitions in Spain, Mexico, the Philippines, as well as from archives in other countries in a search for documents pertaining to the history of the Marianas and the Carolines. It was an arduous task, but it was rewarding to find that archivists

were keen to collaborate, and a great number of microfilmed and xeroxed documents were acquired. Thanks to the work of these pioneers, it is now possible to study the lengthy presence of Spain's colonial empire in the Western Pacific in one place. These document collections cover the period from the arrival of Magellan-Elcano in 1521 through to 1898. Lithographs of images created by European visitors and maps relating to the islands of Micronesia were also acquired until the early years of the twentieth century. These acquisitions were made through antiquarian booksellers in Europe, Japan and the United States.

This map by Sebastian Cabot in 1544 (Figure 61) is a copy obtained from the Geography and Map Division of the United States Library of Congress. The original map by Cabot is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. General Ben Blaz, Guam's delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1985, contributed by acquiring it for the Spanish Documents Collection. This map has been very useful for studying the names originally encountered on the initial exploratory voyages to the Mariana Islands and Micronesia (Driver, 1985).

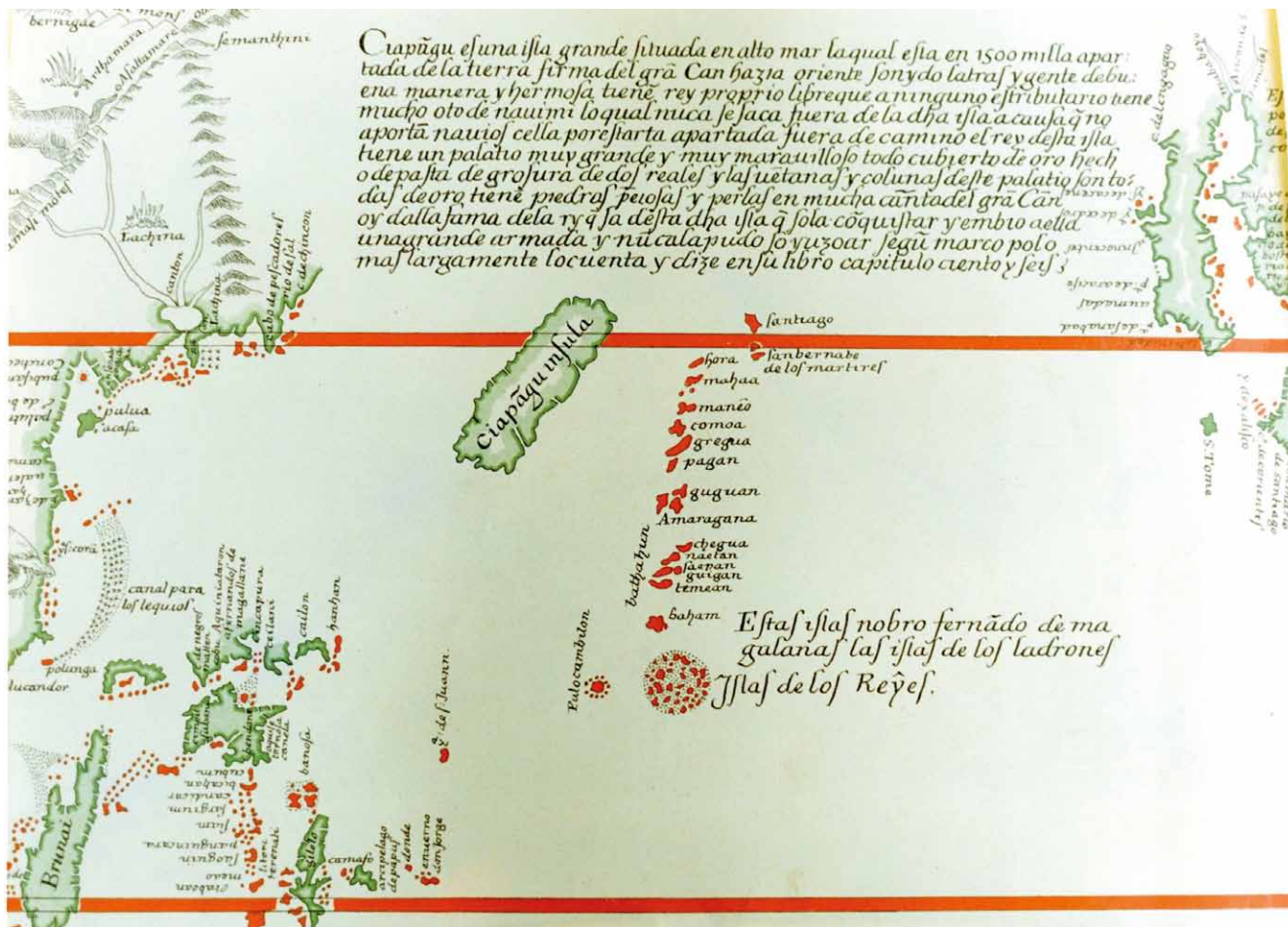


Figure 61: Sebastian Cabot's map, 1544. Spanish Documents Collection, Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, MARC.

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The creation of this library and its collections has facilitated the study of the region and its people. MARC has become a centre of excellence for humanities research in the Pacific region. Between 1979 and 1997, MARC revitalised its research and employed several prominent American, Asian and European scientists and writers who contributed many studies and publications to enrich the already existing collections: Guam and Micronesia Reference Collection, Spanish Documents Collection, Photograph Collection, Map Collection and Manuscripts Collection. These collections were created according to the historical periods of the region.

When the task of acquiring material from the Spanish colonial period began, the idea was to compile copies from primary sources pertaining to Spain's presence in Guam and Micronesia. The operation started by researching historical material in archives belonging

to the Spanish government as well as those of religious institutions. It began systematically with the reports written by Jesuit missionaries from the end of the seventeenth century. There was an abundance of these due to the numerous Christian martyrs who died in the Marianas, beginning with Luis de Medina, S.J., Sebastian Monroy, S.J., and Diego Luis de San Vitores, S.J., as well as many other missionaries who perished in their effort to evangelise these distant islands.

The Jesuits wrote much about the processes of sanctification and these were cited in the book by Francisco García S.J. (García, 2004), who gave prominence to the martyrdoms that occurred and the ethnographic accounts of the Marianas from 1668 to 1681. These reports, which are known as the *cartas anuas* (annual letters), detailed the progress of the Jesuit Mission as did the first *History of the Mariana Islands* written by Father Luis de Morales, S.J. (Morales and Le Gobien,

2017 [1700]). Morales' manuscript was published by the Frenchman Charles Le Gobien, S.J., in 1700 (see bibliography). The Spanish Documents Collection contains copies of documents from the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) as well as from Society of Jesus archives in Catalonia, the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Tarraconense (AHPT), and the Real Academia de la Historia (RAH) in Madrid. Bibliographies have been published over the years to help researchers. Contemporary historian, Coello de la Rosa, explains how so much documentation regarding the missionaries and martyrs in the Marianas was amassed: "Hagiographic literature on the evangelisation of the Mariana Islands extolled the apostolic vocation and the spirit of martyrdom of the first Jesuits who arrived there with Father San Vitores. The goal was to inform their superiors in Manila and Mexico, and to request that Rome take the preliminary steps in the process to making them saints" (Coello de la Rosa, 2010).

Today, MARC's Spanish Documents Collection is a repository of nearly ten thousand pages from the time when the Jesuits were present in the Marianas; these texts have been used extensively to study the ancient society of the CHamoru people. Relatively few studies have been carried out on the role of martyrs and on the evangelising mission in the Mariana Islands. It should be said that work prior to 2000 was mainly concentrated on cataloguing and translating said documentation into English. The historian, Coello de la Rosa, points out that: "I believe that the role of martyrs in Micronesia has not been properly analysed by modern historiography. While some researchers, mostly Jesuits, see the spiritual conquest from a heroic standpoint via the figures of the missionaries and their assistants, not enough study has been conducted on the role of martyrs during the conquest and evangelisation of the Marianas" (Coello de la Rosa, 2010: 710).



Figure 62: *Nova et vera exhibitio Geographica Insularum Marianarum*, Heinrich Scherer. Munich, 1702-10. Spanish Documents Collection, Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, MARC.

A modest number of documents in the Spanish Documents Collection date from the eighteenth century, with documents from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville (AGI), Royal Patronage sections, containing documents related to “deeds and taxes collected concerning the West Isles, possession of the islands, the discovery of the Philippines and other documents about Miguel López de Legazpi”; Contract, bundle 5550 (“Jesuits in the Marianas”); Audience in the Philippines, contains many bundles on topics such as military personnel in the Marianas, insurrections of natives, progress reports of the mission, the death of Governor Damián de Esplana, reports on the voyage of the galleon from Acapulco to Manila and its arrival in the Marianas, etc. The Overseas section contains bundles on the records of the governors of the Marianas, the conquest of the Caroline archipelago, as well as the census of the Marianas from 1728 to 1758. These documents take up about two linear metres of shelf space. In 1968, MARC arranged for a group of transcribers in Seville to transcribe the documents in the Archivo

General de Indias. Today, it is available to all researchers in the Spanish Documents Collection room. MARC, of course, holds the rights to this transcription. A descriptive search guide for each record is also available in the reading room.

Also from the eighteenth century is a collection of copies of records from the Museo Naval of Madrid, which contains illustrations of the Malaspina expedition and other documents. A guide has been prepared and can be viewed on Internet via the following link: *University Libraries Digital Repository*: <http://hasso.uog.edu:8080/jspui/handle/20.500.11751/186>.

Following the development of the Marianas and its colonial surroundings, there are a good number of copies of documents from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico (AGN), in sections from the Inquisition, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Bienes Nacionales, The Philippines and Royal Charters. The search guide to this collection of documents can also be electronically accessed via this link: *Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico copies at MARC*

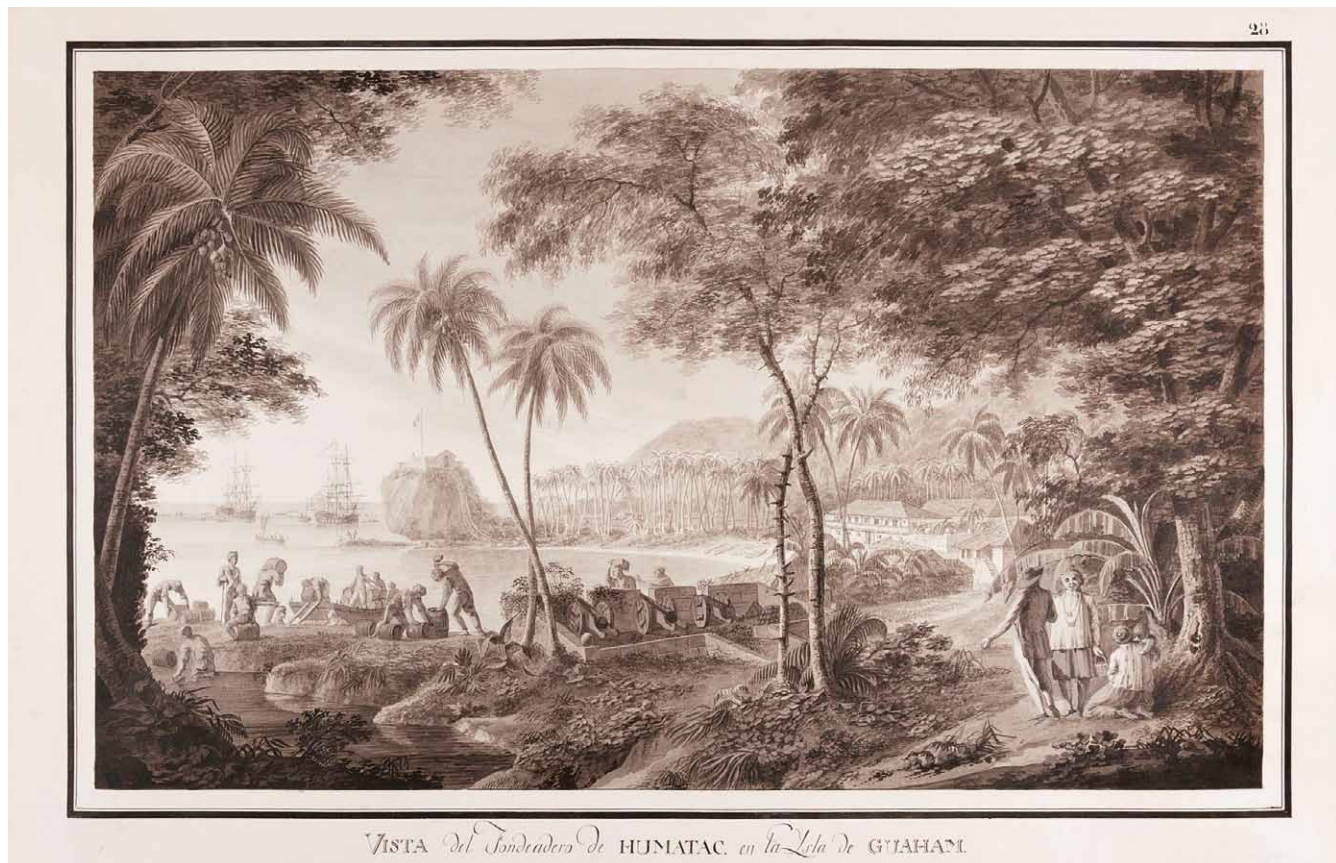


Figure 63: View of the Umatac Anchorage on the Island of Guam. Fernando Brambila 1789-1794, Malaspina Expedition. Museo de América (Madrid) Collection.

435
 M. Bustillos
 de los Indios

1700

11 49.

El año pasado de 99 recibí la Carta de V. S., en que me manda proseguir exerciendo el Oficio de Comissario; no obstante lo alegado por mi de Orden de mis Superiores; y yo como menor subdito de V. S. obedezco a sus mandatos, y doy aviso de averlo así hecho a mis Superiores, para que si, en virtud de nuestros privilegios o Bulas Apostolicas, tuvierén algo, que representar al Ex.^{mo} Señor Inquisidor General, y al Consejo de la S.^{ta} General Inquisición, lo hagan. Nuestro Señor &c. a V. S. muchos años como deves &c. S. Ignacio de Agaña en estas Islas Marianas y Mayo 21. de 1700. =

Affmo y Rev.^{mo} S.^{or}

B. L. M. de V. S.
 su menor subdito y Capellan

+ Lorenzo Bustillos +

ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA INQUISICION MEXICO

Figure 64: Letter from Father Lorenzo Bustillos to the Inquisitor General in Mexico affirming his office as Commissary in the Mariana Islands in 1700 (AGN, Inquisición, Rec.# 820).

<http://hasso.uog.edu:8080/jspui/handle/20.500.11751/96>. It should be noted that the seal showing the origin of the file is still attached to the documents, demonstrating that the source of these records is trustworthy.

What happened to the archives of the Spanish administration in Agaña? Thanks to reports from governors of the U.S. Navy administration, we know that the archives of the Spanish colonial administration in Agaña were sent to Washington, D.C. The documents from the Agaña Archive, historical material written in Spanish, were sent to the Library of Congress on the recommendation of William E. Safford, U.S.N., judge of the court of the first instance of Guam, and their transfer was approved by the governor of Guam, Seaton Schroeder, U.S.N. in 1902. In that proceeding, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy cited Judge Safford's recommendation:

“that those parts of the Spanish archives which are of no administrative importance be placed under the care of the Library of Congress. The records of the court of the first instance date back to 1712. I cannot definitely say how far back, but I think to about that time or further. Due to the typhoon that struck the island in November 1900, the archives are currently very muddled up. They are in deplorable condition and are deteriorating rapidly, and many are already useless due to mould, are muddled up because of broken bindings, and are particularly damaged by a small insect called an *anay* which, if left untreated, can destroy a large archive of documents in an incredibly short time. There is a wealth of very interesting material in the archives which, if not safeguarded, will leave an equally large gap in Guam's history”.

Governor Schroeder added:

“It will be impossible for these files to be properly examined, classified, and packed for transfer unless a qualified person is sent here to oversee the work; let us hope that it will be possible to do this soon so that this valuable material may be preserved”.

The transfer of the archives was eventually carried out by the Navy Department and received by the Librarian of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. This effort was motivated by the desire to preserve the documents. William E. Safford's vision to safeguard information that would preserve Guam's history is a legacy that has endured thanks to the efforts of skilled repository staff.

In the last fifty years, the most requested and used record in this collection is number 98, which is the 1897 Census of Agaña and several towns in the Mariana Islands. This information has been very valuable for people needing to prove their CHamoru ancestry.

The records of the Agaña Archives were received by the Library of Congress in November 1902.¹ These records of Spanish colonial government in the Mariana Islands were organised and described in 1968. A help mechanism for searching was completed in 1979 and revised in 2011. To access the document please click on the following link <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/eadmss.ms012060>. The following link will take you to the Library of Congress catalogue <https://lccn.loc.gov/mm78055319>. The summary is as follows: Royal decrees, court records, orders to and from the governor, circulars, reports, and other records. Subjects include church and missionary matters, public health, agriculture, prisons and criminal investigations, the construction and repair of roads, bridges and military installations, education and local government for all the islands, but particularly Guam. It includes an 1845 report on the water supply system for Manila in the Philippines.

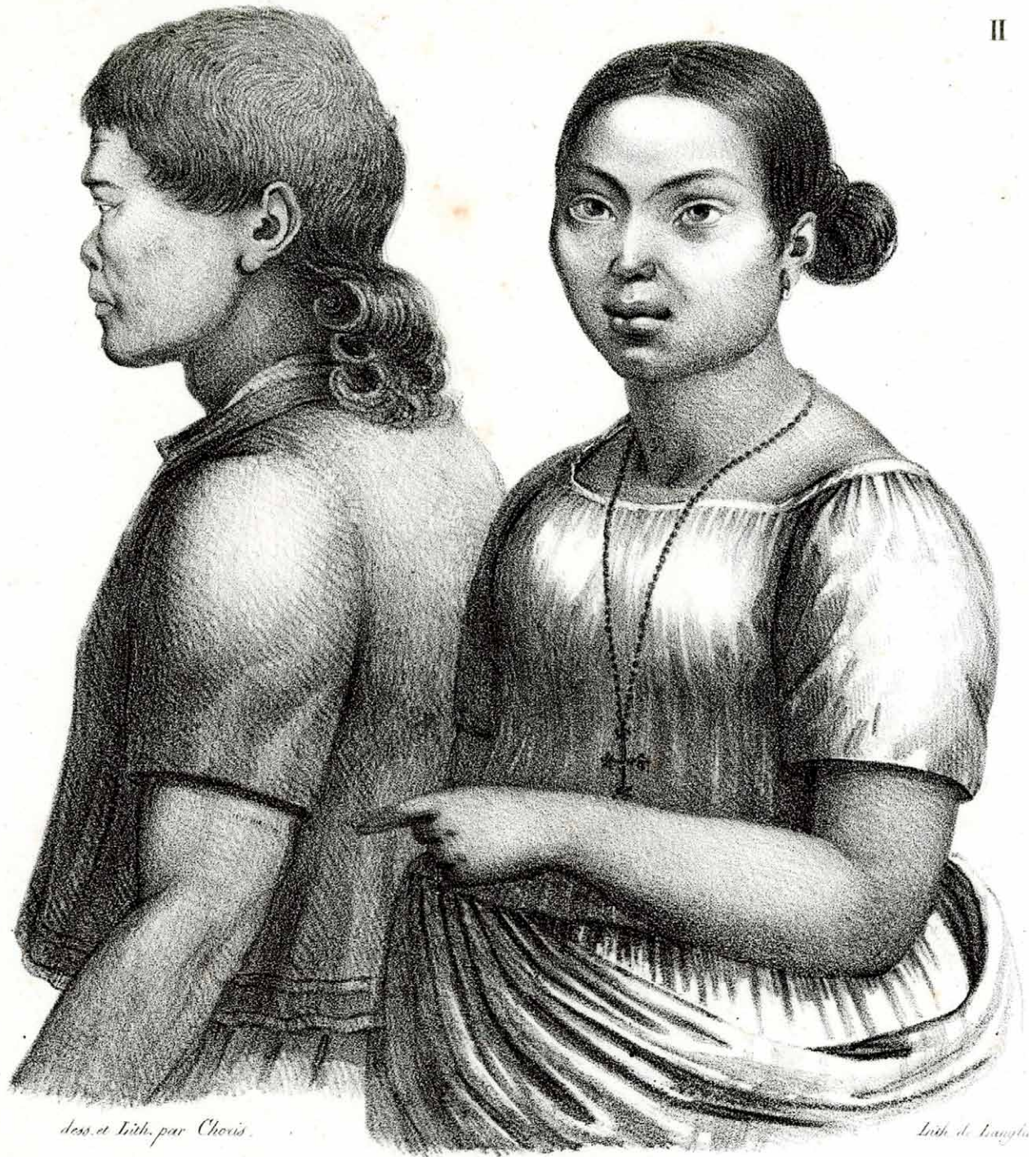
The Spanish Documents Collection has hard copies and twelve reels of microfiche that are available in the MARC reading room. For a full description please click on the following link <http://hasso.uog.edu:8080/jspui/handle/20.500.11751/185>.

According to Library of Congress guidelines, researchers wishing to cite this collection should include the following information: “Container number, Spanish Colonial Government in the Mariana Islands Records, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.”

In addition to the records in the Agaña Archive, other records that were active in 1902 remained on Guam, including court records and land and property records. The court records became inactive after 90 years and were finally placed in the Agaña Archive, a section of the Agaña Library. In 1993, they were transferred to MARC's Spanish Documents Collection², where they were cared for and conserved, and a descriptive index was also created to make it easy to access the

¹Copies of Correspondence between the Librarian of Congress and the Navy Department with reference to the archives in Guam. William E. Safford Papers, MSS 980. Manuscripts Collection, MARC. University of Guam.

²Letter from the Territorial Librarian transferring the collection of Spanish Material to the Micronesian Area Research Center, August 19, 1993.



Habitans des iles Marianes.

Figure 65: *Inhabitants of the Marianas.* Louis Choriz, 1822. Lithograph in the Spanish Documents Collection of the Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, MARC.

information. This collection is known as the Judicial Records of Guam.

Land and real property records were conserved by the Guam Department of Land Management. In 1997, the Guam Department of Land Management decided to transfer the original Spanish records dating up to 1902 to the Spanish Documents Collection for conservation; they kept microfilmed copies³. A table of contents has also been created and is available electronically via the following link <http://hasso.uog.edu:8080/jspui/handle/20.500.11751/165>. This collection is comprised of cases pertaining to the adjustment of Crown lands acquired by the residents of Guam from the Spanish colonial administration toward the end of the nineteenth century. The Spanish Mortgage Law of 1893 regulated the process to register private land holdings, through possessory information. The Provincial Board that was created for the purpose of administering the adjustment of lands was the overseeing authority, later replaced by the land registrar during the American Administration. The American Naval Government of Guam fully implemented the Spanish Mortgage Law of 1893.

Agaña's archival records from the Spanish administration have been recovered to the extent possible thanks to the efforts of faculty members from 1993 to 1997 and are deposited in MARC's Spanish Documents Collection.

1. Microfilmed copies from the Library of Congress, a collection known by the initials LCM;
2. Originals of Guam Judicial Records;
3. Guam Land and Property Records. These three collections contain the records created in Agaña, and some of them are identified as the property of the archive with the seal of the Civil and Military Government of the Marianas.

The Spanish Documents Collection, although a repository of certified copies with some original documents, is a priceless collection of reliable records and is considered historical heritage for the people of the Marianas. The general public and students use the archives and the information they contain in their various formats in order to document many projects.

After these collections were established and conserved, the goal has been to provide access by describing the records to help users make efficient use of the archival material and collections.

In 2013, and in order to promote intellectual access to the Spanish Documents Collection, the undersigned Omaira Brunal Perry applied for and received a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) to provide access to these materials through electronic search mechanisms. Access to these mechanisms is now available on the MARC website via the link *digital collections* <http://hasso.uog.edu:8080/jspui/handle/20.500.11751/2>.

³ Memorandum of Understanding between the Department of Land Management, Government of Guam transferor to the Spanish Documents Collection, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam transferee, July 9th, 1997.

Permanence, contact and change in Chamorro, the language of the Mariana Islands

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1. An Austronesian language

The pre-Hispanic language of the Mariana Islands was Malayo-Polynesian, the main branch of the large Austronesian family of languages. The data provided from different disciplines has led us to deduce that there were successive waves of migrations, from several places, and which ended up converging in this archipelago.

Hypotheses that the ancient inhabitants of the Mariana Islands came from Taiwan and the Philippines have recently been confirmed by genetic studies². From a linguistic point of view, both the aboriginal languages of Taiwan and the languages of the Philippines are part of the Austronesian family.

In addition, there have been other outside influences. In analysing the arrival of Magellan and Elcano in 1521, Leoncio Cabrera points out that there were

three Arab elements in the life of the Marianas people: sugar cane, sesame, and the lateen sails of their vessels (Pigafetta, A. 1985: 79-80, notes 151, 152 and 154). It is possible that its inhabitants, thanks to their seafaring skills and knowledge, could have at some point travelled to the Philippines and other islands and come into contact with other cultures. By the fifteenth century, Malayo-Muslim navigators were already present in Southeast Asia, so their influence could have reached as far as the Marianas.

On 6 March, 1521, the first encounter between Europeans and Oceania Islanders took place in the Marianas. It is interesting to note that there was a serious misunderstanding, the key to which may lie in the language. Carlos Amoretti wrote:

“The Spanish would probably have had a better welcome in the Mariana Islands if they had been able to tell the native people of their peaceful intentions and the evil and the good they could do them. There was a Sumatran slave on Magellan’s ship, but he spoke only Malay, which then, as now, did not extend beyond the Philippines. Pigafetta³ wasn’t able to pick up a single word of what the Mariana Islanders said” (Pigafetta, 1941: 202).

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² https://www.postguam.com/news/local/chamoru-ancestry-linked-to-the-philippines-taiwan/article_500bc076-4806-11eb-be56-e3818534780f.html and <http://www.sci-news.com/genetics/first-mariana-islanders-09185.html> (Accessed 27 March 2021).

³The Italian Antonio Pigafetta, who travelled with Magellan and Elcano’s expedition, wrote the most famous chronicle of the voyage. He wrote small lists of the vocabulary of various languages, but not one for the Mariana Islands.



Figure 66: Sail (*ayak*) model (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE6988. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

Enrique de Malaca, Magellan's slave who served as an interpreter in the Philippines, did not do so in the Marianas. Perhaps he had been taken ill after the long voyage across the Pacific; or, as on another island, he got drunk and so was useless; or he was simply not skilled enough to communicate effectively. Furthermore, no compilation of words has come down to us, so we do not know what the language was like at that time.

After Magellan's death in the Philippines, and after several other adverse events, the expedition broke up. A cabin boy from the ship *Trinidad*, called Gonzalo de Vigo, remained in the Marianas, where he lived from

1522 to 1526. The islanders took him in and taught him their language.

The chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo described how another Spanish expedition—that of García de Loaysa—found him in 1526: “He answered thus: [...] I went from there with some Indians to this island of Botahá⁴; and I am Galician and my name is Gonçalo de Vigo, and I know the language of the islands very well

⁴ This refers to the island of Guam—the largest of the Marianas—which appears in old documents as Boam and Guajan.

[...]. He boarded the ship and went with them to the Maluco; and he profited them, because he knew well the languages of those lands and also something of the Malay language”. Later, he played an “outstanding role as an interpreter” in the Philippines and in the Molucas, as Fray Andrés de Urdaneta wrote: “He helped us greatly because he knew the language of the islands” (Mazón, 2020: 264-265).

This fact is conclusive in affirming that the language of the Marianas was Malayo-Polynesian. Gonzalo de Vigo’s mastery of the language meant that he was able to communicate, even if only partially, with speakers of other languages in the region and could even understand “some of the Malay language”. Therefore, they were all –to a greater or lesser degree– related languages.

2. The first vocabulary list, the word “Chamorro” and the first grammar

The inhabitants of the Marianas welcomed the fact that Urdaneta, who returned in 1565 with Lopez de Legazpi, spoke to them in their language. It is striking that, almost forty years later, they understood each other. The pilot of the expedition, Esteban Rodriguez, wrote the first known vocabulary list of the Mariana language: a compilation of 67 words, and which is of extraordinary interest when studied in detail. I want to emphasise its reliability and traceability because the great majority of the words on the list have been identified and studied (Quilis, 1988).

Esteban Rodriguez wrote that “they came on board saying *chamurre*, *chamurre*, which means ‘friends, friends’, and brought their hands to their bellies, which is a sign of friendship”. It is significant that, in his vocabulary list, the first word he wrote is “friend – *chamor*”. The meaning of the word “friends”, was soon used by the navigators to name the inhabitants: “*un yndio chamurro*”, “The Chamurres Islands” (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2011, 2013).

In Spanish, the word *chamorro* already existed and meant “shaved head”. It was used to refer to Galicians⁵ and Portuguese who shaved their heads (Corominas and Pascual, 1980). It was, therefore, a word known to the Spanish navigators, who simply began using it, from 1565 onwards, to refer to another people.

Thus, *chamorro* has two etymologies. On the one hand, it is Spanish, of Basque origin. On the other

hand, it is an island word that meant “friend”. I even venture to link *chamurre* and *chamorro*, with the word *mauri* (today *maolek*), which means “good”.

In 1668, the Chamorros came into contact with the Jesuit Diego Luis de Sanvitores, martyred in 1672 (Baró i Queralt, 2010; Coello de la Rosa, 2020). He wrote a short catechism and, in Latin, the first grammar of what he called the *lingua mariana* (Burrus, 1954). Sanvitores, who gave the name Marianas to the islands, also called the inhabitants and their language “Marianos”. Over time, however, the name “Chamorro” prevailed. What is extraordinary about Sanvitores’ grammar is that it offers us a picture of the language of the seventeenth century and presents a functional and pragmatic perspective, thus sparking a line of work in Malayo-Polynesian language studies (Winkler, 2016).

The earliest Spanish loanwords to Chamorro were *padre* (“father”) > *pale* (“priest”); *cruz* (“cross”) > *kilu*’s; *Dios* (“God”) > *Yu*’os; *maíz* (“corn”) > *mai*’es; and were a result of changes in Chamorro social life. Sanvitores introduced Spanish words into his writings in the Mariana language such as *misa* (“mass”), *Santa María*... (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2005).

3. Transformations and the new Chamorro

Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, under Spanish administration, the Chamorros experienced social and religious transformations that had repercussions on their language, which underwent great changes. Here are some examples.

The new way in which families were organised meant a reorganisation of personal relationships and, therefore, of the lexicon of kinship, which can still be seen to this day. Today, it is interesting to note that the words referring to the nuclear family are still in Malayo-Polynesian (*labi* “son”, *baga* “daughter”, *asagua* “spouse”, *chelu*’ “brother/sister”), while the rest are of Spanish origin (*tiu* “uncle”, *tia* “aunt”; *sobrinu* “nephew”, *sobrina* “niece”; *primu* and *prima* “male and female cousin”; *guelo/a* “grandfather/mother”, etc.), including spiritual kinship (*pallino* and *matlina* “godfather and godmother”; *bãdu* and *bãda* “godson and goddaughter”). They expanded their vocabulary and, more importantly from a structural point of view, adopted the grammatical category of gender (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2009:221-229).

The pre-Hispanic numerical system, typical of the Micronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) languages, with different words for simple numbers and for each type of

⁵It is interesting to note that “chamorro” was used to refer to Galicians and that the first Spanish who lived in the Marianas was, in fact, Galician.



Figure 67: Spoon, *quichala* in Chamorro, the name comes from the Spanish word *cuchara* (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2158. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.



Figure 68: Fishing harpoon, *fisga* in Chamorro, word of Spanish origin (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2134. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

measurement, depending on whether they referred to animate beings, inanimate beings, time, length or frequency, was abandoned due to its complexity. The Chamorros adopted the much simpler Spanish numerical system, pronounced with their natural phonetic adaptations (*unu* “one”, *dos* “two”, *tres* “three”, *kuâtro* “four”...) (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2009: 167-196).

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More and more languages came into contact with each other thanks to the miscegenation between Chamorros, Filipinos, Spanish, Mexicans and even Chinese and Africans. It should also be mentioned that half of the Jesuit missionaries were not Spanish: they went there to evangelise but not to Hispanicise.

The original Chamorro language (paleo-Chamorro) coexisted with the Spanish of Spain and Mexico and with the languages of the Filipinos who accompanied the Spanish (Tagalog, Cebuano, Kapampangan, Caviteño), and even with indigenous American languages, which left their mark (Albalá, 2000). From all of these people –for many of whom Spanish was not their mother tongue– a new common linguistic variety was born: “a kind of pidgin Spanish developed to enable communication among people speaking different languages. It is by way of this pidgin Spanish that Spanish loans entered into Chamorro” (Wolf, 2019: 114).

Spanish was the official and administrative language, (Albalá, 2003) although Chamorro could also be used in official texts (Madrid and Cepeda, 2019).

A new linguistic variety was consolidated from the Chamorro Spanish of some people and the Hispanicised Chamorro Spanish of others, and also included the incorporation of Filipino and Native American elements.

The first Chamorro priest, Father José Palomo, was instrumental in the creation of both a dictionary and a grammar, published in 1865 (Ibáñez del Carmen, 1865a, 1865b). Both works reflect a Chamorro that is already very Hispanicised in many ways: a mixed Spanish-Austronesian language. By then, paleo-Chamorro had already been forgotten, but the interesting thing is that the most widespread mother tongue was not Spanish either –although most of the population understood it– but the new Chamorro.

The taxation policy penalised those who adopted Spanish and abandoned the Chamorro language altogether, because Chamorros did not pay tax while Spanish did. Thus, in 1887, Francisco Olive, who was the governor of the islands, wrote: “What is certain is that the Castilian language has been and is becoming extinct in Marianas, as if everyone by becoming Chamorro due to taxation, they have providentially become Chamorro” (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2009: 112). The process of Hispanisation was fully achieved. The indigenous language (Chamorro) was not substituted for the colonial language (Spanish), but rather there was a kind of hybridisation and creolisation process, which was not fully achieved either.

4. Carolinian

In the nineteenth century, immigrants –attracted by the relative prosperity of the Spanish Marianas– arrived from several of the Caroline Islands, bringing with them their respective languages. On Guam and Saipan, speakers of several Micronesian languages came into contact with Spanish and Chamorro and formed a new

community. From this process of languages in contact with each other, a new language emerged: the Carolinian language of Saipan⁶ (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2006-2007).

5. The pressure of English and other contemporary influences

Some Chamorros learnt English from American whalers who came to the islands in the nineteenth century. The language was thus already known when, in 1898, the island of Guam was ceded to the United States, imposing a policy of English as the dominant language.

In 1899, the Northern Marianas fell under German rule until 1914 and the outbreak of World War I, when Japan subsequently took them over. Japanese left its mark on the vocabulary of the Chamorro language of the Northern Marianas, yet there was no German influence.

In the early years of the twentieth century, there was renewed interest in the study of Chamorro from Germany (Fritz, 1904; Lopinot, 1910) and from the United States (Safford, 1909; Von Preissig, 1918). Spanish was still present to a certain extent, as can be seen in the dictionary by Spanish missionary Román María de Vera (Vera, 1932), considered by many Chamorros to be the person who knew the true Chamorro language of the day.

World War II, with all its brutality, changed everything. It took a huge effort on the part of the United States to gain control of all the islands. A clear policy of Anglicisation was implemented, and the Chamorro language was, for decades, used only in purely family environments. The influence of English was felt in every way (Underwood, 1984).

Just as regional languages were revitalised in Spain at the end of the 1960s, the public revival of Chamorro began during those same years. Very interesting books were published: (Val, 1967; Topping and [Camacho-] Dungca, 1973; Topping et al., 1975; Topping and Ogo, 1980). The *Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru* (Chamorro Language Commission) was created.

In 1985, when I carried out fieldwork with my dearly departed wife, Paloma Albalá (Albalá and Rodríguez-Ponga, 1986), Chamorro was at an odd juncture: none of our interviewees spoke Spanish, Spanish no longer exerted any direct influence, and the people were also English speakers. However, the legacy of Spanish was very much alive. Not only did we find thousands of

words of Spanish origin in the Chamorro oral lexicon (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2002), but we also found that the phonology and, above all, the grammar clearly showed Hispanic elements: prepositions (and with them the structure of the sentence), numerals, quantifiers, conjunctions, adverbs, etc., as well as preterite and future-tense verb forms formed with particles of tense, aspect and mood (*está, para, bai, siempre*) (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2009; Chamorro, 2012).

6. Marianas Spanish

Until World War II, Spanish –alongside Chamorro– was used in various ways over time (Albalá, 2003). The Spanish dialect of the Marianas had specific traits, with a pronunciation conditioned by the phonetics of Chamorro and with other lexical and grammatical elements (Albalá, 1997). In 1985, we met some Chamorros who were able to use “residual” or “vestigial” Spanish for short conversations and in sentences and songs (Albalá, 2002), rather like the archaeological ruins of a distant linguistic past.

In 2017, on the island of Guam, the Artero family, descendants of a Spanish soldier born in 1898, still prayed a novena prayer to the Holy Child of Cebu in Spanish (Forbes, 2017).

For centuries, there was a continuum of mixed language between Chamorro and Marianas Spanish, typical of bilingual people, even though at some point a kind of Pidgin or Creole was spoken, but these should be classified as different linguistic forms.

7. The Chamorro of the twenty-first century

A current fact is that all Chamorros speak English. Moreover, more Chamorros speak English than Chamorro⁷. Inevitably, and especially in Guam, there is a

⁶Today, in the Northern Marianas, Carolinian, Chamorro and English are co-official languages. In Guam, it is English and Chamorro.

⁷“In terms of the language, the 2010 census showed that 37,646 spoke Chamorro at home in the Mariana Islands; 25,827 in Guam and 11,819 in the CNMI (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands). As a percentage, Chamorro speakers accounted for 19.39% in the archipelago as a whole, split between 17.80% in Guam and 24.09% in the Northern Marianas. The census also reflects the absolute dominance of English in the Mariana Islands, not as the language spoken at home, but as a language understood and used by 99% [...]. Overall, 87,608 people identify themselves as Chamorro (either as a single origin or in combination with another origin), but 37,646 people over the age of 5 speak Chamorro at home in the Mariana Islands. Therefore, when comparing the two figures, we note that less than half of the Chamorros in the Mariana Islands (Guam and CNMI) report speaking Chamorro at home: exactly 42.97%” (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2019b).

growing Anglo-Saxon influence. However, there are nuances that reflect a social reality: if a Chamorro, when speaking English, says *familia* and not “family”, it is because they are referring to the extended family that is typical of Chamorro society.

So, following the paleo-Chamorro described in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and after the new deeply Hispanicised Chamorro that appeared in the nineteenth century, it should be noted that today, and specifically since World War II, Chamorro is experiencing a third phase, characterised by a progressive de-Hispanicisation, Anglicisation and re-Austronesianisation.

To give two very simple examples: the word *Nabidât* “Christmas” has been replaced, especially in Guam, by Christmas (or *Krismas*), and the traditional greeting *Felis Nabidât* or *Felis Pasgwa* by Merry Christmas. Instead of saying *Felis Añu Nuebu*, the new way to say it is now *Magof Tínilaikan Sakkán* “Happy New Year”. In this struggle for a linguistic approach, many people choose to say Merry Christmas and Happy New Year (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2019a).

Hispanicisms, which were used as a matter of course, have become the subject of debate and opposing attitudes in recent decades (Stolz and Palomo, 2008). Beyond language, young Chamorros, with Catholic and Hispanic cultural roots, adopt, in part, American ways, Polynesian folklore brought from Hawaii, as well as new ways to identify themselves (Atienza de Frutos and Coello de la Rosa, 2016).

This change of identity affects the origin and the name of the language, and Mariano⁸ is no longer used. The Americans created what is known as “Guamanian”. They call themselves Chamorro, but the different spellings reflect attitudes: from “Chamorro” they went to “Chamoru” to the now controversial “CHamoru”, an officially accepted form that indicates a break with the past. However, the popular name for their language is *fino’ baya*, literally “language of the south or east” or “language of here”, as opposed to *fino’ lagu* “language of the north or west” or “language of the lake”, in other words, Spanish. *Fino’* has as a synonym in the Hispanicism *lengguabe*, and so formally they prefer to say *lengguaben CHamoru*, *lengguaben Españot*, *lengguaben Engles*.

⁸It is helpful to distinguish between “Chamorro”, to refer to the original people and language and their descendants, and “Mariano”, which is a broader term and relates to or pertains to the Mariana Islands.

Now, in the twenty-first century, literary books have been written in Chamorro (Borja et al., 2006), the first official dictionary written by Chamorro people has appeared (Aguon -dir., 2009), as has new, very detailed grammar (Chung, 2020). In addition, Chamorro has aroused interest among linguists in various countries because it has unique traits. The Chamorro Linguistics International Network has thus existed for some years, thanks to the initiative of Thomas Stolz from Bremen.

8. Permanence and change

Chamorro has been transformed over the centuries. Facts are facts, but interpretations vary. Is today’s Chamorro the same language as ancient Chamorro? In my opinion, it’s like asking whether Spanish is a continuation of Latin or a different language. The point of view defines the answer.

How Chamorro should be classified creates some controversy. It can be studied from the point of view of the Creoles (Couto, 1996; Muntenau, 2003) or perceived as a mixed language or semi-Creole, as I myself have done on occasion. Today’s Chamorro has some characteristics of Creole languages, but it is not exactly a Creole tongue because it does not have all of its elements. And it still has its Malayo-Polynesian roots. Other authors maintain that it is the continuation of the same language, although they do not deny its Hispanicity (Stoltz, 2003; Pagel, 2019).

The most recent definition clearly states: “Chamorro has an intricate linguistic structure that is clearly Austronesian⁹” (Chung, 2020: 3). Chung describes the current grammar as it is. And, evidently, it has an undeniable Austronesian structure. At the same time, and from the standpoint of Hispanic philology, we see that there are numerous elements in this linguistic structure that are the result of contact with Spanish. Our studies are complementary, not contradictory.

Today’s Chamorro reveals its Malayo-Polynesian origins and its transformations via more recent contact with Spanish and with Philippine languages. Today, it coexists with the inevitable pressure of English. It is an extraordinary and unique language. And alive.

⁹In the eighteenth century, the Spanish Hervás y Panduro became the first person to recognise the Malayo-Polynesian-Austronesian family of languages, in which he included Chamorro (Hervás y Panduro, 1801).

Empowering communities: Preserving heritage. The Guam Preservation Trust

Joe Quinata
Guam Preservation Trust

Guam is excitingly proud to share with the world the importance of connecting our past with our present lives. We recognize and hold paramount that places that matter to us define who we are and how we continue to preserve these places that embody the memories and identity of the CHamoru people.

Since 1990, the Guam Preservation Trust, a non-profit, public corporation has been tasked to be an advocate for historic preservation and to provide opportunities for the local community to learn and gain a better sense of the history of Guam's people and places and to carry on the legacy and traditions of Guam's cultural heritage. The vision that Guam's heritage preservation is a public responsibility through education, cooperation, and advocacy, is the impetus of a movement to preserve and protect what the local community value and commit to sustain the heritage and beauty of the island and to guard and protect it for the future.

Since its inception about thirty years ago, the Guam Preservation Trust continues to forge its

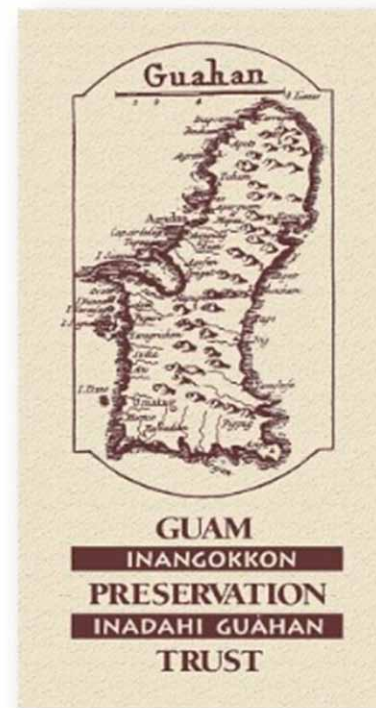


Figure 69: Guam Preservation Trust logo.



Figure 70: Canoe builders, Talofo'fo'. Photo: Joe Quinata.



Figure 71: Bell (*kampāna*), Malessso. Photo: Joe Quinata.

mission to preserve and protect Guam's historic sites, culture, and perspectives for the benefit of its people and its future. The Trust, together with great partners invested over \$30 million to save places, preserve traditions, and protect what is valued by the community. The following is a presentation of the community's bold and aggressive efforts to provide a sense of who we are and how we connect with the rest of the world.

As peoples of the Pacific, it is a general knowledge that the oceans do not separate but connect. The Trust has built relationships with neighboring islands to partner in addressing issues facing the Pacific that range from the effects of climate change on natural resources and historic sites, invasive

species threatening cultural heritage, and the potential direct and indirect effects to historic and cultural resources from the impending U.S. Military Relocation to Guam and its increased presence in Micronesia.

Tourism is a key economic driver in Guam and studies have shown that it is the local culture unique to Guam that motivates travelers who wish to experience Guam's people and their ways of life. As the local community appreciate the values of historic preservation and understand its role in economic development and the revitalization of local communities, and at the same time respecting the delicate nature of the environment, that a sustainable community will be realized.



Figure 72: Convent (*kombento*), Malessu. Photo: Joe Quinata.



Figure 73: Youth heritage docents, Humatak. Photo: Joe Quinata.

Historic Preservation on Guam is at a crossroad of not only keeping what provides significant meaning to a place, but also how to make communities thrive in modern times. This drive to co-exist is what makes revitalization a challenge but also an opportunity to engage with communities to provide a wholistic solution of which they ultimately will be the beneficiaries of any future development plans. The Guam Preservation Trust and southern villages have and continue to develop revitalization plans that represent the respective communities' vision of who they are and their relationship with the land and waters that provide the sustenance to survive in modern times.

As all historic sites have the treasured stories behind them, collaborative efforts bridge CHamoru culture and historic sites place-based learning to be taught in the CHamoru language to perpetuate the native language of Guam and the Marianas. As the CHamoru language was said to be primarily passed down orally, to add an innovative way to transmit the story, it was thought that this may be the method of teaching the site and reinforcing the lessons by teaching the site using songs in the CHamoru language.

To meet these goals and objectives, the inaugural group of teachers received training in history methods which exposed them to conduct original research on their respective site. These teachers then created a narrative, aligned the subject matter into CHamoru language curriculum standards and created lesson plans

and sample activities for in-class and at the site. The musical talent in the community used the narratives written by the CHamoru language teachers and original songs and melodies were created and then returned to the CHamoru language teachers to further teach the language to their students.

Community archaeology in Guam focuses on the engagement between archaeology and the public. This interaction is unique as it provides an opportunity for the public to express their desire and value to the site while maintaining the archaeological practice that may involve a wide range of activities including excavation, artifact handling, and educational tours.

Community Archaeology in the village of Humåtak involves archaeologists and research scholars from the Universidad Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona, and Humåtak community volunteers that participate as they conduct archaeological work focused on documenting and investigating two Spanish-style buildings at Humåtak: The San Dionisio Areopagita Church and Palacio. Archaeological research on Spanish-style architecture at Humåtak will provide new insights and complement existing information that has been drawn from 18th and 19th century documentary sources and artistic representations. Archaeological research will: 1) increase knowledge of Spanish-style architecture at Humåtak, 2) enhance the development of public education about Humåtak, and 3) strengthen the preservation of Humåtak's rich cultural heritage.

The Humåtak Community Museum project

Joe Quinata
Guam Preservation Trust

Lourdes Prados Torreira
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

1. Why are community museums so important?

Community museums have been important mechanisms for decades in the promotion of territory, sustainable tourism and heritage –both tangible and intangible–. In many countries where community museums have been developed, women tend to be responsible for maintaining traditional crafts and for communicating ancestral know-how to new generations. It is therefore of utmost importance that community museums become mechanisms for creating more egalitarian societies. We propose that it would be interesting to develop a community museum in Guam, specifically in Humåtak (Umatac), which would showcase the history the community wants to tell, reflecting a true “mirror” image rather than presenting an “official” history in which the community would not recognize itself. As such, the museum would become an open window through which the community could project itself to the outside world.

This document aims to demonstrate the importance of community museums, by outlining their origins, the milestones in their development and successful case studies, and providing an overview of the current situation. It will conclude by presenting the proposal for the future community museum in Humåtak.

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1.1. A bit of history. The Santiago de Chile Roundtable and its impact on the evolution of museology

Prior to considering the need for the creation of a community museum in Guam, some background should be provided about how and when community museums came into being and with what objectives. This cannot be done without referring, briefly, to the UNESCO-sponsored 1972 Santiago de Chile Roundtable, which had a decisive influence on the creation and development of community museums. The concept of integral museums, linked not only to the past, but also to the present and the future of communities, emerged at the Santiago

Roundtable (hereafter SR)¹ (Mostny et al., 1973: 3). Although the meeting had a lasting impact on the development of international museology, the 1973 coup d'état in Chile, which opened the way for the terrible Pinochet dictatorship, and was followed by the emergence of dictatorships in other countries, put a stop to many museology projects in the south of the continent (De Carli, 2003). Nevertheless, one of the immediate consequences of the SR was the creation of the Asociación Latinoamericana de Museología (ALAM), to provide communities with better museums based on the sum of experiences of Latin American countries. That same year, the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH) developed several initiatives, with the primary aim of fulfilling the commitments agreed upon in the SR, above all the integration of museums into communities. The Schools Museums Programme and the Local Museums Programme arose as a result (Pérez, 2018: 80). Over the next few years, “The House of the Museum” project, which formed part of the Local Museums Programme, was implemented in several of the popular neighbourhoods in Mexico City, thereby contributing to the creation of community museums in various Mexican regions (Wells, 2006; Pérez, 2018). The first international workshop on Ecomuseums and New Museology was held in Quebec in 1984, resulting in the declaration of the basic principles of a New Museology and the creation of an International Committee of Ecomuseums and Community Museums within the International Council of Museums (ICOM). The social role of museums and the primacy of this role over their traditional functions was thus reaffirmed (Mayrand, 1985: 201).

In the same year, several Latin American museums attended the “Ecomuseums: Man and the Environment” meeting in Morelos, Mexico. The resolutions were published in The Oaxtepec Declaration², which supported the concept of New Museology, by recognising the SR, the Quebec Declaration and the “efforts to give Latin American museology a role in the development of its communities”. In 1992, UNESCO instigated another meeting in Venezuela. The resolutions, published in the Caracas

Declaration, highlight the link between museums and their social, political, economic and environmental surroundings³.

1.2. The emergence of community museums

When questioning what museums are and what they are for, in connection with social movements and criticism of public institutions in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s, we can understand the emergence of community museums in Mexico, and their subsequent expansion to a large part of the continent. In this way, the emphasis was shifted from the official narrative displayed in the large national museums to the small museums linked to rural communities or neighbourhoods in urban areas. The emergence of community museums was an opportunity for these small towns to develop their own narrative, to tell their own history, to look in their own mirror, and to project the image of themselves that they wanted to convey. Mexico, propelled since 1983, by its INAH museums educational programme, was the driving force behind the creation of community museums. From that moment on, community museums were created and developed not only in Mexico, which still boasts the majority of community museums today, but throughout Latin America, especially in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Costa Rica, among others (Nascimento et al., 2012; Rico, 2002; Wells Bucher, 2006). Consequently, just one decade after the inauguration of the first community museum in Mexico –the Shan-Dany Museum in Santa Ana del Valle, Oaxaca– the creation of the Unión Nacional de Museos Comunitarios y Ecomuseos in the State of Oaxaca was deemed necessary (Cohen, 1997, 1999; Burón, 2012; Sepúlveda, 2017). However, in many geographical areas, community museums respond to very different realities, which include the development of urban museums, such as the Anacostia Community Museum (ACM) in Washington D.C., opened to the public in 1966 under the umbrella of the Smithsonian Institution (Pérez, 2018: 85; Marsh, 1968; Corsane, 2005)⁴.

¹ See the monograph of this meeting in *Museum XXV/3*, 1973 and Resolutions, 1972: 5.

² <http://www.ibermuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/declaracao-de-oaxtepec.pdf>

³ <http://www.ibermuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/declaraciondecaracas1992.pdf>

⁴ <https://anacostia.si.edu/> (Accessed 9 March 2021).



Figure 74: Museo Nacional de Antropología's façade during the exhibition *Rio Somos Nós! The community museums of Rio de Janeiro and the decolonial turn* from November 22nd 2019 to February 16th 2020. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera

The recognition of the development of these museums has raised awareness of their importance. Small European museums have also been incorporated under the umbrella of “community” museums, as evidenced by the European project, *EU-LAC Museums and Community: Concepts, Experiences and Sustainability in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean*⁵, which focuses on museums in Portugal, Spain, Scotland, Costa Rica, Chile, Peru, Jamaica, etc, and is led by the University of St Andrews in Scotland and to which we will return later.

In any case, and as already mentioned, in order to talk about the importance of community museums, it is essential to focus on Mexican museums and, specifically, on the Oaxaca model (Camarena and Morales, 2006a, 2006b).

1.3. What is a community museum, how is it created and what is it for?

As defined by the Red de Museos Comunitarios de América (RMCA): A community museum is created by the community itself; it is a museum “of” the community, not developed from the outside “for” the community. A community museum is a tool to be used by the community to affirm the physical and symbolic possession of its heritage, through its own forms of organization⁶. A community museum shares many of the functions that other museums perform: it collects and conserves objects; it disseminates the cultural heritage of the community; it can do research, but above all, the community museum must –through the development of its projects– improve the life of its community, strengthening its traditional culture and generating tourism controlled by the community itself. In this last aspect, community museums can play an essential role in achieving sustainable tourism for their territories, an aspect which seems to us to be fundamental, and which has not yet been sufficiently emphasised (Prados, in press). The main difference from traditional museums resides, therefore, in the fact that the main driving force of the museum, its fundamental impulse, comes from the community, from the people who create and manage it, even though the degree of

community control or participation in all museums is not the same. Community museums strengthen identity, because they legitimize the history and values of the community, fortifying the life of the community (Morales et al., 2009: 15). To this definition we must incorporate the important Resolution No. 5: *Museums, Communities and Sustainability*, adopted at the 34th General Assembly of ICOM, Kyoto (Japan, 7 September 2019), and presented by the aforementioned European project, *EU-LAC Museums and Community*, which undoubtedly represents a change in ICOM’s position towards community museums, showing a greater understanding of their important role in society (See Resolution No. 5: *Museums, Communities and Sustainability*, based on a recommendation submitted by ICOM Europe and ICOM LAC; Prados, in press)⁷.

To focus on the general aspects of community museums it is useful to read the publications of Teresa Morales and Cuauhtémoc Camarena⁸. In these publications we can see the different steps necessary for the creation of community museums through manuals such as *Manual for the creation and development of community museums* (Morales et al., 2009) and several similar publications (Camarena and Morales, 2006a, 2006b, 2009; Morales and Camarena 2009, 2015), as well as other issues of the bulletins of the Red de museos Comunitarios⁹. These authors have extensive experience working with communities, both in the creation of the different museums and in their development, conservation and management. Although their work has focused particularly on the State of Oaxaca in Mexico, they have also collaborated with other regions of Latin America. With these didactic materials, they intend to offer topics for reflection so that the community itself is responsible for designing the model that best suits its own characteristics, possibilities and interests. In this way, they try to explain the necessary steps for the creation of a community museum based on the development of participatory processes¹⁰.

⁷ See also ICOM (2019): Resolutions adopted by the 34th General Assembly of ICOM, Kyoto (Japan) https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Resolutions_2019_ES.pdf

⁸ <https://www.museoscomunitarios.org/> (Accessed 20 March 2021).

⁹ <https://www.museoscomunitarios.org/boletines> (Accessed 20 March 2021).

¹⁰ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q8I8s0E7tY0> (M. Gándara Youtube video August 31, 2010. (Accessed 16 March 2021).

⁵ <http://eulacmuseums.net/> (Accessed 12 March 2021).

⁶ <https://www.museoscomunitarios.org/que-es> (Accessed 9 March 2021).

One aspect that is emphasised, when promoting the creation of a community museum, is the need to link past, present and future given that, as in the Ecomuseums (De Varine, 2007, 2017; Méndez, 2011), the community is also contributing to strengthening its future by knowing, collecting and exhibiting its memory. Most of the manuals highlight the following objectives of community museums: strengthening community appropriation of cultural heritage, including not only material cultural assets, but also different traditions and memory; strengthening identity by providing new tools so that the different sectors of the community may value, interpret and enjoy their own culture; improving the quality of life through training (teaching crafts, training guides, etc.); generating income through the sale of these craft products and community tourism; as well as building bridges towards other communities through cultural exchange and networking, which fosters the creation of collective projects (Morales et al., 2009: 16).

From the outset the themes to be prioritized in the museum should be well-defined. While some content may be representative of a given community, in another community, even if they are close to each other, different topics may be represented. Therefore, the planning of physical and thematic spaces for temporary exhibitions is also encouraged, as they could cover those relevant aspects not covered in the permanent exhibition and, for example, could be vital in terms of giving visibility to women (Prados, 2016 and in press; Prados and López, 2017a, 2017b). Archaeological heritage is one of the most recurrent themes in community museums, and in many cases is the museum's *raison-d'être*. Obviously, this theme requires the direct intervention of specialists for classification and conservation.

Another interesting area is oral history, which enables the reconstruction of the past and the documentation of the present on the basis of the memories and experiences of the people who make up the community, and in which, once again, women stand out. To this end, it is important to conduct interviews and collect testimonies that have not previously been written. The network of community museums also created a manual of oral history techniques in order to collect this unwritten history of the community (Camarena and Morales, 2009;

Camarena, Morales and Necoechea, 1994; Morales et al., 2009).

In the aforementioned manuals, it is stressed that the initiative for the creation of a community museum comes from the community itself –usually from a member of the community who promotes the museum to safeguard heritage and strengthen memory– and must also be supported by local and educational authorities. Once this idea has been promoted, the project should be discussed within the community itself or with the network of community organizations, generally in assemblies with different representation capacities (community, neighbourhood, sectorial, etc).

The management of the museum may vary according to the communities themselves. The museum also becomes a pole of attraction for the community, promoting, for example, indigenous languages and strengthening their culture. The museum provides an economic boost to the community, by promoting and managing the tourism that the museum generates and, as we have already pointed out, it should act as a driving force for the development of sustainable tourism. The system of establishing community museums has, in many cases, revealed internal inequalities. It is therefore essential that women are also represented in the various bodies responsible for managing the museum. In this sense, it seems important to point out the progress made in recent years regarding the participation of women in the management of different community museums, as shown in the publication by the *EU-LAC Museums* project of a series of videos in which women tell their experience as managers¹¹. It is also worth noting that community museums play an important role in their communities when confronted by natural disasters, pandemics, etc. This has been the case recently with respect to the difficult situation caused by Covid 19¹².

For all these reasons, we consider the creation, in the future, of a community museum in Humâtak to be of great importance.

Lourdes Prados Torreira

¹¹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EC6Mor9h8AU&ab_channel=MuseusComunit%C3%A1rios%7CCommunityMuseums (Accessed 15 March 2021).

¹² Statement of Solidarity during The Coronavirus Pandemic <https://eulacmuseums.net/index.php> (Accessed 19 March 2021).



Figure 75: Humåtak Village Museum display with docents. Photo: Joe Quinata.



Figure 76: Humåtak Village Museum with visitors. Photo: Joe Quinata.

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2. History comes alive at the Humåtak Community Museum

“Our future is determined by the teachings of our community... just as our parents taught us, we teach our children...they are our future”.

The heritage village of Humåtak is in the southern part of the island of Guåhan (Guam) in the Pacific and where according to recorded document, that Fu’a bay, a sacred place where rituals were performed and is associated with the legend of the sibling gods and the creation story, and as tradition and oral history claims the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521.

In 1565, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi sailed into the village of Humåtak and claimed Guam for Spain and subsequently, the village became the main port for Spain’s galleons sailing from Acapulco, New Spain (Mexico) in route to the Philippines.

Between 1680 and 1810, the development of Humåtak Village began with the first fortification built, the Bateria de Nuestra Señora Del Carmen, followed by Fort Santo Angel (1756) at the entrance of the bay on top of a large rock out-crop. In 1690, Spanish Governor Damian de Esplana commissioned the construction of the Governor’s summer palace for his residence while he waited for the galleons to bring subsidies and goods for the government and Catholic mission. Fort San Jose was built around 1805 on a hill located north of the village and thereafter in 1810, Fort Nuestra Señora de la Soledad or Fort Soledad was built.

2.1. A community museum initiative

Over 500 years of Guam’s history comes alive at the village of Humåtak as residents share their history through the many forms of interactions and interpretations that carry the spirit of storytelling of Humåtak’s history with local narrative and perspectives.

The Humåtak Community Museum was created with a mission that education, cooperation, and advocacy all linking to maintaining the balance between the need for our natural and cultural resources today and the need to sustain those resources for our future generations.

The goals are two-fold:

1. To provide a platform for community members to share their stories through objects/artifacts and publications/documents that have significant values that portray the celebrations of their triumphs, grieving of their tragedies, and hope for their future.
2. To provide a venue for teaching and learning by community members and visitors.

2.2. A unique blend of museum

The Humåtak Community Museum initially started as a curatorial process to develop the scrip for the



Figure 77: Humåtak Village Museum display. Photo: Joe Quinata.



Figure 78: Theatrical re-enactment of Ferdinand Magellan's arrival to Guam. Photo: Joe Quinata.

exhibition and acquisition of artifacts and objects that tell the story of the people and history of Humåtak. Today, the museum has taken a unique blend from the traditional museum set-up to a “living museum” concept where residents become docents to the many village historic sites and a long running outdoor theatrical, an added feature to the storytelling concept of community museum.

For the past seven decades, the residents of Humåtak have gathered on the shores of Salupa Bay to host an annual celebration of CHamoru culture and history, coinciding with the date of the island's first encounter with explorer Ferdinand Magellan. A popular feature at this event is the historical reenactment of the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. This reenactment is portrayed by residents and uses the natural landscape to depict the dramatic encounter between the people of Humåtak and the Spanish explorer.

Another special feature during the Guam History and Cultural Heritage Day event is the Humåtak Heritage Walking Tour. It is on this tour where history comes alive in the streets of Humåtak. About thirty to fifty Humåtak residents, mostly middle and high school-aged youth, spend two evenings a week learning the history of their village from their elders, historic documents, and online resources. They then form teams and select one of ten historic sites where they share this new-found knowledge with visitors from other villages and tourists from abroad.



Figure 79: Humåtak heritage walking tour docents. Photo: Joe Quinata.

2.3. Experiential learning

Students participate in a new learning experience by discovering their history through listening to their elders, researching their topic of interest, writing their knowledge in a script format, and sharing with their peers and eventually to visitors as they visit their respective historic sites. They become docents and experts of the historic site. As students share their knowledge to visitors, they reflect on the feedback from visitors and improve their delivery and the cycle continues as each student eventually develop their understanding of their history, their knowledge through interaction with visitors, and their skills and attitudes as they reflect on their activity. This experiential learning is important in the development of the community's talents and their self-esteem that leads to overall positive outcomes for the community.



Figure 80: Humatak Heritage Museum outdoor exhibition. Photo: Joe Quinata.

2.4. Raising a generation of stewards

The development of the Humatak Heritage Museum is part of the community's heritage preservation movement attributed to the overall vision of raising a generation to become stewards of our cultural and natural heritage through education, cooperation, and advocacy. Other supporting components include community archaeology, heritage charter school, ridge-to-reef preservation, and heritage sustainable enterprise.

Joe Quinata

CHamoru voice: Then and now

Rlene Steffy

Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam

It is my pleasure to present the following description of my experience as oral historian and ethnographer in the collection of oral history of the CHamoru people in Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Yap, Palau, and Australia, at the invitation to participate in the National Museum of Anthropology's, *BIBA CHAMORU! Culture and identity in the Mariana Islands*, exhibition to commemorate the Fifth Centenary of the First Round-the-world.

I begin with the histories that I know best. Through family oral history, I became aware that the circumstances of my mother's family and my father's family resulted in different life experiences. Family members from both sides experienced Spanish, Japanese, and American influences, but my mother's family also experienced Western Micronesian languages and culture because my maternal great-grandparents moved to Yap in the late 1890s on to Palau. My father's family remained in Guam and Sa'ipan (Saipan).

I have not interviewed anyone who spoke Spanish as their first language, but the Spanish influence is revealed in the CHamoru language and culture. Until the early 1900s, with the introduction of Protestant faiths in Guam, both sides of my family professed to be devout Catholic. It is on my mother's side that included

Protestant conversions, and in a few instances, uncles on my mother's extended family converted to Catholicism as a condition required by the priest to marry Catholic women. Although the women on both sides of our family remained Catholic, my paternal grandmother and a few aunts were not churchgoers, nor did they have personal novenas or attend rosaries.

CHamoru family history is important to both sides of our family. My father's younger brother was the family genealogist and traced our family's connection to an aunt, Maria de Castro de los Santos y Castro (1828-1890), kidnapped from the Agana River at 15 years old and taken on a ship to the Bonin Islands. My father's mother, Maria Leon Guerrero Santos, and his sister Maria Leon Guerrero Santos Rivera recount the story of Maria's kidnapping. My grandfather, Jesus Villagomez Santos, is a descendant of Maria's sister, Ines de Castro de los Santos (1834-?). I traveled to Sa'ipan and interviewed three of my father's cousins Jesus Chumbai Maka Santos, Ramon Kumoi Santos Delon Guerrero, and Manuel Manet Kiyu Seman Villagomez. These uncles knew and hosted Maria de los Santos y Castro's children or grandchildren when they were sent to Sa'ipan and Guam for education. When on Guam, my mother said the children

frequently visited my grandmother. Uncle Kumoi sent a picture that he and another family member in Sa'ipan believed to be Maria, mistakenly identifying her as my great-great-great-grandmother. Oral history and genealogy helped us to make the connection, but verification is required.

Genealogy is important to CHamoru families because it confirms how and who are related so that the children regard the elders with respect when meeting them in public or family events. One primary way that CHamoru families trace their lineage is through surname nicknames, distinguishing bloodline relatives. The surname nicknames are called *râmas familia*, referring to the association through a branch or clan or through marriage. My mother is from the *râmas* Cabesa/Budoki/Kotla, and my father is from the *râmas* Maca/Aragon. A CHamoru family nickname is particularly important to the CHamoru practice of reciprocity and in paying respect to deceased ones. Newspaper obituaries frequently identify the dead as “better known as,” indicating the *râmas* or family branch. The *râmas familia* also conveys the character of family members, reputation, and social status.

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Awareness of life and the challenges of the 1890s on my mother's side also came from oral history. My maternal great-grandparents, Josefa Quintanilla Aguon (1860-1938) and Jose Taitano Flores (ca. 1859-?) married and had five children in Guam. My great-grandmother's relative, a cabin boy for a whaler, traveled to Yap and Palau and witnessed active trading by whalers with Hong Kong and Japan. He expressed what he saw to his family that land in Yap and Palau was suitable for farming and that copra was a big industry in the islands. It was a trading opportunity that convinced my maternal great-grandparents, who moved their family of five children to Palau arriving there in March 1896. My great grandfather Jose was the copra plantation manager for Captain David Dean O'Keefe. My grandfather, Francisco Aguon Flores, was born on January 10, 1898, the eldest of the last three children born in Palau.

My great-grandparents' decision to migrate to Palau provided their children the opportunity to learn Palauan, Japanese, German, Yapese, and English languages. And a few of my grandfather's siblings married German and Marshallese-Scottish.

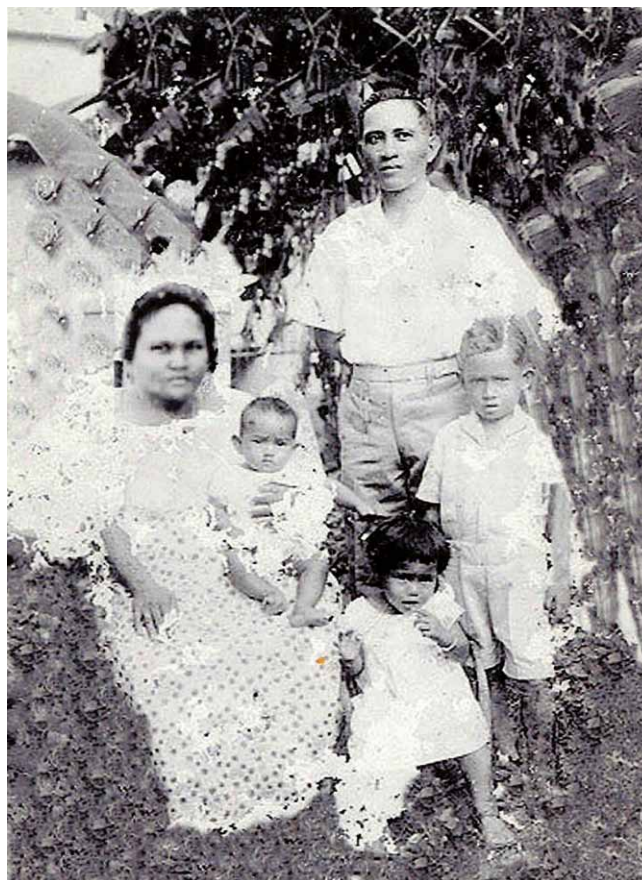


Figure 81: Francisco Aguon Flores stands behind his wife, Maria Pangelinan holding their infant son Francisco Rudolf, daughter Frederica Teresita is sitting, and son Edward William stands with their father. Sa'ipan, Northern Mariana Islands, ca. 1934 Contributed photo by Frederica Flores Santos.

At 13, my grandfather Francisco moved to Yap after the German priests encouraged him to become a priest. His ability to learn languages quickly was an advantage. But in 1914, at 16, he decided against the priesthood yet remained in Yap, where he survived World War I. My grandfather spoke and wrote the CHamoru language, and that ability came in handy. In his journal, he wrote the location of the property markers, the size of the property, and descriptions of the lands purchased by the CHamoru families in Palau. My mother requested the help of Anthony Ramirez, Guam Historic Resource Division historian, to translate the journal. Information from my grandfather's journal was presented in Palau Court by my cousin Anthony Reyes Borja who represented his family's interests and related CHamoru families,

including my mother, the administratrix of her father's inherited Palau land from his stepfather Jose de Borja. The property was purchased from the Japanese during their administration of Palau. The court ruled in favor of CHamoru land ownership and issued titles to the properties despite provisions in the Palau Constitution that requires having Palauan ancestry to own land. The compelling information in my grandfather's journal and oral histories from Palauans and CHamoru witnesses refuted any challenges to their rightful claim to the lands in Palau.

After the First World War, my grandfather moved to Sa'ipan, married his first wife, and operated a couple of gas stations and a sugarcane plantation. He became a widower with an infant son in ca. 1928. A few years later, he was introduced to Maria Pangelinan, who was visiting from Guam, and two years later, in 1931, they married in Agaña church. My mother was born in October 1932 and is the eldest of their five children. My grandparents chose to live in Sa'ipan and raised kids

there. They also survived World War II in Sa'ipan, and their youngest, James, was born at Susupe Concentration Camp in January 1945.

In preparation for the signing of the Organic Act of 1950, the U. S. Navy informed those born on Guam and living in the other Mariana Islands and in Micronesia to return to Guam if they wanted to become U. S. Citizens. My grandmother was born in Guam, so my grandparents and family arrived in Guam in 1946.

The oral histories of CHamoru reveal stories that reflect pre-World War II life in Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Pohnpei, Yap, and Papua New Guinea.

I began my first oral history project, not as an oral historian. I started my first ethnographic research project, not as an ethnographer. At the time, I was a professional journalist hosting my own radio show, *Rlene "Live"* and K57 Radio's investigative reporter, while I was also the managing editor for the *Guam Variety Newspaper*.



Figure 82: 14-year-old Francisco Aguon Flores stands behind his mother, Josefa Quintanilla Aguon Flores and two unidentified sisters, one with an infant. Palau, ca. 1912. Contributed photo by Frederica Flores Santos.

As a professional journalist, I knew how to ask questions. I learned how to read body language, listen to the tone of voice to determine excitement or apathy, and I knew how to document stories. At first, I collected oral histories by taking plenty of notes. Then I'd write down only the points that needed clarification but recording oral histories on video is my preferred method.

The awareness that narrators quickly grasp is that video immortalizes them—even before presenting stories in public releases—, knowing that they are recorded on video reassures them. They also realize that publishing their experiences in the media would provide exposure and validation.

In 2003, I received a grant from the Guam Council on the Arts and Humanities Agency to collect the oral history accounts of World War II survivors who were forced to march to the Manenggon Valley in Yo'ña by the Japanese.

World War II survivor Leoncio “Leo” Ignacio Castro (1929-2005) was surprised that his World War II memories were considered for the project. He believed himself a nobody but grateful that his name was given to me by another WWII survivor. “This is a history for me that I’m being recorded on—on video—. Good God” (laughs). Leo was the 12th Manenggon survivor to be interviewed in the collection on

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Figure 83: Leoncio Ignacio Castro, 06/01/2003. Fotografía: Rlene Santos Steffy.

November 6, 2003, at his Yigo residence. He passed away two years later, on October 17, 2005. Leo considered himself a nobody but agreed to be interviewed and thanked me afterward for immortalizing him. He knew that the video recording would ensure his story will be published for others to hear his war experience.

Regardless of how sensitive their experience has been, narrators understand and resigned themselves to the fact that their account should be made public, hoping that others would understand what it was like to survive the war on Guam. Everyone who was interviewed discovered at the end that they were overcome by a sense of relief. They were surprised that expressing their story gave them peace and strength to let the story out. Many exclaimed that they did not know why they kept the details to themselves, all these years, and hope that someone would benefit from their story. They were finally able to let go of painful and agonizing memories. Memories they had kept to themselves and only a few others for forty, fifty, or in some cases, sixty years. They were also surprised that those many years later, their memories were as evident in their minds as the day they happened and amazed that all the suppressed sensations flood back as they recounted their memories.

I have been shaped by what I learned from survivor experiences. Each interview whets my appetite for the next. Their accounts read like a good book, one that you cannot put down. They provide details that are missing from documents that have been the preferred source of historical events.

World War II was fought in the Pacific, and Japanese and U.S. military affairs in Guam were part of the Pacific Theater. We know that the Japanese forced survivors in Guam to concentration camps. The people of Guam and Sa'ipan suffered hardship, starvation and witnessed massacres. Many infant children died from malnutrition, and some were bayoneted by thoughtless Japanese soldiers. Many innocent people were casualties of war or victims of circumstances.

I was not a film producer when I began producing video documentaries on Guam's historic sites using World War II survivors' oral history to develop a storyline for these historical perspectives. I am an oral historian who discovered a passion for recording World War II survivor accounts of their pre-war life in Guam, war-torn life experiences and post-war

memories of their efforts to reconstruct a sense of place and purpose.

There is a growing interest in life histories, and its narrow focus and inherent bias make oral history and digital storytelling effective, engaging, and a popular means of educating people about the past.

The Artero name is a recognizable name on Guam, but I was surprised to learn from Steven Joseph Artero Kasperbauer that his grandparents met at Yap, and that is why I interviewed Steve for my presentation at the *Yap Homecoming Festival* in 2012. Steve said, “Grandfather Don Pascual Artero y Saez was born in 1875, joined the Spanish military in the 1800s, at the age of 20, and was sent to the Philippines where they were involved in managing a political insurrection. He was stationed in Yap in the late 1890s and oversaw the prison at Yap that held Filipino prisoners. There he met Asunción Martínez Cruz from Agaña, who was in Yap with her four sisters as missionary teachers. They were orphaned by Spanish influenza that killed many people in Guam”. Don Pascual and Asunción got married. Their great-grandson Steven Kasperbauer was featured in a video presentation telling their family connection to Yap.

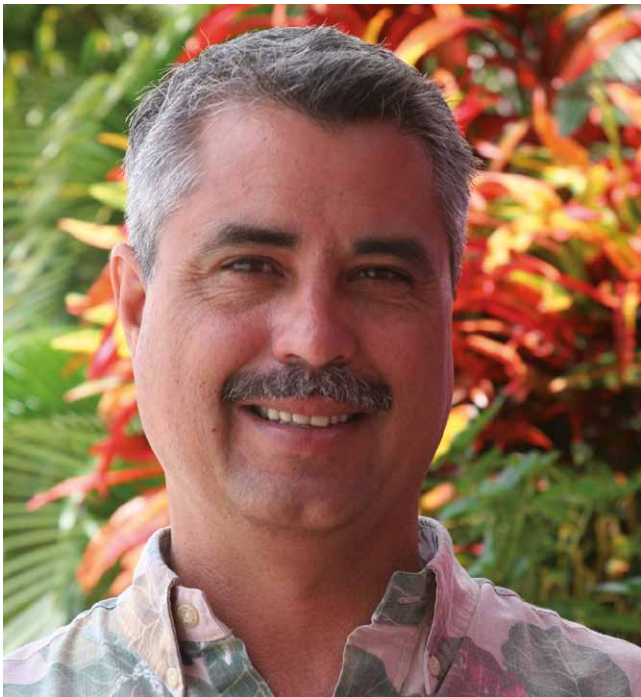


Figure 84: Steven Joseph Kasperbauer, 2008/07/30. Photo: Rlene Santos Steffy.

After I presented at an oral history conference in Brisbane, Australia, in 2007, I decided to interview CHamoru families born in Rabaul and who survived WWII there. Many families from Yap were invited by the Germans to move to New Guinea to serve as intermediaries between the Germans and New Guinean plantation workers. Michael Segetaro Parahina Asanuma (1927-2011) was born and raised in Rabaul, Papua New Guinea, before the Battle of Rabaul in 1942. Michael and his family were sent to Kaman-dron, where they stayed for the Second World War. His grandmother Maria Celes married Simon Parahina, and they had two children, Michael’s mother Louisa and a brother, Leo. Simon was lost at sea after a typhoon, and Maria married Antonio Aquiningoc. They managed 1,000 hectares of land as a copra plantation for the Bishop in Rabaul. Michael said that his parents left Yap for New Guinea on the Steam Ship *Prince Vadamar*.

Eliza Iwashita Atoigue is the second child of Javier Kuninori “Francisco” and Manuela Dela Cruz Iwashita, and two brothers and two sisters were born at Yap. Her father, Kuninori, was a Japanese soldier at Yap, and her parents married there before World War II. After the war, her father decided to move their family to Japan, but they encountered extreme hardship in Japan. The food was strictly rationed at the markets, and the men committed to rebuilding the devastated country. There was never enough food to feed five children, and their mother Manuela considered throwing her children off the cliff because she could not stand to see them hungry. One day, while out looking for food, Manuela saw a sign that said the Japanese Government was willing to send people back to their homes, and she convinced her husband to let her take the children back to Yap. He agreed reluctantly, and Manuela returned to Yap with their children and lived with her brother and his family.

Kuninori could not join them and stayed behind in Japan. He never saw Manuela or his children again. Except for Jesus later in life. I interviewed Jesus Iwashita separately from his sister Eliza to have another perspective of the family history. Jesus said that while serving in the U.S. Navy, his ship briefly pulled into port at Japan. Jesus didn’t know anyone there, so he stayed on the ship. A man was seen standing at the dock all morning as if waiting for someone. When asked if he was expecting anyone, Jesus said no, but could not help wondering if the man standing at the dock could be his father. Jesus looked at the man for a long while



Figure 85: Javier Kuninori “Francisco” Iwashita. The picture was taken in Yap, but the date is unknown. Contributed photo by Ricardo and Anita Blas.



Figure 86: Manuela Dela Cruz Iwashita. The photo is taken in Yap, but the date is unknown. Contributed photo by Ricardo and Anita Blas.

and finally asked permission to get off the ship to see him. When Jesus got close, there was no doubt, it was his father, Kuninori. They two stood in a tight embrace for a whole hour before either could utter a word. It was the last time Jesus saw his father. Kuninori died of a heart attack several years later.

Oral history is subjective, and Joseph Torres Barcinas explains, “Memories of the past are based on perspectives accompanied by feelings”. Joseph is the son of Jesus Cruz Barcinas, from Malesso, who wrote the *Village Journal* for Laura Thompson, found in her book, *Guam and its People*. I encouraged Joseph to record his life story because he would say, “Mrs. Steffy, did I tell you about...”. We agreed to meet on Saturday morning from 9 am to noon to capture his life story on video. It was difficult because he suffered from asthma and was noticeably stressed by the extended

narratives, but he was eager and determined to relate his memories of life on Guam before World War II. He spoke about his privilege as the son of Jesus Cruz Barcinas. He was proud that his father was credited as a professional fisherman by Laura Thompson after interviewing Jesus and others in Inalâhan about the CHamoru people and their customs and beliefs before World War II. Joseph proudly explained his father’s role in the Malesso Revolt against the Japanese soldiers stationed at Malesso during the war and his wisdom in leaving a canoe along the shore, concealed from sight. The canoe served as a way for them to escape to Dano’ –a local place name known as Cocos Island– after dark on July 20, 1944. At dawn the following morning, Jesus Cruz Barcinas and two others made their way over the reef and were spotted by the USS *Wadsworth* on Liberation Day, July 21, 1944. They were able to alert

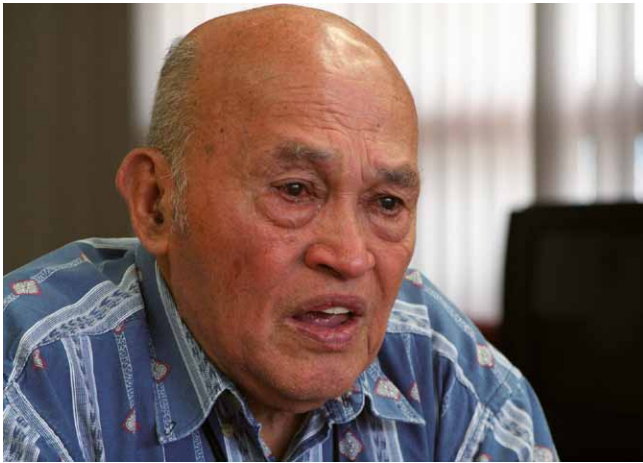


Figure 87: Joseph Torres Barcinas, 2006/11/24. Photo: Rlene Santos Steffy.



Figure 88: Eduardo Garcia Camacho, 2012/06/01. Photo: Rlene Santos Steffy.

the U.S. Navy to Japanese presence in Malesso and the Tinta and Fâha Massacres that they carried out of Malesso's leaders and able-bodied men.

As a journalist, I am taught to be impartial, collect the facts and refrain from being part of the story. It is challenging to change my practice when as an oral historian, connecting with the narrator is an essential element in the success of an interview. Many of the World War II survivors I interviewed are related to my World War II survivor's parents or friends, so meaningful relationships matter in collecting oral history.

World War II survivor Eddie Garcia Camacho, known as Mr. C, reminded me of this point on Friday, June 1, 2012. As I was packing my equipment after a pleasant afternoon listening to Mr. C's story, he mentioned his close relationship with my husband Robert and my childhood friendship with his daughter Yolanda. It was a compelling reason this otherwise reserved World War II survivor asked me to interview him. He has since shared his life stories with others.

CHamoru oral histories touch me deeply, but I have also collected the stories of emigrants who discovered how wonderful life can be in Guam, make it their home, and wish to die here.

Attorney Charles Henry Troutman, III, the Superior Court's Compiler of Laws, is one example. Troutman agreed to be interviewed and recovering from a bout with pneumonia at the time. Though his spirit was willing, his physical condition limited our interview sessions, and we met several times a week to complete his interview. Charlie was concerned that talking would tire him out, but he discovered that the interview sessions

energized him. Sadly, Charlie died several months later. His interview was completed.

Frescania "Fressie" Taitano Taitague's experienced a near-death experience at the age of 10 or 11 years old while living in Saipan. Fressie discovered that editing her interview for presentation forced her to process the event over 14 years ago.

Catherine Cruz Gault worked with former Governor Ricardo Jerome Bordallo on his life story on a dedicated basis after losing his bid for a second term as governor of Guam in 1986. Catherine worked closely with former governor Ricardo Jerome Bordallo on his life story, but in the process of doing so, she discovered how closely related they were and how much that meant to her. During the final hours of former Governor Ricardo Jerome Bordallo's life, Catherine describes his behavior and the circumstances at the office before learning about his suicide.

Digital storytelling is a modern way of expressing the ancient art of telling stories, how Pacific Islanders pass on skills, family history, and cultural practices from one generation to another. It provides people with a voice by giving them access to media infrastructure and technology to express themselves. It is an effective tool in engaging young and old in dialogue and building a stronger sense of community attachment by connecting generations. It can bridge the generational gap between WWII survivors, their children, grandchildren, and Guam residents.

It's been stated that learning always happens in context; it occurs with other things that we know. We essentially function with other people and settings,

and never in a vacuum. Introducing World War II survivors to young CHamoru in digital storytelling is how culture and historical digital narratives are brought together.

Antoine-Alfred Marche (1844-98), William Edwin Safford (1899), Margaret Mead (1928), and Laura Thompson (1938) observed the beliefs and practices of Pacific Islanders and documented their findings based on the perspectives of the individuals they interviewed. Their works were published in books. Digital storytelling helps the survivor learn in context by analyzing their experience, something they can only do many years after the war.

And we learn more about the past because they can reflect on and explain why things happened. Even if just to say that, they do not know. Reading the non-verbal communication from their eyes, hand, and bodies, help us to understand in the way that only video can provide.

As an experienced interviewer, former investigative reporter, and a 41-year member of the print and broadcast media on Guam, I have engaged in collecting and preserving oral histories in video documentaries for the past 15 years. My journey as an ethnographer began with collecting oral histories of World War II survivors on Guam, who were forced to march to the Manenggon Valley in the village of Yo'ña in Guam. The experiences of a more significant number of people who were forced to walk to the valley during the last two weeks of the war were initially recorded on audio and then video. Many survivors suspected that the

Japanese were planning to kill them in the valley. The Manenggon March and Concentration Camp historical experience resulted in 114 individuals featured in the Manenggon video documentary published on DVD and broadcasted on television channels on Guam.

Over the past 15 years, I have produced numerous oral histories released on DVD and on YouTube and television. And recently conveying in CHamoru children's books the traditional cultural practices of the people of the Mariana Islands. The 15 years that I have focused my efforts on oral history collection have earned me the distinction of being the "leading oral history practitioner" in the Micronesian Region. In 2018, I was distinguished as the first-ever recipient of the Chairman's Historic Preservation Award from Michael Blas Makio, chairman of the Guam Preservation Trust.

I dedicated myself to collecting comprehensive, professionally conducted oral history interviews with people from Guam, Luta, Tini'an, Sa'ipan, Palau, Yap, Pohnpei, Kosrae, Chuuk, Satawal, Lamotrek, and the South Pacific islands of American Samoa, Samoa, New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, Japan, and Taiwan Rukai and Paiwan aboriginal tribes.

Oral history is gaining popularity because traditional historians want to enlarge and expand their knowledge of past events, and oral history is an effective way to achieve this through first-hand accounts. We all learn from the written word, but nothing affects us more deeply than listening to the voice and viewing the expressions of the face and body language of a narrator's oral history account in digital form.

Curses and blessings: Navigating MY Indigenous identity between colonial empires

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1. *Guåhu si...*

Officially, I am Laura Marie Torres Souder, Loling to my friends and family and more recently Saina Lo or Auntie Lo to my nieces and nephews, younger colleagues and youthful acquaintances. I was born in Hagåtña (Agaña), Guam 71 years ago to Mariquita Calvo Torres and Paul Bernhardt Souder. When on Guam, I have lived at 155 Cuesta San Ramon. My parents built our home overlooking our capital city and moved in shortly before my birth. It is here, on the hill where William Safford, botanist and Guam's first American Naval Lt. Governor set up his residence. Perched on one of the two beautiful hills overlooking Hagåtña, I have had a life-long bird's eye view of my homeland and have in my own life suffered and enjoyed the curses and blessings of our journey as the indigenous people of Guåhan (Guam), the Tao-tao Tåno'.

2. *I man tâtasi...*

My ancestors are reputedly great seafarers and skillful navigators. The First People of the archipelago of

Laguas and Gåni, now known as the Mariana Islands, were among the earliest to traverse the uncharted waters of the Pacific to create a new homeland for themselves. They travelled in their seaworthy vessels from the Southeast coastal islands of Asia to populate Oceania. Guam's Taotao Tåno' began settling permanently around 3500 to 4000 years before present. Modern CHamorus are the descendants of these ancestors. Recent comparative human genome studies confirm that we share distinctive DNA that connects us through nearly three millennia to human burials found in archeological settlements dating back at least 2500 years.

Time has its markers. Major events perpetrated by colonial empires have circumscribed our journey as the people of this land. Historical dates were surely an enigma for a people, whose sense of time in space spanned thousands of years in seamless cycles of *mo'na yan tâtte*, ahead and following. Reckoning time in linear fashion had to be learned. Consciousness about *antis yan dispues* or before and after, to mark life-changing, catastrophic events in time, which is the way such events are referenced today, likely began with Magellan's stopover in 1521. While this marks the fifth centennial charted circumnavigation of the globe by

Magellan and his fleet, a monumental feat to be sure, it also marks the beginning of the end of an arcadian way of life for the indigenous inhabitants of Guam and the islands to the north.

3. Antis...

Imagine the year 1521, five hundred years ago. It was probably a bright, sunny day. Breezy as March days tend to be. The ocean was glistening. Puffy white clouds speckled the blue sky. The beautiful four petaled *guásale'* covered the limestone cliff lines that buttressed high above the shore, testaments to the volcanic origins of the largest of the Laguas and Gãni Island chain. Birds of incredible beauty and song filled the air with sounds we can only dream of now. They had such poetic names as *pulattat*, *ága*, *fâbang*, *égigi*, *chuchurika* and *sibek Guâban*. The oceans, unpolluted, were teeming with fish and other aquatic creatures. There were no mosquitos or brown tree snakes. Those pests snuck ashore aboard ships from distant origins. This tranquil, idyllic scene of our past conjures a paradise that we in our own lifetime catch glimpses of in sacred moments when we pause to bask in the beauty of our island homeland.

At the time Magellan was sailing around the world, the Taotao Tãno' of the 16th century, were a robust, healthy people. They were highly skilled in the arts of traditional navigation, seafaring vessel construction, pelagic, reef and shoreline fishing, stone technology, pottery-making, carving, weaving, and rice growing. How do we know? The Taotao Lãgu or voyagers from the West have described the Taotao Tãno' this way consistently in their chronicles.

These first written accounts of the *latte* builders also described a social order based on a three-tiered caste system comprised of the *mataó* (*mã'gas tao-tao*) the *atcha'ot* and the *manâchang*. It is not far-fetched to imagine that most members of the *matao* likely viewed the Christian notion of equal status in God's sight as a menacing belief. To be lumped together as one category of people without regard for a well-guarded social order must have added insult to injury to the *maga'bâga* and *maga'lâbi* of the



Figure 89: Stone adze, *higam* or *gachai* (900-1695). Deposit of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in the MNA: DE275. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.



Figure 90: Fan, *gueha* (1886-1887). MNA Collection: CE2137. Photo: Javier Rodríguez Barrera.

time. The matrilineal kinship system and standing that women had in their clans was largely ignored. This must have been devastating and humiliating.

Storytelling rituals were observed by early chroniclers. As with oral traditions among First Nations throughout the world, dances and chants memorialized values and the telling of the journey of our people. Committing these stories to paper has been a very recent phenomena. The form of training being practiced in the 16th century, the *guma uritao/ulitao* caused quite a sensational stir to all the early European observers as being so antithetical to the prevailing mores of their societies.

It was reported that the *latte* dwellers revered the skulls of their ancestors. This strong tie to ancestral

remains and burial sites is still pervasive in CHamoru cultural practice today. It is not uncommon to visit the burial places of family members on a regular basis throughout the year. A Sunday stopover at the cemetery after mass is part of our family tradition.

To European sailors, whose cultures were largely patriarchal and patrilineal, the matrilineal kinship system with shared power and authority between high-ranking females and their high-ranking brothers in the clans was unfamiliar and disturbing. They took great care to describe the power that women yielded and were fascinated by the sexual liberation of the *Indios*.

To be sure, there must have been unresolved disputes in the clans. The caste system revealed a social order where some were advantaged at the expense of others. It wasn't perfect, but it sure seems idyllic in retrospect.

4. Pã'go...

Our ancestors had sovereign freedom. We do not. Their food sources, water and air were not contaminated by chemicals. They suffered the catastrophies of nature –typhoons, tidal waves, earthquakes– as we do. They were strong and resilient, as we are. They resolved conflicts following cultural practices that gave continuity to their way of life, we have somewhat lost that art.

Let's direct our historical imagination to a day nearly one hundred and fifty years before such important *maga'låbi* as Kepuha, Matåpang, Hurao, Hirao, Malagueña, Gådao and others were major players in Guam history. It is a day etched in our historical memory as one that ushered both endings and beginnings. It is a day filled with excitement, amazement, promise, anger, treachery, and deceit. How can such a day of contradictions be forgotten. It's a day that has seen many name changes, from Magellan's Day to Discovery Day to Guam History Day to CHamoru Heritage Day. With those name changes have come a growing consciousness about who we are.

In early March of this year, the *Juan Sebastián de Elcano* sailed onto our shores to commemorate the quincentennial anniversary of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe. Spain's flag flew proudly. This

landing was vastly different. This was a purposeful visit to acknowledge the disaster of the encounter between our ancestors and the Spanish fleet that sailed onto our shores five hundred years ago and the subsequent destruction caused by misunderstandings, violent actions, and germs that were left behind.

Before setting off to the Philippines where Magellan met his fate at the hands of Lapu-Lapu, the captain of the *Elcano* offered the CHamoru people Spain's apologies. Our chantors and singers bid them farewell with *Adios estaki*. Goodbye till we meet again. A very different refrain than the one that I imagine would have been sung at the sight of foreign ships following the fateful encounter between the residents of Humåtak (Umatac) and Magellan and his crew on March 6, 1521.

5. Mo'na yan Tåtte...

The generation of visiting sailors who were part of this modern-day expedition are not our enemies. Who knows but that their genealogies and ours are somehow connected by the accident of previous voyages. There were many. They plied oceans and continents to acquire wealth, power and prestige. The first among them earned Guam the dubious reputation of being sullied. In renown Pacific Historian Douglas Oliver's words, "the rape of Oceania began with Guam".

They sailed as conquistadors, missionaries, explorers, whalers, pirates, and pioneers in search of a new life. 1521 gave way to Legaspi in 1565, then San Vitores in 1668, Quiroga in 1679, Marina in 1898, Leary in 1899, Japanese Imperial Forces during WWII and Skinner in 1950. These waves of foreign men and their companions brought smallpox and influenza. They deposited their DNA into our genetic pool. Many stayed and established families and businesses. They became our great grandfathers, our *tå-tas* and our *papas*.

The truth is, so much blood has intermingled in the past five hundred years that it is impossible to separate our genetic selves from those who came to colonize us. Their language is sprinkled in ours. We carry their names, their genes, their faith but we remain the people of this land.

6. *Hita nu i man Taotao Tãno'!*

How have we maintained our indigenous identity sandwiched between two world powers who were engaged in ruthless empire building that is the clarion call of colonizers? How is it possible to integrate one's cultural self with such contradictory forces tugging for attention and threatening to pull you apart? It's kind of like a chicken being readied for cutting up in pieces to cook into a tasty dish that satiates appetite.

I have looked at this issue of identity through many prisms as a blood daughter or *bagan bãga'*, a sociologist, a revisionist historian, a storyteller, and as a *saina*. My journey into legitimate, authentic wholeness has not been without great struggle along the way. The constellations represented in my navigational chart may be unique to my experience but they hopefully reveal a corridor that many CHamoru people have traversed and charted.

7. *I tutuhon-hu...*

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My journey began as an unconscious self. I wasn't conscious of colonization or about the historical events that shaped the Guam I was born into in 1950. I didn't know about the second world war and how it devastated my island and caused irreparable damage to my people. I didn't know about eminent domain and about how the U.S. military took most of the arable lands on Guam after the war for its installations. We didn't learn about our history and people at school. In fact, we were fined for every CHamoru word we spoke. We were reminded daily to speak English as good American children.

I knew my dad was a statesider and that he was white, blond and blue-eyed. My mom was local and she was brown with dark brown eyes and black hair. Children at St. Francis Catholic School, which I attended in my elementary grades, teased me for being so pale. I had dark hair and eyes but I was light-skinned. They called me half-caste.

I didn't know what that meant, so I asked my *nãna* (maternal grandmother) Maria Perez Calvo Torres. She spoke only CHamoru, no English, so she didn't know what it meant either. After she and my

mom, Mariquita Calvo Torres Souder, spoke about it, *nãna* sat me on her lap and explained that it didn't matter what I looked like, my bloodline was CHamoru. *CHamoru bagã'-mu ginen as nanã-mu*. I didn't know it then, but she was referring to my uterine connection with her. She told me that a woman could never be half pregnant. You were either pregnant or you weren't.

That was good enough for me to understand that my CHamoru identity could not be divided up like a pie into parts. Mom and dad then followed up with their explanation of how we had a rich blended cultural heritage. All CHamoru children did, they assured me. Dad's cultural heritage was English and German and mom's was CHamoru and Spanish. I was young and innocent. I didn't question such things further.

While I was growing up the term Guamanian gained ascendancy. It applied to the people of Guam after WWII. CHamoru people were given American citizenship and exhorted to get rid of the practices and traditions that were rooted in our Spanish Catholic colonial heritage. The Americanization of Guam was in full swing. An English-only policy was strictly enforced in Guam schools. Fortunately, my dad was a wise man who saw the fallacy in this colonial policy. He insisted that we learn our indigenous language and values and that we practice CHamoru customs and traditions as an integral part of our family life. My parents were actively engaged in the community. So, *nãna* was our "CHamoru teacher".

Theoretically, I accepted *nãna's* explanation but people around me would continue to call my legitimacy into question. This is when I entered my fractured-self phase. I learned about how my grandfathers on both my *nãna's* and *tãta's* side were political administrators and operatives of the Spanish government. I knew that my dad came to Guam as a Naval Officer to assist in the rebuilding of Guam after the U.S. bombed Hagåtña to smithereens and destroyed our centuries-old city capital.

All of that legacy was flowing through my veins. A full on "out-of-body" experience regarding identity seemed to be a logical way to cope. Fortunately, I was reared by my *nãna* and her widowed sisters during much of my growing up years so I was anchored. I just didn't know it. Besides, there was no discourse about identity per se in school or among peers.

8. *Ma fa'na'gue-ku...*

Dad patiently taught us about island history, the intricacies of tropical flora and fauna and showed us how to value the land and its beauty. We often sat on the ledge overlooking Hagåtña with our feet dangling to watch the sun rise and set, wait for rainbows after a light rainfall, and listen to the plants and trees as they talked to each other in the breeze. He was forever tramping through jungles in search of rare plants. He pointed out sacred burial sites and remnants of Latte villages as we trailed after him, smitten with curiosity ourselves about the natural environment we called home. Mom taught us about service to Santa Marian Kamalen, our Patroness, loyalty to family and pride in our culture and way of life. She was the disciplinarian. One look and we got the message. She was engaged in community service all her life.

Then, I went to college in Boston. I realize that I had neatly sorted out all my identity issues into small compartments in my head that didn't bump. College shook things up quite a bit. The compartments collided. Everything spilled over and was oozing. I thought I knew what it meant to be an American citizen, until I went to the United States. All hell broke loose in my head, as I tried to answer the questions that kept coming at me. "Who are you? What did you say you were? What, I have never heard of them". When I'd try to answer their questions with I'm a CHamoru from Guam. I would immediately be asked, "Guam, where is that?" In retrospect, it didn't help that I wore very colorful, tropical style clothing that was ill-fitted for a very conservatively dressed New England town. I cooked rice in the kitchenette of our dorm and recooked the cafeteria food with hot pepper and soy sauce to make it palatable. I hugged all my friends who grew up in no-touch environments. I was different. My mom sent me mangoes and floral print mumus, my classmates got chocolate chip cookies and sweaters.

It was 1968. The Vietnam War was escalating. It was incredulous to me that Americans didn't know where their B-52's were taking off from. Why would they know about Guam, I tried to reason with myself privately. Just because I learned the names of every U.S. state and all their capitals by the time I was in third grade didn't mean they should have learned the names of the islands they colonized.

I vacillated from being identity proud to being identity frazzled throughout my college years. I joined

the International Students Association and became its president in my Sophomore Year. I discovered that I had more in common with the students from Vietnam and Biafra than from New York or DC. I tried to do as many of my class projects on Guam as I could. My dad was my lifeline to information which he would mail to me regularly. No email or computers at that time. I just couldn't bear the: "You speak English so well" and in the same breath, "Do you speak English there?" "Where did you buy your clothes, do you miss your grass skirts?" "I could never have guessed you were from such a primitive place; you barely have an accent". "You can't be native; you look too civilized; you don't look like a savage". Such talk exhausted me and constantly wore down my sense of equilibrium. All the while, I was learning about what being American really meant.

Then I went to England to study. I had won a Dickensian scholarship through a paper I had written for my high school English Lit class on Guam while at the Academy of Our Lady. It came in handy. I had a carbon copy, which I took with me to Boston. Surprise! The evaluators had enjoyed my comparing London to Hagåtña in the essay I entitled, *A Tale of Two Cities*. I was a fan of Charles Dickens and was studying Sociology for my B.A.

The constellations on my identity navigational chart represent mind-changing experiences I have had in my life about who I am. Some have been major moments of awakening. Such was my Trafalgar Square encounter. It was cold and rainy. I had gotten out of class at St. John's School of Art in London and was headed to the British Museum with the two huge lions standing sentinel.

I wore a tweed coat with a hood but was wet and shivering as I rushed through the turnstile and ran smack into someone who was making his way out. "So sorry", I muttered embarrassed, as I pulled off my hood and stood dripping in the foyer. All of a sudden, my bobby pins holding up my knee-length hair flew out. I was a mess. The man I bumped into kindly said, "Let me help you, why don't we go to the tearoom and get you a nice warm cuppa". He was meticulously dressed in a three piece suit and wore tantalizing cologne. I appreciated the tea but began to feel uncomfortable as he stared at me. "I have to go, thanks for the tea".

He stood up hurriedly and said, "wait, let me explain". He was a physical anthropologist studying crania at the Museum and wondered if he could touch

my face. "My face?", I asked skeptically. "Please, you see I can't tell your exact ancestry, but I know you are from near the Philippines. Am I right? If I could touch your cheekbones, I would have a better idea". Now he had my full attention. I sensed that he was genuine. I nodded. He reached out and put his fingers on my cheekbones and my brow. He said, "Definitely the Mariannes, Guam perhaps?!" "Yes" I managed to say while trying to control my excitement. Oh my God, this was like a big dipper type of discovery. He was elated at my joyous response. "Thank you, I have never met someone from the Mariannes before, excepting of course the skulls I've had the fortune to examine".

Honestly, all drama aside, that was mind-blowing for me. It was a moment of true awakening. I was really connected to my ancestors below the surface where it mattered. A perfect stranger knew me better than I knew myself. I felt legitimized. This was a huge breakthrough. I had spent years explaining to people why I spoke English well, why I was a light-skinned islander, why I looked Spanish, why my mother's surnames were Calvo and Torres. Always trying to assert my indigenous identity, while never knowing quite how to articulate who I was. Who would have thought that when I was at the furthest point that I had ever been from home, I would discover an affirming truth about my real identity.

In the flash of a rainy day, my CHamoru identity was validated by a scientist who never met a living CHamoru before he met me. He knew who I was because he had touched the skulls of my ancestors. He revealed a profound connection between me, my cheekbones and my ancestry. In the course of a few minutes, he cut through the superficial exterior of my being to expose my inner self. I felt an incredible sense of belonging. I was home in my skin. That encounter straightened me out. Like *nâna* in her own way, he reminded me that genes don't lie. I treated myself to a fried rice dinner that night at a Burmese restaurant. It was the closest I could find to CHamoru cuisine.

9. I tiningo'-hu...

After much reflection and reformulation, I have reached a very comfortable stage in my identity which I call, assertive consciousness. I realize that we can't wish away those colonial parts of us that are filled with curses and blessings. To do that would be to discredit

our journey and diminish who we have become.

While I have had to confront the contradictions and endure the curses of my birth in a colony, I have enjoyed many blessings that my elite heritage has provided. Being born into privilege has allowed me to become educated, travel, study abroad and universalize my spirit. I have been able to harness these benefits to commit to the CHamoru quest for self-determination, cultural sovereignty and nation-building. I am able to champion CHamoru language revitalization with all my social currency. I do this as the Vice-Chair of the Commission on CHamoru language and the Teaching of the History & Culture of the Indigenous People of Guam and the Chair of the newly formed Guam Indigenous Heritage Alliance.

We can only make sense of who we are as a people by recognizing the essential links that tie us to our past, enliven our present and inspire our future. I have discovered that navigating the identity corridor between colonial empires starts with what we choose to call ourselves. Words matter. Language matters. Our umbilical cord to culture and the *ethos* or *mâta* of our indigeneity is embedded in the language that our people have spoken for over 150 generations. As we call ourselves Taotao Tâno', we call our language, Fino' Hâya.

But what of the term CHamoru? The word in its previously used form, Chamorro, is a Spanish word. It means bald or shorn. It also refers to beef shank. Imagine my surprise when I visited Mexico and was asked if I wanted *sopa de chamorro* for dinner. Later in Chicago, I went to a Spanish market which was advertising a sale on *chamorro de res*.

Chamorro, which is the surname of many famous personages in the Spanish-speaking world, was used as a name for island natives during Spanish colonial rule. By the 1800s it was readily adopted and has been used to refer to the indigenous people of the Marianas or the Taotao Tâno' ever since.

In the Seventies, the initial Guam Chamorro Language Commission adopted a Marianas Orthography with their Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas (CNMI) counterparts to be used as a spelling guide. Efforts to align the spelling of Chamorro with the orthography were made periodically throughout the Eighties and Nineties. In 2009, the CNMI revised the Orthography for themselves and decided to keep the traditional spelling of Chamorro. With the passage of the Guam Heritage Act of 2016, the defunct Guam Commission was re-established with a much broader

mandate. The current Commission is responsible for promoting the Guam CHamoru Orthography as the official spelling guide.

The law enshrined the orthographically correct spelling of the word thusly, CHamoru. There is no letter “c” in the CHamoru alphabet. The sound “tse” is represented by the single consonant “ch”. Because “ch” appears at the beginning of a proper noun, the letter CH is capitalized. The double “ri” does not exist in the CHamoru alphabet, therefore the single “r” is used. The last syllable in the word is opened and unstressed and the vowel is preceded by only one consonant, therefore the “u” is used in lieu of the “o”.

Adherence to the official spelling guide is important on several grounds. Standardized spelling rules make it easier to teach CHamoru to children as a second language at school where reading and writing skills are part of the effort to foster fluency and

proficiency. The second reason is equally compelling. In our efforts to decolonize and exercise cultural sovereignty as an indigenous people, we must own our identity vocabulary. The term Chamorro is borrowed. By aligning it with our orthography, we make it a legitimate CHamoru word. Some argue that this is a semantics game. Believe me, it is much more than a play on words.

During the first wave of the Women’s Movement, feminists clamored for a change in the use of the term “mankind” to a more gender inclusive term like “humankind” or “people”. This shift represented a significant change in attitude and perception. Naming matters. It shapes how we see ourselves.

While we can never go back to the way things were, we can certainly exercise the agency in us to shape what is to be. In the spirit of our ancestors, we can lead or follow. The choice is ours.

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Abreviaturas archivos

- AGI: Archivo General de Indias
- AHCJC: Arxiu Històric de la Companyia de Jesús a Catalunya (Barcelona)
- ARSI: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Roma)
- RAH: Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid)
- AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional
- LCW: Library of Congress of Washington
- NAP: National Archives of the Philippines
- SHM: Servicio Histórico Militar

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