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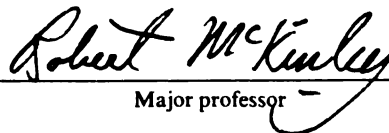
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# GUAM—

AN ANALYSIS OF AN AMERICAN COLONY WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS  
ON THE INTEGRATION OF THE PRECONTACT CLASS SYSTEM INTO THE  
MODERN SOCIETY

VOLUME I

By

David T. Givens

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **GUAM — AN ANALYSIS OF AN AMERICAN COLONY WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE INTEGRATION OF THE PRECONTACT CLASS SYSTEM INTO THE MODERN SOCIETY**

**By**

**David T. Givens**

Guam is one of the United States' few remaining territories. While the people of Guam are Americans in every sense of the word, Guam hosts several subcultures. The dominant one is the Chamorro-Guamanian. Interestingly, the Chamorro-Guamanians seem to have maintained several important parts of their prehistoric culture to this day.

This paper has, essentially, two purposes. The first is an exploration of the history of Guam from its earliest human habitation to the present with particular emphasis on its evolution as one of the United States' few colonies. The second is to explore the hypothesis that the prehistoric social structure of the island is still in effect in many ways. Some aspects of it seem continuous throughout all of Guam's history but at the very least the precontact social structure is a useful tool in analyzing Guam's current society.

To serve these two purposes there is a comprehensive history of Guam.

The first chapter is about the prehistoric colonization of the island by man. Human habitation of the island of Guam may have begun as early as 6,000 years ago with the Prelatte culture. Evidence of the Latte culture begins about 1,800 years ago. It was probably the result of forced immigration or conquest. It became a fully developed Oceanic culture and is discussed in some detail. Particular emphasis is placed on the social stratification of the culture and the likelihood that the lowest class of the Latte culture were the remnants of the Prelatte.

The second, third and fourth chapters are the history of the Spanish discovery and colonization of Micronesia. It followed the tradition of Spanish colonization but did not



really become a mature Spanish colony. It was a backwater of the empire. With minor adaptations, it maintained its precontact social structure.

The fifth chapter is the story of the acquisition of the island of Guam by the United States at the end of the Spanish American War and the first American period. Guam went through a period of Americanization during which time the Chamorro-Guamanians became integrated into the American culture. For the most part this was voluntary. But still, they kept much of their precontact social structure.

The sixth chapter is the story of Guam's conquest by Japan during the Second World War and the American invasion and reconquest near the end of that war. It continues through reconstruction up to the signing of the Organic Act of Guam in 1950. This act began Guam's development into a largely self-governing unincorporated territory of the United States.

The seventh chapter is the history of Guam under the Organic Act. It brings the history up to the end of 1998.

"Discussion" discusses Guam's various colonial experiences and the preservation of the Precontact system of social stratification. It illustrates modern social stratification with the discussion of the current government and economy. It also discusses two of Guam's thorniest problems — land tenure and future political status in the light of Guam's history.

"Conclusions" reviews the scope and conclusions of the work.

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To my lovely and long suffering wife Fang Ying whom I love  
more than life.



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# INTRODUCTION

Guam is one of the United States' few remaining territories. It is in every sense of the world a colony. It may be one of the few colonies that has actually benefited the native people. While the people of Guam are Americans in every sense of the word, Guam hosts several subcultures. The dominant one is the Chamorro-Guamanian. These are the descendents of the aboriginal people of Guam. Although they are no longer a majority, they maintain political and economic control because of their plurality. The Chamorro-Guamanians seem to have maintained several important parts of their prehistoric culture to this day. Interestingly, no previous researcher seems to have noticed that one cultural artifact that the Chamorro-Guamanians have preserved is their precontact class system. This paper has, essentially, two purposes. The first is an exploration of the history of Guam from its earliest human habitation to the present with particular emphasis on its evolution as one of the United States' few colonies. The second is to explore the hypothesis that the prehistoric class system of the island is still in effect in many ways. The precontact peoples divided their society into two classes an upper and a lower (*manachangs*). The upper was divided into two subclasses the dominant (*matuas*) and the subordinant (*acha'ots*). Scattered throughout all three of these layers were a priesthood made up of men who could best be described as sorcerers (*makahnas*) and women who might be called witches (*eamtis*). Some aspects of this class system seem continuous throughout all of Guam's history but at the very least the precontact social structure is a useful tool in analyzing Guam's current Chamorro-Guamanian society.

The neo-*matuas* are the large property owners. It is from this class that the most influential people are chosen in modern Guam to be neo-*chamorris* (chiefs). These people include influential businessmen, elected officials and high-ranking appointed officials. The neo- *acha'ots* are, for the most part, closely related to the neo-*matuas*. They assist the neo-*chamorris* and the neo-*matuas* in the privileged occupations. The neo- *manachangs* are the skilled and unskilled manual laborers. They come as immigrants from the other Micronesian islands and as temporary workers from other Asian nations.

Scattered throughout the society are the neo- *makahnas* (professionals) and the neo- *eamtis* (technicians).

I am looking at this phenomenon from a post-colonial retrospective on how the Chamorro people repeatedly internalized foreign cultures.

This dissertation supports two theses.

Thesis One. Guam is one of the United States' few remaining colonies. And it is a very successful colony. It is fully integrated into American culture. While the people of Guam are Americans in every sense of the word, Guam hosts several subcultures. The dominant one is the Chamorro-Guamanian – the descendants of the aboriginal people.

Thesis Two. Interestingly, the Chamorro-Guamanians seem to have maintained an important part of their prehistoric culture to this day. That cultural artifact is the precontact system of social stratification.

This paper has two purposes.

The first is to explore the history of Guam through at least five and probably six separate and distinct colonizations; all but one of which were the result of forced

immigration — militarily stronger people moving into others territory. Since every aspect of Guam's history is the product of her colonial experience, this history will be somewhat catholic and comprehensive. This will allow us to determine how Guam's current status evolved and shed light on today's two most divisive issues — ultimate political status and ownership of released federal land.

The second is to explore the hypothesis that the prehistoric class system of the island is still in effect in many ways. This hypothesis first began to grow in my consciousness in 1987, when on a trip to Guam I noticed that modern guest workers were very similar to the precontact *manachangs*. Some aspects of it seem continuous throughout all of Guam's history but at the very least the precontact social structure is a useful tool in analyzing Guam's current society. It helps bring order to the chaos of Guam's government and society.

To accomplish these purposes this paper shall explore the history of Guam from its earliest human habitation to the present with particular emphasis on its evolution as one of the United States' few colonies.

At this point, I must offer my heart-felt thanks to a few people whose contribution to this work has been invaluable.

Dr. Dirk Ballendorf is the deputy director of the Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center. He has been studying Micronesia for more than 30 years. He has been extremely generous with his time. He read and critiqued this entire manuscript.

Richard Davis is Guam's historical preservation officer. He helped me to understand the politically correct social evolution hypotheses to explain the change from the Prelatte to the Latte culture.



Marjory Driver's introduction to Pobre's story is extremely well researched and valuable. As MARC's resident expert on the Spanish period of Micronesian history, she provided answers to many questions.

John Eddy was the Marine platoon leader at a critical point in the American invasion of Guam in 1944. He added considerable "color" to the dry historical account. He also provided one of the items of "original research" because his memories have never been published.

Emily Johnston is a librarian emeritus at MARC. She helped me answer numerous questions about Guam and MARC's collection.

Dr. Hiro Kurashina is the director of MARC. In addition to giving several interviews, he read and critiqued the entire manuscript.

Dr. Robert McKinley, the chair of my dissertation committee, helped me refine this work to an acceptable dissertation.

Joseph Murphy, editor emeritus of the *Pacific Daily News* and author of "Pipe Dreams" is a friend of many years and is an invaluable source.

Dr. Robert F Rogers, the author of *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*, was extremely generous with his time and his vast knowledge of Guam's history, politics and culture. He read and critiqued this entire work.

Diane Trembly M.D., was a physical anthropologist with Paul H. Rosendahl Ph.D. Incorporated, a contract archaeological firm. She was very helpful in summarizing the conclusions of 20 years spent studying the prehistoric inhabitants of Guam.

Dr. David Bailey, Dr. Clinton Burhans, Dr. Joseph Chartkoff and Dr. David Lewis served on my dissertation committee and provided extremely useful advice.

Without the aid of the staff at MARC this work could never have been attempted,  
much less completed.

And finally, the people of Guam made it all worthwhile.

# Notes on Style

This work conforms to accepted standards of good scholarship and good writing. But it avoids the sort of studied steganographic sophistry encountered in many academic papers. It is written in such a way as to be understandable to most educated laymen.

In general, references to literature follow a modified anthropological style of parenthetical citation. For example: [Locke 1690b: 304] would direct the reader to page 304 of the following bibliographic entry:

LOCKE, J.  
1690a *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Vol. I. 1959.  
1690b *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Vol. II. 1959.

Notice that although it is a parenthetical note it is in brackets. Brackets associated with a quotation indicate that I made some change or addition. Note that not only the name of the author but the date appears in the citation. The date, 1690b, refers to the second work that was published by Locke in 1690. The purpose for this is to inform the reader, at a glance, of the approximate time that the cited document was written. Notice that the city and name of the publisher are omitted. This trivia is of no consequence and does nothing to aid the researcher. The final date is the date of publication of the book that was used by me. This is, in part, a concession to any who wish to confirm the citation, but primarily an aid to any who would like to expand a specific line of research.

Quotations from informant interviews conducted by me are attributed in the text but, since the original interview is not available to the reader, are not cited. Nor do they appear in the bibliography. They are, however, discussed in "Notes on Sources."

In the bibliography no attempt is made to differentiate between pamphlets, reports and books. If the work stands alone, its title is in *italics*. If it is a part of some larger

work it is placed within quotation marks followed by the title of the larger work in *italics*.

Because many papers and reports that are not in general circulation are cited, I have included, where necessary, the name of the organization that provided the paper.

The citation [Runquist 19931017a: 13] refers to the bibliographic entry:

RUNQUIST, P.  
19931017a "Agana lot system devised by feds after war," *P.D.N.*: 13.

The citation: [*P.D.N.* 19981208: 8] refers to an article on page eight of the *Pacific Daily News* dated 8 December 1998. Such a note would be used to cite an article by an unnamed writer in a publication. It would appear in the Bibliography as:

*P.D.N.*  
19981208: "Guamanians back military, poll shows."

Biblical references are cited with the traditional book, chapter and verse: [Genesis 9: 6]

Spelling in this work conforms to *Webster's New World Dictionary*.

The spelling of Chamorro words is in compliance with the Chamorro Language Commission. This is a quasi-official government department created by the Legislature of Guam in response to fears that Chamorros are loosing their culture. The Commission officially determines correct spelling and usage of the Chamorro language.

The English grammar and style conform to *The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual*. This is the grammar and punctuation style used by most publishers and is, therefore, the most familiar. Logic and personal preference have suggested some exceptions.

1. All dates that are not within quotations are written day, month and year for example: 1 January 1994.

2. If an acronym is usually said as a single word it is written in capital letters with no periods; for example NASA. If an acronym is usually pronounced letter by letter, the letters are separated by periods — U.S.A. Personally, I hate acronyms. But they are so prevalent on Guam that for a work like this they are necessary. Almost never does one hear or even read a reference to the Government of Guam or the Department of Education. It is always GovGuam or D.O.E.

3. Contrary to *The Associated Press Stylebook* and *Webster's*, all ethnic names are capitalized.

6. At the risk of seeming an anti-male sexist, I maintain the tradition of using feminine pronouns when referring to ships and nations.

Due to feminist agitation, it is becoming acceptable to confuse the numbers between nouns and pronouns. This leads to awkward sentence construction like: “Each writer shall copy edit their own paper.” At the risk of seeming an anti-female sexist and in accordance with the *A.P. Stylebook* this work maintains the grammatical tradition of using the masculine pronoun when the gender of the subject is uncertain, so: “Each writer shall copy edit his own paper.”

There are extensive quotations from interviews and printed sources. In interviews, grammatical errors have been corrected except when they convey an accent or a manner of speaking. These quotations have been edited to provide clarity but every effort has been made to preserve the flavor of the informant's speech.

As an aid in clarifying different types of quoted material, quotations, of any length, taken from published material are single spaced and set in Arial font. Any quotation, of whatever length, that is taken from the spoken word appears within quotation marks. Quotation marks are also used to identify composition titles, to set off nicknames, identify unfamiliar words on first use and to indicate that a word or phrase is used in an ironic sense.

Legally, according to the Organic Act of Guam, the indigenous people of Guam are called “Guamanians.” But many of these Guamanians prefer to be called “Chamorros” after the ancient inhabitants of the Mariana Islands. This work occasionally compares and contrasts the people and culture of modern Guam with that of the aboriginal people. To avoid comparing Chamorros with Chamorros; ancient Chamorros are referred to as Chamorros, modern Guamanians of Chamorro decent are referred to as Chamorro-Guamanians and the other ethnic residents of Guam are referred to as hyphenated Guamanians — Haole-Guamanians, Filipino-Guamanians, or whatever-Guamanians.

# PARADISE POPULATED — GUAM'S PREHISTORIC PEOPLES.

Once in the time before time, as Guam's creation myths begin, Chaifi — the god of wind, waves and fire — had a workshop in which he made souls (*anitis*). One day he decided to speed up the process but he threw too much wood on the fire.

The ensuing explosion created the Earth in this “big-bang” theory. In the excitement, one of the souls escaped and fell on the island of Guam, where it calcified. After a long time, the calcified soul became softened by the rain and incubated by the sun and was transformed into a man. (This is the reverse of the decay of the body to bone. Perhaps it relates to the Chamorro practice of preserving some of the bones of their ancestors.) Immediately Man set up a soul shop and began to compete with Chaifi from whom he had learned the art. He molded his clay, made from red earth and water, into the shape of a man and gave it a soul. He fired it with the heat of the sun.

Upon hearing of this unwanted competition, Chaifi set out to eliminate it by destroying all of the men on Guam. But since the souls of Man had been fired by the sun, which Chaifi does not control, he was unable to do so. Chaifi tried to kill the men by fire and typhoons with little effect. The men could replace their losses too quickly. Finally, Chaifi lost interest and gave up. From time to time, however, he remembers these men and attempts to wash away his error with the typhoons that he flings at the island.



# The Peopling of the Pacific.

The people of the Marianas participated in one of the greatest adventures in human history — the exploration and settlement of Oceania. Based on biological, ethnic and linguistic evidence, anthropologists have all but concluded that the people who were to become the Austronesians — an ethnic group that includes the Mariana Islanders, most Micronesian Islanders and Polynesians — came originally from south China to settle what is now Indonesia. These people and their language used to be called Malayo-Polynesians in the scientific literature, and are still popularly called Malayo-Polynesians. This was a particularly ill conceived change on the part of the scientific community because it leads to confusion with the Australoid peoples of Australia and New Guinea.

The Austronesians were really Johnny-come-latelies when it comes to the peopling of the Pacific. In dim prehistory, the Australoid people who were to become the Australian Aborigines had made their way to Australia, New Guinea and many of the islands of the south Pacific. This migration began over a million years ago and was well into its modern phase 40,000 years ago. This was a period of intermittent glaciation when much of the Earth's water supply was held in the form of ice. The level of the oceans was much lower than today so much of this migration could have been done on dry land. But to get to Australia and New Guinea even during the times of lowest sea level required a crossing of at least 40 miles. These people later settled areas like the Philippines and Caroline Islands. This required much more sophisticated maritime technology. They may even have reached Guam, but more about that later.

Let's return to the Austronesians.

The linguistic connection between the aboriginal peoples of Formosa and Austronesia has long suggested that some of the early Austronesians came from South China. Linguistic studies indicate that these people were unrelated to the ethnic Chinese of today. They were more closely related to the modern Thais.

The most famous and most studied of the Austronesian cultures is the Polynesian. Peter Buck, the father of Polynesian anthropology, tells of Austronesian origins in

*Vikings of the Pacific:*

We may sum up the present position by saying that in remote ages the ancestors of the Polynesian people probably did live in some part of India and worked east, but myths and legends transmitted orally do not reach back that far. They must have sojourned in Indonesia in order to reach the Pacific; the Polynesian language has affinities with Indonesian dialects. During their stay in Indonesia, the sea salt entered into their blood and changed them from landsmen to seamen. When the pressure of Mongoloid peoples pouring in from the mainland became oppressive, the Polynesian ancestors turned their gaze toward the eastern horizon and embarked upon one of the greatest of all adventures. [Buck 1938: 26]

Modern research; archaeological, linguistic and, most recently, genetic; indicates that Buck is incorrect in his assertion that the ancestors of the Polynesian people probably came from India. Most researchers now believe that the proto-Polynesians came from south China to colonize Southeast Asia including Taiwan, the Philippines Malaysia and Indonesia.

Austronesians are then believed to have migrated in several waves from the Malay archipelago. They traveled by outrigger canoe westward as far as the Seychelles and Madagascar and eastward to the Philippines, the Carolines, the Solomon Islands, Fiji and finally throughout the Pacific, including Hawaii, New Zealand and the Easter Islands.

Current anthropological theory has it that these migrating peoples arrived on and settled the Society Islands or, according to some, the Marqueses or Fiji about 2,000 years

ago. There they developed the Polynesian culture. Later, about 500 A.D., in a series of migrations, they settled the other Polynesian islands like Hawaii, New Zealand and the Easter Islands.

Buck says:

Tahiti, because of its large size and great fertility, came to support the largest population in the Society Islands, and in later times, the political power passed from its original center in Havai'i to Tahiti. Still later, it became the seat of the government of French Oceania, which includes not only the Society Islands, but also the Marquises, Tuamotu, Austral, and Gambier islands. It will be more convenient to allude to the myths and legends of the group as Tahitian than to use the longer term Society Islands.

The headquarters of the Polynesian main body was established in the largest island of the leeward group, named Havai'i after an ancient homeland. From this center, various groups later dispersed to people other islands, taking with them a common basic language, the same foodstuffs and animals, a common religion, and a common cultural background of myth and tradition. Therefore all Polynesian cultures wherever found in the wide spaces of the Polynesian triangle have common elements that can be traced back to a common period of reorganization in central Polynesia. [Buck 1938: 68-69]

They were extremely well traveled. Some unknown heroes are believed to have sailed from the Polynesia to Peru. This is a distance of 4,000 miles with no intermediate island at which to stop for resupply and refitting. They got sweet potato tubers from the Amerindian civilization there and returned. Sweet potatoes then spread throughout Austronesia and beyond.

While archaeologist quibble over the route the proto-Polynesians took to island Polynesia the Chamorros had legends that placed their origins in the south and west.

Francisco García, the biographer of the Rev. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, the Mariana Islands' first official missionary, says of the Chamorros:

Whence came the people of these islands is only surmised, but is not known. Padre Colin in his *India Sacra*, believes that they come from Japan and he makes this seem credible because of their nearness to Japan, the similarity of the people in many ways, especially in the high regard they have for the nobility, despite their own poverty.

They have preserved in their memorized history, which is confused with many fables, a belief that they came from the south or west.

The similarity of the color of their skins, and of their language, coloring the teeth, and their mode of governing, or lack of it, make one suspect that they have the same origin as the Bisayos or Tagalogs.

There are some inhabitants who would trace their history to the Egyptians, according to the reference of Gomara, in his *Historia de las Indias*, as Magellan learned when he came to these islands in 1521. When or how the first people came here is still unknown. It must have been a storm that drove them to such a sterile land. [García 1683: 41-42]

In *The Pacific Islanders*, William Howells presents both of the major modern hypotheses:

Let us first hear pleadings for the Melanesian route, recently most favored by anthropologists. It is logical and direct; and along the northern edge of Melanesia the south equatorial counter-current would help eastward voyages along. It also has the lands necessary for keeping domestic animals and plants. Will language and archaeology support the plea?

I think not. Today's archaeology argues a first settlement at the eastern end of the route, and the linguists agree heartily on the dispersal of Eastern Oceanic (or other versions of such a group) from the New Hebrides. Signs of a migration are absent; indications of "Polynesian" presence in Melanesia, in the westerly Lapita sites are later than those in the east and result from secondary movements to the west. As with the Outliers, they argue that the very places which original Polynesian voyagers should have occupied along the way were in fact not occupied. There is also another more positive point about the supposed way stations through Melanesia. Why was there not more gene exchange with Melanesians, who must have been present in the islands? If we allow for signs of later admixture, as among the Motu, and also for places in the New Hebrides or New Caledonia where, I suggest, the Pre-Polynesians landed in addition to Fiji, there is nothing much left to argue for an original migration. Still more important, in such a series of hops through Melanesia, the ancestral Polynesians would have been the minority party, and modern Polynesians should show a strong Melanesian influence in physique, which they do not.

What about a Micronesian route? It is not in favor with the anthropologists though after all it was not anthropologists who settled Polynesia. It has obstacles, but perhaps no one of them is fatal, and some of the objections have now been greatly reduced. A considerable one is pottery. No Lapita ware — unless the early Marianas Red turns out somehow to be related, not a great chance as far as I know. It can almost be said that no pottery at all has turned up east of the Palau-Marianas line. Coral atolls seem poor places to look for it partly for lack of raw material in the first place and partly because, in many of them, hurricanes might have destroyed old deposits. Nevertheless, three of four shards have been picked up, apparently on different occasions, on Ponape and only time will tell whether they represent a real industry of the past, or trade

contact with the west. And the fact that archaeology was slow to start in Polynesia, and thus slow to upset older misconceptions about things like the absence of pottery east of Tonga. As for Lapita ware, it is missing in Melanesia as well as in Micronesia. excepting in those places which seem to have been reached from its center in the east. [Howells 1973: 253-254]

A bit later Howells continues his argument.

Enough of tedious details and cautionary notes. Here, by way of summing up, is a reconstruction, not free of guesswork. With the peopling of the three major western Micronesian groups [Palau, Yap and the Marianas], the art of seafaring had become good enough to reach other parts of Micronesia, perhaps by accident of storm or bad navigation, but in some cases carrying food and other supplies. If they landed on atolls, such potential colonies were usually abortive. But some of them reached Truk, Ponape, Kusaie and Nauru, with the panoply of food plants (but no pigs), and these fertile volcanic islands were the next thing to Eden for horticulturists. They have been so in recent times. On Kusaie, yams and taros took to growing wild; and on Ponape the raising of large yams became a game of social prestige, a pastime.

The first voyages happened around 200 B.C., perhaps later. The travelers brought an Austronesian language equal in "age," or time of original isolation from others, at least to those now found on Yap, Palau and the Marianas. It was the immediate parent of Proto-Eastern Oceanic and of Proto-Nuclear Micronesian, as well as the aberrant present language of Nauru.

So from 2500 B.C. or after there was a parent colony of Polynesian-like people on one or more of the high islands of the Carolines. Without overpopulation, it is hard to imagine dwellers on a lush place like Kusaie undertaking to adjust themselves to a harsher and more hazardous life on an atoll. With overpopulation, however, on an isolated high island, that is just what they did: applying Goodenough's principle, they learned how to subsist successfully from the reef, and they began to disperse over the atolls in every direction. Some of them, about 1500 B.C., filtered south through the Gilberts into the corner between present Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia speaking Proto-Eastern Oceanic, making Lapita pottery and living mainly on food from reef and shore; they knew how to grow taro but not how to take advantage of the fertile land in places like Fiji and Tonga.

The rest of this particular story is already familiar. After a thousand years on Fiji and Tonga, these Proto-Polynesians filled out their list of food plants afresh, and they also acquired pigs, chickens and dogs, all at the hands of their Melanesian neighbors. Some of them, certified Polynesians at last, funneled eastward through Samoa and beyond, finally curling back through the Ellice Islands on the northwest, where they faced the Micronesian Gilbert Islands across a clear culture difference resulting from fifteen hundred years of separate history. [Howells 1973: 255 & 260]

In an interview conducted for this project, Dr. Hiro Kurashina, archaeologist and director of the Micronesian Area Research Center said, “There are several leading theories that we can follow concerning the peopling of the Pacific, but I prefer Bill Howells’. The current trend in anthropology is to combine more and more human genetics data into archaeology and other aspects of anthropology. On the basis of D.N.A. and other human genetics studies, it is beginning to look like there is a very intimate relationship between the western part of Micronesia and island southeast Asia — particularly the Philippines. By island southeast Asia, I mean Indonesia, the Malay archipelago as well as the Philippine archipelago. Of course, we have to combine this new information with other lines of evidence — linguistics, material culture, legends and so forth. But it is beginning to look, on the basis of recent data on human genetics, that the people of the Marianas may be very closely related to the people of the Philippines.”

In *Man’s Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania*, Peter Bellwood lays out his hypothesis of the Colonization of Micronesia.

The results of all the non-archaeological evidence as known at present therefore suggest the following hypotheses for Micronesian prehistory:

1. Western Micronesia, comprising the Palau and Marianas Islands, was settled directly from Indonesia or the Philippines. The island of Yap is a possible third member of this division.
2. Eastern (Nuclear) Micronesia and Polynesia were settled from a similar region in eastern Melanesia, possibly connected with the Lapita Culture. Items such as fishhooks which they share in common may reflect this common origin, as there are shell hooks and lures in the Lapita Culture (see chapter 9) which were of course unknown to Anell in 1955. However, the possibility of a Japanese origin for Micronesian and Polynesian fishing gear is still open.
- 3- Despite the basic dual origin of the Micronesian cultures, there has been a great deal of contact between all the Micronesian Islands and with those of western Polynesia, as Koch has shown clearly for the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The ‘Yapese Empire’ (see page 106) also, of course, straddles a marked linguistic boundary within Micronesia. (Bellwood 1978: 282)

The prehistory of the Mariana Islands is divided into two distinct phases by default. The Chamorro culture that was present at the time of first European contact has long been known. It is a period that is reasonably well understood and has been systematically investigated. But it came late in the prehistory of the Marianas. It was well underway by about 900 A.D. and continued until the Spanish-Chamorro wars in the 17th century. This period is identified by the stone support pillars with capstones on which some of the principal buildings were built. These foundation pillars are called “latte” stones. The period is also identified by an impressive assemblage that includes the “Marianas Plain” pottery, horticulture, agronomy, the use of interior sites, spear points, and sling stones. Archaeologists have named the period that produced this pattern the Latte period.

“But more and more archaeological investigators are getting uncomfortable with the two-stage Mariana prehistory and trying to find some other way of filling out a transition period or some way of breaking it into other units,” said Richard Davis, Guam’s territorial historic preservation officer, in an interview conducted in 1993.

Although the Prelatte people were colonizers, they apparently colonized uninhabited islands so they were not colonizers in the sense of invaders as we usually use the word.

The Prelatte phase began possibly as early as 4,000 B.C. and concluded between 500 and 900 A.D. It was supplanted by the Latte phase, which began between 500 and 900 A.D. and continued until European conquest in the 17th century.

“The 4,000 B.C. date comes from the Sanvitores Road project where the late Dr. Joyce Bath was in charge of the field work,” Davis said.



Archaeologists are forced to date the end of the Prelatte period and the beginning of the Latte period from 500 to 900 A.D. because there seems to be an overlap or transition phase. In some cases there is a sterile level between the Prelatte and Latte periods. This indicates that the sites were not occupied for a period of about 300 years. Whether the cause of this break was that the Prelatte people who occupied it died off and the site was not attractive to the Latte people, the Prelatte people abandoned it and it was unoccupied for a few hundred years before the Latte people settled it, a storm deposit erased traces of what could have been a continuous habitation site, or a change in the shoreline, there is no way of knowing.

Very little is known about the Prelatte phase of the Mariana prehistory. Anthropologist Laura Thompson made mention of a Prelatte period as early as 1932. But the first solid evidence of the Prelatte period did not come to light until 1950 at the Chalan Piao site on the west coast of Saipan. At this site, a large oyster shell was found associated with pot shards in undisturbed sand beds by Alexander Spoehr. The age of the finds was determined, by carbon 14 dating, to be 1,527 B.C.

But this was apparently not the earliest habitation. In *The Pacific Islanders*, William Howells says:

**At one site where it occurs, Chalan Piao, Spoehr got a radiocarbon date of 1,527 B.C. near the top of these levels, with four feet of occupation deposit lower down. [Howells 1973: 250]**

“This was one of the earliest uses of the radiocarbon dating method,” Davis said, “Alexander Spoehr dated an oyster shell from Chalan Piao, Saipan at about 1,500 B.C. and everybody said ‘Wait, we’ve got a substantial time depth of occupation on these islands!’ That was really an eye-opener when it happened”.

“Of course, since the time of these early radiocarbon dates, the technical aspects of that method have undergone many improvements. We now know that if we are going to date marine shell we have to take into account the fact that the carbon we are dating is older than the atmospheric carbon because the carbon reservoir in the ocean has a different pattern of circulation. So a marine artifact looks older than it really is. How much older is highly variable depending on the marine environment. So we just have to go to each place and compare shell and charcoal and other things until we get a fairly good idea that this species of shell runs so many hundreds of years older than the charcoal in this archipelago. Despite all the technical quibbles that have come up since, the 1,500 B.C. date has held up with a number of other dates on charcoal and other stuff. There were definitely people here by 1,500 B.C.”

Kurashina agrees.

“Russell Clayshulte and I spent several seasons with geologists to understand the formation processes of these early sites. We pursued geological evidence. Our work showed that the deposits that contained radiocarbon dates dating back to about 14 or 15 hundred B.C. were right above the Merizo limestone formation. The Merizo limestone formation has been extremely well dated by a number of radiocarbon dates all over the island. So we are convinced that human habitation occurred shortly after the Merizo limestone formation which was about 1,800 B.C.

“I suspect that the 4,000 B.C. reading is an anomalous date but on that part of the island there is no apparent Merizo formation. That part of Tumon lies on an earlier limestone formation called the Mariana Limestone formation. So we cannot really say

that the deposit lies above the Merizo limestone. Geologically speaking, the 4,000 B.C. date is possible, but I don't know about culturally or archeologically.

"If you look at the archaeology of Melanesia, the northern shore of New Guinea and its coastal islands and if you look at the chronology of human settlement of island southeast Asia, it is plausible that we could push the dates back from 1,500 B.C. toward 2,000 B.C., 3,000 B.C. or even older. We now know that the antiquity of New Guinea, for example, goes back about 20,000 years. So we have tremendous increases in the depth of antiquity now."

"When they settled the Marianas, sometime before 2,000 B.C.," Davis said, "the Prelatte people obviously brought with them a maritime technology. Either accidentally or on purpose (and that is a hot debate), they had to get here on something that floated. But get here they did by 1,500 B.C., at the latest."

"Concerning the Marianas, I personally prefer to take a rather conservative position. I think we can say with confidence that these islands were settled by 1,500 B.C."

That coincides, of course, with Spoehr's findings. Spoehr also laid out the basic chronology of Marianas prehistory.

"Due credit must be given to Spoehr," Kurashina said. "He looked at his finds from both an archaeological and a cultural anthropological standpoint. He did work in both areas; in the ancient culture and in the culture as he found it. It is to Spoehr that we are obliged for formulating the broad chronology of the Prelatte and the Latte phases.

"The reason that the 900 A.D. date is important is that it seems to represent a rather sharp break in technological development.

“Of course, the scheme that was originally introduced by Spoehr has been revised by archaeological reports from our region. But basically the prehistoric chronology of the Marianas was divided into two general periods. Basically Spoehr felt that the ‘blue’ site on Tinian that gave a date of 900 A.D. represented a real break in the prehistoric sequence. That identifies the beginning of the Latte period. The Latte phase is marked by the use of megalithic construction materials,” Kurashina said.

Very little has been written about the Prelatte period because most of the significant discoveries have just recently been, and are now being, made.

“Now we have things popping up,” Kurashina continued, “that no one had any yardstick with which to measure. Material has come up at eight or ten sites. Archaeologists have investigated more than eight Prelatte sites; these have yielded some very exciting material.”

The excavation of Prelatte material from the Ipao and other sites indicates a more advanced technology than previous investigators had suspected. The beads and other decorative objects are carefully and intricately crafted, ranging from a minute bead of less than 1/8 inch in diameter to parts of what are possibly ear pendants and bracelets of various sizes up to more than three inches in diameter. These are from approximately 30 types of artifacts that have been tentatively identified as jewelry forms.

“The presence of this intricately worked jewelry,” said Kurashina, “would seem to indicate that we are dealing with a people who enjoyed considerable leisure.”

The Prelatte people used some rather interesting tools.

“We excavated three distinct Prelatte deposits at Tarague Beach. On that basis, I can tell you what articles we found. First, and perhaps most exciting we found shell

adzes made from *Tridacna maxima*, or giant clam. Actually *maxima* is one of the smaller giant clams. Together with these more common shell adzes we found, other shell adzes that were made on the umbo, or hinge part, of the larger *Tridacna gigus*, a larger giant clam. The thing that is exciting about this is that *gigus* is not native to the waters of the Marianas. Someone had to bring it in. This technological attribute is confined to the Prelatte period. It did not occur in the Latte phase.”

Probably the reason for this absence is the fact that the Latte people used a distinctly superior form of adz.

“In the sites and layers associated with the Latte phase,” Kurashina continued, “we find a peculiar type of basalt adz. To the best of my memory, we did not find any basalt adzes associated with Prelatte sites. It is interesting that in sites associated with the Latte phase we found a number of cylindrical basalt adzes. These are adzes the cross section of which is circular. The distribution of the cylindrical basalt adzes is quite interesting. They are found not only in the Marianas but in the Bonin Islands to the north and even on islands just south of Tokyo Bay. So there is a wide north-south distribution of this fairly peculiar stone adz.”

The Prelatte pottery is primarily shallow plates and dishes. It is smaller and has thinner walls than the more massive and cruder pots of the Latte period. Two major types of Prelatte ceramic ware have been excavated. One is a thin-walled, undecorated type with a curved rim that Spoehr named “Marianas Redware.”

Contemporaneous with this type is another style of pottery that is simple in design, delicate in execution, and precisely decorated with geometric designs. This type of ceramic was given the designation, “lime-filled, impressed tradeware” by Spoehr.

Spoehr based his analysis on a dozen potsherds that he found on Saipan. Since then, numerous fragments of this type have been excavated at various sites. The decorative elements include circles, semicircles, chevrons, diagonal lines, parallel lines, and diamond shapes.

“These decorations were apparently made,” explained Kurashina, “by first incising them into the clay. Lime was rubbed into the grooves. And then the pot was fired. This process forms a white design against the red of the pot. The lime has remained in the grooves of a number of fragments that we have found.

“I am about to publish a monograph that shows the temporal change in pottery shape from Prelatte to Latte. It clearly shows some dynamic changes in the shape of pottery within the Prelatte and into the Latte phase. Basically, what Spoehr called Marianas red was not a singular ceramic tradition. It was more complex — more dynamic. If you look at shape and size, the rim profile, the shape of the base and the decoration around the shoulder and lip of the pot, you notice distinct changes over time. This lime impressed redware seems to be specific to, not really the oldest layer within the Prelatte phase, but to layers that date to between 700 and 1,000 B.C. So this is a time specific pottery tradition that was present in the early parts of the Prelatte phase.”

The Prelatte people very likely brought with them the knowledge of pottery making.

“They brought the technology of producing pottery,” Davis said. “The production of pottery is usually highly associated with horticultural societies. It’s possible, but very unlikely that they invented pottery on their own. Pottery is not very simple. You and I can’t go out there and scoop up a bucket of clay from beside the road and make a pot.

The first twelve dozen times we try we will find that it just doesn't work very well.

There are skills and techniques that have to be learned. You have to know how to select a good clay, how to process that clay, how to shape and mold it, how to prepare it for firing so it doesn't break while you fire it. It's not an easy invention to come by. I don't believe necessarily that people brought pots with them but I think they brought the know-how."

There is a pottery style that is known to have moved through Melanesia and ended up in island Polynesia. It is called Lapita and is strongly associated with the early proto-Polynesian people. If the Marianas redware is related to Lapita, it would support a hypothesis of contact between the Prelatte and the proto-Polynesians.

"Of course, many archaeologists have asked whether the Marianas lime-filled impressed redware is directly or indirectly related to the Lapita pottery south of the equator," said Kurashina. "If it is, this means that there was a north-south cultural contact — that the Marianas had contact with the cultures south of the equator. This contact could be population movement or, perhaps, intermittent trade. I am personally convinced that there was some interaction between the two regions. That is, I think, the best way you can explain it.

"The other way you could explain it is that the Marianas red represents the northern route of a culture moving east and the Lapita represents the southern route of the same culture moving east — both from the so-called Lapita homeland somewhere in island southeast Asia.

"The thing that makes me think that this is the result of north-south contact is the fact that the early pottery here in the Marianas highly resembles pottery that can be found

throughout other islands of southeast Asia — the Philippines and so forth. The incised pottery may well be related to the Lapita pottery that has been attributed to the precursors of the Polynesians.”

Fish hooks and large amounts of midden indicate that the Prelatte people subsisted primarily on fish, shell fish, sea turtles, fruit bats and birds; but probably supplemented this diet with the fruit and vegetables that grew on the islands.

“There was a notable absence of sling stones and spear points in the Prelatte sites. These are artifacts that frequently are found in association with sites of the apparently more warlike Latte people,” Kurashina said.

The archaeological evidence from the Prelatte Marianas provides a picture of a much smaller population than the 40,000 to 100,000 said to have been found in the Marianas at first European contact. The 40 to 100 thousand number is taken from reports of early missionaries. It is in dispute among modern historians who claim that the missionaries were inflating the population of the Marianas to make them more attractive to the Church for procelitization.

On Guam during the Prelatte period, there was, apparently, a series of little enclaves up and down the coast — at Ipao, Tarague, Nomna Bay, Asan, and other sites.

“When we look at the distribution of Prelatte sites,” Kurashina said, “We notice that these sites did not really form continuous coastal settlements. They occupied somewhat isolated beaches. So they were isolated villages. Yet looking at the material culture we notice a tremendous similarity in terms of the morphology of pottery, shell fishhooks, shell adzes and so on. So there was a fair amount of interaction between these villages but as to the social organization we can only speculate.



“We see the Prelatte people at a band level of social development. They were essentially an extended family that hunted, gathered and fished together. They lived in very small villages. But they occupied the most environmentally optimal areas. They occupied the coastal areas frequently at the mouth of a stream, river or a place where there was plenty of fresh water and they could exploit both marine and terrestrial resources. They apparently lived quite well on the abundance of the Marianas and the surrounding waters. The immense amounts of fish bone, shell fish and skeletal material that we have found indicates that they were a very well-adapted people with plenty of food. Their handicrafts indicate that they had plenty of leisure. My subjective interpretation is that they had a very pleasant life.”

Most of the Archaeological community believes that the Prelatte people were organized in familial bands because of the size of excavated settlements. The possible causes for the change from the Prelatte to the Latte forms of social organization fall into three general categories. The first is that the Prelatte people became extinct for some reason and were later replaced by the Latte peoples. This can be discounted due to the 300 to 500 years of apparent overlap.

The second is that the Prelatte people were conquered and extirpated or enslaved by the more warlike and technologically advanced Latte people. In support of the armed conquest explanation are a number of interesting facts. The accouterments of combat, sling stones and spear points, are never found in Prelatte sites but they are common in Latte sites. This indicates that the Latte people were warlike but the Prelatte were not.

There was a severe downgrading in the quality of pottery and other handicrafts from Prelatte to Latte, indicating a loss of technical ability.

A comparison of the decorative and delicate pottery of the Prelatte period with the much cruder and more massive ware of the Latte period might indicate that the Latte people were experiencing a population expansion and felt the need to store large amounts of food.

“The Marianas Plain Pottery looks a lot rougher,” Davis said. “It looks less technically elegant. But it still is not a simple pot to make and it probably owes a good deal of its appearance to the fact that they were trying to make larger storage jars and, with the clay resources here, that is a good way to make large storage jars as opposed to the small plates and flat dishes that were the primary vessels used in the Prelatte period.”

Kurashina agrees:

“Latte period vessels were very large, globular in shape and rough in external appearance compared to the vessels of the Prelatte period,” he said. “But we cannot and should not put our esthetic values on these prehistoric people. For example, I personally find the automobiles built in the ‘50s and ‘60s to be more esthetically pleasing than those built now. We must always consider the possibility that the Latte pots were constructed through some sort of mass production process to serve a more utilitarian purpose. But unless there was some sort of major change in the people and their values, it seems that some people would have continued to manufacture redware just as we, today, have people who maintain the necessary skills to blacksmith and make patchwork quilts by hand.

“If you look at the changes over time in the density of archaeological sites around 900 A.D., there was change that was dramatic. It was fairly sudden. If you look at the Prelatte site distribution pattern and compare it with the Latte phase, you see that there

are many more sites. This indicates a tremendous increase in population density during the Latte phase. There was a dramatic increase in the population size. It's that dramatic increase in population size that forces me to conclude that there was a mass immigration of people into this area around 900 A.D.

"Not only that but if you look at Mariana material culture you notice that there was a sharp break around 900 A.D. For example, although there were internal changes in the ceramic forms within the Prelatte phase, the changes were not really very sudden. They were gradual.

"From Prelatte to Latte the change was dramatic," Kurashina continued. "The change in material culture, for example, the change in the ceramic form and the change in the manufacture of adzes was dramatic. That kind of change, not in only one aspect of the material culture but on several aspects of it, indicates a rather abrupt change, rather than an internal evolution.

"As to the nature of change, it's interesting that I have noticed in digging at Gun Beach, that many of the sling stones are found at the base of the Latte phase occupation layer. This indicates that it is likely that there was some kind of warfare during the early part of the Latte phase. We may be looking at the remnants of some kind of forced immigration [conquest] into these islands," Kurashina concluded.

Davis doesn't like the forced immigration explanation. He prefers the politically correct social evolution hypothesis.

The politically correct social evolution hypothesis is an explanation into which some "experts" have invested considerable emotional energy. When offered the opportunity to present evidence to refute the forced immigration hypothesis, Dr. Rosalind

Hunter-Anderson, of Micronesian Archaeological Research Services, a contract archaeological company, got angry. Anger during an intellectual discussion always indicates that the angry person knows that his argument is weak. Then she resorted to one of the traditional logical fallacies of those with a weak argument. She appealed to authority.

“I went to graduate school for over 10 years and I was studying with the best thinkers about this and I can tell you categorically that these [tribal] societies did not do that [conquer territory],” she said.

Apparently during her studies, Hunter-Anderson did not study the numerous examples of military replacement of one Neolithic culture by another in the archaeological record nor the invasion by the Bantu, the Zulu, the Mongols or any number of Amerindian examples of conquest by tribal cultures. It is true that to do this the invading people must have a technological or numerical advantage over the people they replace but it appears that the Latte people had such advantages over the Prelatte.

In his attempt to refute the forced immigration hypothesis, Davis resorted to another logical fallacy — fashion.

“The two migrations theory was a style of explanation that was very common in the 1930s and the 1940s in the field of anthropology,” he said. “You have people with one set of cultural attributes living here at one time and people with a different set of cultural attributes living here at a later time. There must have been a migration where people with the later attribute set came in from some other place and replaced them. It works as long as you don’t ask where the people with the later attribute set came from.”

Many aspects of the Latte attribute set — sling stones for example — are found throughout Oceania. In fact, the range of their cultural attributes is so extensive in Oceania that they could have come from almost anywhere. But, based on their style of pottery, the Philippines seems a good bet.

There are good reasons to consider other alternatives. Some find the armed conquest idea too pat and a little simplistic.

The Prelatte culture could have been conquered by an idea. The idea could have been either internal or external in origin. It could well be that an increase in population made subsistence at the band level of organization too difficult. The Prelatte people could have evolved from a band level of social organization to a tribal social organization. They could have discovered or imported the concept of horticulture. They could have abandoned the manufacture of decorative ceramics for more utilitarian pots in order to store food and water to support a growing population.

“I remember a report that said, ‘There was a sudden change to the Latte period over 200 years,’” Davis said. “Two hundred years sounds to me like a long time on a human scale. I mean, we are talking probably 10 generations here. But you can still characterize a 200-year transition period as a sudden shift. But the 200 years has grown on us as well. From Michael Graves’ excavations at Asan with the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority project, to others, we are beginning to see from about 200 A.D., an expansion of the coastal sites, an increase in population, the beginning of systematic use of the interior by 300 A.D., with sites gradually creeping up the river valleys and into the hills and the sites on the coast expanding in area and in density of materials through that time period. So it looks like we’ve got a growth of population and expansion into

different ecological niches. This is over a course of about 800 years — from about 200 A.D. to about 1000 A.D. when we really begin to get the first firm associations with real Latte structures. It begins to look more like the people that were already here expanded. And their natural increase was the major impetus toward a lot of the changes in relationship between the people, the land and the sea. This is not to deny that there may have been a lot of transport of ideas and some people from other places coming in. But I really wouldn't see the transition from one way of life to another as necessarily because new people showed up in canoes and took over," Davis said.

There is a basic anthropological concept that one technological system or mode of social organization can supplant another because it has the capability of supplying a necessity in greater abundance. This might well explain the replacement of the Prelatte band organization with the tribal culture of the Latte period. We have excellent examples of this in recent western history. In the mid-18th century we began what is called the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution is only the tail-end of a series of sharp changes that began in the upper Paleolithic period and has not settled down yet. The Industrial Revolution is continuing and making more dramatic changes in human social organization than those caused by the change from band to tribal organization or Prelatte to Latte. Some claim that armed conflict was not a major ingredient in this change — it was more of a collateral effect.

Perhaps, but the Industrial Revolution was primarily a British invention that was exported to the rest of Europe by imitation; to North America and Australia among others by armed conquest; and, it was shared with the rest of the world as the result of force of arms.

There are two primary means of culture change recognized by anthropologists. One is invention and the other is diffusion. Invention is the innovation by an individual or group of a new technology. This includes social technology — a different way of organizing some social activity. Diffusion, or the spread of invention, can be accomplished by trade, migration or conflict. Most social and technological change is the result of a combination of diffusion and invention. People take an idea from somewhere and change it to fit their requirements or preferences.

From an archaeological point of view, when evidence of major changes in numerous aspects of technology and social organization are found within a short span of time, it would probably be safe to assume that all of these innovations were not invented by in situ but rather were brought in or adopted from elsewhere.

The primary means of discriminating between Prelatte and Latte archaeological sites is the presence of Latte stones, difference in pottery types and the presence of sling stones and spears. This indicates that major technological and social changes occurred more or less simultaneously. It is also likely that an increase in population put stress on the land leading to competition with or without invaders. A recognition of the xenophobia that is apparently inherent in *Homo sapiens* — together with the presence of weapons of war in the Latte sites — would lead one to conclude that the Prelatte people did not come to a happy end.

If we knew that the Prelatte people were of a different ethnic stock than the Latte People, we would have strong support for the external origins of the Latte culture. But we don't know. What evidence we have is merely suggestive. In 1985 the remains of 63 People were unearthed during archaeological excavations at Tumon Bay. About 14 of the

burials were associated with the Prelatte. Dr. Michael Pietrusewsky of the University of Hawaii — Manoa analyzed the remains and compared the Prelatte with the Latte. He says:

Unfortunately the sample of Prelatte burials is small (only thirteen are identified in the remains sent to Hawaii). Three of the four child burials from Fujita are Prelatte. There is relatively equal representation of young adult and middle-aged adults in the Prelatte burials while young adults predominate in the Latte burials. The sex ratio is more or less even in both groups.

Given that the remains from Fujita are among the most incomplete and the most fragmentary of the Tumon Bay remains examined in this report, further comparisons between the earlier and later groups of burials from this single locality is not warranted. However, because the summary of observations (metric and non-metric) for this site is based predominately on the Prelatte burials, the data summarized for this site may be taken as largely representing Prelatte burials. In fact, many of the indices are based on a single (and most complete) skeleton which is of Prelatte origin. The remaining internal comparisons will be between the three sets of remains from Tumon Bay. Again, it should be cautioned that the conclusions reached are tentative given the small samples.

#### *Comparisons of the Tumon Bay burials.*

Examining the demographic features of the three samples from Tumon Bay indicates that the majority (7/10) of the Fujita individuals died as children or young adults. This disproportionate number of early deaths is not observed in the other two samples.

A single male skull from Fujita, of Prelatte origin, possesses the greatest dimensions recorded in any of the crania examined from Tumon Bay.

Absence of the rocker jaw condition is highest among the Fujita mandibular remains. There is general uniformity among all three sites with respect to the remaining non-metric features recorded in the mandibles.

The smallest teeth are observed in the Mata'pang sample while the Fujita teeth (both male and female) are among the largest. The incidence of pre-mortem and post-mortem tooth loss among the Mata'pang and ROWA [Right of Way] samples is similar, both are generally greater than the incidence found in the Fujita dentitions. The low frequency of tooth loss in the latter is not surprising given the earlier age of death for the majority of these burials.

Non-metric observations in the teeth from the three sites indicate several marked differences. Fujita teeth exhibit a slightly higher incidence of Carabelli's Cusp [a hereditary fifth cusp on a molar that usually has only four]. The incidence of caries and dental hypoplasia [thinning of the enamel on a tooth that indicates a period of physiological stress, for example illness or malnutrition, while the tooth was erupting] are both highest in the Fujita material. Finally, while the incidence



of betel stained teeth is relatively common in the Matapang and ROWA dental remains, it is completely absent in the dental remains from Fujita.

Examining stature, the tallest individuals are found in the Matapang and ROWA samples although the stature of the Prelatte male burial (B30) from Fujita is estimated to be 174 cm or 5'9".

There are too few observations for comparing the amount of osteoarthritis in the infracranial skeletons from the three sites. However, the incidence of porotic hyperostosis [an increased porosity of the bone in the skull] is highest in the Fujita material. The only case of *cribra orbitalia* [an increased porosity of the bones in the eye orbit.] is recorded in Burial 30, the Prelatte burial from Fujita. Iron deficiency anemia is strongly suspected as the cause of the latter two conditions. Similar observations have been made in other skeletal remains from the Northern Marianas.

Based on these limited comparisons, there is some evidence to suggest that there are differences between the Prelatte and Latte skeletal remains from Tumon Bay. The differences include morphometric, pathological as well as cultural characteristics. [Pietrusewsky 1986: 13-15]

A bit later Pietrusewsky offers his tentative conclusions:

Comparisons between the three skeletal and dental samples excavated at Tumon Bay on Guam suggest possible differences between the earlier (Prelatte) and later (Latte) groups of burials. These differences include the absence of betel stained teeth, a lower incidence of pre-mortem tooth loss, more frequent absence of rocker jaws, larger teeth, slightly shorter stature, higher child mortality and a higher incidence of porotic hyperostosis in the Prelatte remains. [Pietrusewsky 1986: 18]

Perhaps the most important finding in Pietrusewsky's analysis has been overlooked by the archaeological community. Studies of the Prelatte are invariably hampered by the inability of archaeologists to distinguish Prelatte from Latte. It seems that Pietrusewsky has offered a partial solution. Virtually all teeth from adults of the Latte culture were betel-stained while none of those of the Prelatte peoples were so stained. Betel staining would seem to be a strong indicator of this important differentiation.

Diane Trembly M.D., was a physical anthropologist with Paul H. Rosendahl P.H.D. Incorporated, a contract archaeological firm. She has examined the remains of

many prehistoric people. She was very excited when this apparent indicator was pointed out to her.

In 1932, in *Archaeology of the Marianas Islands*, Anthropologist Laura Thompson claims that the lowest social class of the Latte people are the direct descendants of the Prelatte people. She reached this conclusion before any archaeological evidence of a previous culture was discovered.

There is sometimes a tendency to get caught up in arguments over minutia and miss obvious conclusions — to fail to see the forest for the trees. There is nothing mutually exclusive between the hypothesis that Mariana culture evolved and the hypothesis that there was influence from outside. Contrary to popular belief, people rarely invent or adopt a new technology to compensate for population increases. Usually new technologies provide more easily for human needs and permit population increases. New technology could have been invented or introduced by visitors or immigrants. These technologies could have allowed the islands to support a larger population and evolve a more complex social structure. It could have been an idea that conquered the Marianas. But the idea could have been introduced from outside.

“I don’t like ‘Maritime Invaders’ but I do like ‘Maritime Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places,’” Davis said.

Even Davis’ preferred speculation should not be interpreted so as to conclude that the Prelatte people necessarily came to a happy end.

There is a temptation to transpose a simplistic mythical account of the conquest of North America by the British onto Mariana prehistory. Many incorrectly see the Anglo conquest of America in terms of a depopulation and occupation of North America.

But historically, the English did not send armies to depopulate North America then transport massive numbers of people into an unoccupied land. The Jamestown settlers were Maritime Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places. The news they brought was an agricultural and maritime technology and the associated social structure to support much larger numbers of individuals per square mile than the technology and social structure of the indigenous people could.

The Amerindians, particularly those in the Jamestown area were expert horticulturists, hunters and gatherers with an extremely elaborate social structure. Their society provided a quality of life that was in most ways superior to that of the Englishmen and in many ways superior to the present-day American lifestyle. But they faced people from a mercantile capitalist society that was capable of producing its necessities while at the same time growing, shipping and selling a cash crop. The Englishmen were on the cusp of the Industrial Revolution. They could produce iron arrowheads in almost unlimited quantities. Their standard weapon, the longbow, was equivalent to that of the Amerindian. But their society could manufacture two weapons that were unavailable to the Amerindians — the crossbow and the musket. The crossbow is vastly superior in range and accuracy to the longbow. While the musket of the time was slow, unwieldy and inaccurate, it was a harbinger of things to come — things to which the Amerindian cultures would prove unable to adapt.

Always, Bringers of News mix with the indigenous people and their culture mixes with the indigenous culture — usually, to the benefit of both peoples and cultures. One cannot think of a single case of Bringers of News totally extirpating an indigenous people or culture. There is always a blending. Sometimes the Bringers of News are absorbed

into the indigenous culture leaving only minor cultural artifacts; for example the Viking Bringers of News to America. Frequently the Bringers of News end up blending almost equally with the indigenous people and culture; for example the Spanish Bringers of News to Meso and South America. And sometimes the Bringers of News will overwhelm the indigenous culture leaving only minor cultural appendages as remnants of the indigenous people; for example the Anglo Bringers of News to North America and Australia.

But even in the case of the Anglos of North America, this was a slow process. For the first 200 years the Bringers of News were almost totally restricted to the East Coast. During this time, there was considerable sharing of genetic, technological and social material.

If we are to transpose even this worst-case analogy to the Marianas, we would expect that the first Bringers of News came to the Marianas as visitors. A very few stayed but most went home. Gradually the Bringers of News began to bring their families with them and settle. They would have settled in the most desirable locations — on the coastal areas at the mouth of streams. If there were Prelatte people there, they would have been forced to move to less desirable areas — the Latte people had military technology. Gradually, they would have been forced into less and less desirable locations. But at the same time some of them would have mixed with the Latte people. Somehow it is difficult to imagine the unwarlike Prelatte people coming to a happy resolution with the Latte people.

The Latte people, or Chamorros, were present at the time of the first European contact. Therefore, we have a much better understanding of their culture.

If Howells' hypothesis that Polynesia was populated by people moving through Micronesia are correct, it seems likely that the Prelatte people were a remnant of that early proto-Polynesian migration. The Latte people, on the other hand, almost certainly came from the Philippines.

Perhaps, and this is pure speculation, the Prelatte people were the remnant of the outward-bound migration from South China to the Malay archipelago. A boat adrift off the south coast of China would follow the prevailing currents to the line of islands that make up the Marianas and Bonins. Once there, migration to the rest of the archipelago would have been relatively simple. The Latte people could have been people who came to the Mariana Islands in a back-migration from Polynesia.

"We don't see any evidence of that in the linguistics, we don't really see it in the material-cultural inventory in terms of styles of fishhooks and the other technology. Polynesia tends to be a little different from Micronesia. I'm sorry I can't smile on your speculation," Davis said.

The above speculation fits the timeline of proto-Polynesian migration into Southeast Asia about 4,000 years ago, and the rapid spread of Polynesian culture about 2,000 years ago. If they did, the back-migration to Guam was almost certainly via the Philippines. The Austronesians probably recolonized the Philippines after their culture had developed. And there is little doubt that the Latte culture came directly from the Philippines either as the Latte culture or as borrowed attributes that were added to the Prelatte culture as it evolved into the Latte.

Since most of Guam's typhoons come from the Marshall islands the Prelatte people could have come from there. And the explanation could be a mixture of people from both locations.

The Marianas are not usually considered "Polynesian outliers," or islands outside geographic island Polynesia but populated by Polynesian peoples. But the Chamorro people and culture had some striking similarities to those of the Polynesians.

"There are at least two known Polynesian outliers within Micronesia — Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi," Kurashina said. "They are Polynesian because they speak the Polynesian language, their myths and legends their music, their chants are Polynesian. There is a superficial similarity in the appearance of the Chamorro and the Hawaiian. This has been backed up by osteological evidence. If you statistically plot various craniometric data onto hypergeometric space, invariably, Marianans cluster rather closely with Hawaiians."

In other words if you measure the attributes of various parts of the skulls of prehistoric Mariana Islanders, the size, shape and relationship of their skull bones are very similar to those of prehistoric Hawaiians.

The Chamorro language must have been quite similar to those of other areas of Austronesia. There are numerous instances of bilingual people on ships of exploration who spoke an Austronesian language and a European language. They could easily communicate with people throughout Austronesia. Early missionaries found that if they could speak Tagalog, the dominant language of the Philippines, it was very easy to learn Chamorro.

“It is really sad that there is such a paucity of data about the linguistic and ethnic heritage of this region,” Kurashina said.

So why didn't they bring their pigs with them?

Although the Austronesians shared large parts of their culture, food plants and domesticated animals were severely constrained by the geology of the islands that they occupied. Buck says:

Associated with the food plants are the domesticated animals. Here again the zoologists tell us that the pig, dog and fowl found in Polynesia had their home in the Indo-Malayan area. The animals reached America via the Atlantic long after they had found their way to Polynesia. It is significant that none of these three animals was found on coral atolls in Polynesia when first visited by Europeans. There is a Tuamotuan version of the origin of the dog, but this comes from Anaa, which had frequent communication with Tahiti. We must remember that the coconut [and the breadfruit] was carried along by the early settlers and until the plants became established in quantity there was little food on an atoll for pigs and fowls. Dogs could have subsisted on fish or become vegetarians, but their chances of surviving times of drought or famine were small, especially as they could be eaten by their owners. The animals now found on atolls were introduced in post-European times when the coconut trees were numerous and trading schooners brought food from the outside world. Coral atolls thus formed a barrier to the spread of domesticated animals. They must have been relayed along the Melanesian route and passed from Fiji to Samoa. [Buck 1938: 318]

The barrier formed by coral atolls would have effectively prevented the movement of these domesticated animals through the eastern Micronesian islands to the Mariana Islands but it would have placed no restriction of the movement of pigs and dogs from the Philippines.

## Reports of Early Explorers

The handsome Chamorro-Guamanians of today are indebted to their Chamorro ancestors.

Judging from reports of the early explorers, the Chamorros were a physically spectacular race. Hairstyles apparently went through changes during the 150-year period

between the earliest Bringers of News of Europe and the first colonial efforts — the Christianization of the islands.

They are described by Antonio Pigafetta, Ferdinand Magellan's biographer.

These people live in freedom and do as they please because they have no **lord** or superior. And they go naked and some of them wear a beard. They have **long** hair down to the waistline and wear little hats like the people of Albania **which** are made of palm. These people are as tall as we are and well built. They **worship** nothing. When they are born, they are white, then they become tanned. **Their** teeth are black and red. The women also go naked except that they cover **their** nature with a narrow strip, as soft as paper, that comes from the inner bark of **the** palm tree. They are beautiful and delicate and whiter than the men. Their **hair** is thick, loose, very black and so long that it reaches the ground. [Pigafetta 152 1: 200]

The second Spanish visitor to the Marianas was Fray García Jofre de Loaysa, a **mon**astic knight of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. *Fray* is Spanish for Friar. Loaysa was on his way to become the governor of the Moluccas. He died en route but his **exp**edition left several reports. The official log was written by Hernando de la Torre, one of Loaysa's successors. But the best reports were those written by Andrés Urdaneta.

Urdaneta says:

**The** Indians of these islands go about naked; they do not wear a single thing to **cover** themselves. They are well-built men. They wear their hair long, and their **beards** full. [Urdaneta 1526a: 456-457]

In his second report, Urdaneta expands his description:

**The** men have good and hard bodies. They walk around naked in the flesh, **ex**hibiting their natures, the women as well as the men, except that the women **cover** their privy parts in front with some tree leaves in the following manner, by **tying** a string around their waist and from that string they hang the leaf that **sw**ings from side to side in front of their nature. Because sometimes the wind **car**ries away that leaf, they always carry other leaves as spares. Both women **and** men wear their hair very long and loose. They go around continuously **ch**ewing a certain leaf with one acorn [betel nut] and lime all mixed up, which **leaves** their lips red and are good for their gums which they blacken. [Urdaneta 1526b: 465]



In 1585, in his *History of the Kingdom of China*, Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza provided a hand-me-down description of the inhabitants of the Marianas, which emphasizes the strength of the Chamorros:

All these islands are inhabited with white people, of comely faces, like unto those of Europe, but not their bodies, for that they are as big as giants, and of so great force and strength: for one of them has taken two Spaniards of good stature, the one by one foot, and the other by the other, with his hands and has lifted them both from the ground with so great ease, as they had been two children. [Mendoza 1585b: 254]

Francisco García, the biographer of the Rev. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, the Mariana Islands' first official missionary, says of their appearance:

The Marianos are in color a somewhat lighter shade than the Filipinos, larger in stature, more corpulent and robust than Europeans, pleasant and with agreeable faces. They are so fat they appear swollen.

The women wear very long hair and in various ways they bleach it white. They color their teeth black, believing this a great adornment to their beauty. The men do not wear long hair, but shave their heads, leaving only a small topknot on the crown, about the length of a finger.

They remain in good health to an advanced age and it very usual to live ninety or one hundred years, and among those who were baptized during the first year of the Mission, there were more than a hundred twenty persons who were more than one hundred years old. [García 1683: 43]

García's claims about the health and longevity of the Chamorros is not supported by the archaeological evidence.

In an Trembly said, "The life expectancy of these people was relatively short.,

About 40 percent of the remains we have examined are not adult — that's children and adolescents. Of the adults, we don't have very many that appear to be above 50. Mostly they are in their 20s, 30s and 40s."

García then offers a charming description of Chamorro dress:

Their costume is that of a state of innocence, which although the cause of some vices, of fewer than their nudity and barbarity would promise. Only the women cover as much as modesty requires with an apron of tapis [heavy cloth]. [García 1683: 43]

Although García's book is the historical standard, the best account of the Chamorros was written 80 years earlier.

One of the few truly firsthand accounts of the Chamorros, by one who was among them long enough to understand even a little of their life and culture, is that of Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora. Pobre was the first missionary to the Marianas but he was an unofficial missionary. Although he had imperial permission to proselytize the Marianas, the governor of the Philippines refused to permit it. Pobre lived on Rota for seven months after jumping ship in 1602. His account, apparently written in 1603, is written mostly in the third person as a narrative in which he is a character. He uses the additional device of relating the customs of the Chamorros in a conversation between himself and Sancho, a castaway Spaniard who had lived on Guam since the wreck of the *Santa Margarita*, in February 1601. This was probably inspired by a real conversation but there is little doubt that Pobre's knowledge of the Chamorro culture was an important ingredient.

The report is written to the Spaniards and attempts to embarrass them by presenting favorable comparisons between the "savage" Chamorros and the Christian Spaniards. He is almost totally silent about any Chamorro practice that would undermine his point.

Of their appearance and dress Sancho says:

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1603: 14] "First, my brother, as you must have noted all men and women go about completely naked from the day they are born until the day they die." [Pobre

A bit later he says:

"These *indios* are among the most robust, and usually among the strongest, of any yet discovered in either the Orient or the Occident. All are born white but, because they are continually out in the sun and in the water they become

swarthy. They customarily anoint their bodies and hair with coconut oil." [Pobre 1603: 14]

Later he adds information about their dress.

"They are greatly amused by our clothing and our starched ruffs and cuffs. They are so used to going about naked that they are ashamed to cover their bodies with any kind of clothing. Only the females who are more than eight or ten years old wear an appropriate piece of turtle shell or a plant leaf the size of one's hand to cover their nakedness. Although, as I have said, they go about naked, I have never seen any shameful acts committed between them during the daytime. Such things do occur, however, at their dances and other events. Nevertheless, they are not as wicked as Christians dancing that damned and devilish dance of the &.a, [sic] which I do not so much as dare to record here since I do not know what manner of Christian can bear to look at such an immodest and shameful dance." [Pobre 1603: 23]

Notice that early explorers report that the Chamorros bleached their hair yellow.

Consider the description of Fray Martín Rada of the Legazpi expedition:

The women are also very tall and they only wear a string around the thighs and [hanging] from this string a little grass or tree leaves with which they cover their shameful parts; some of them cover them with a mat made of palm leaves. The rest of the body is left completely bare. Both sexes wear their hair loose and long and they gather it at the back of the neck; it is jaundice in color. [Rada 1565: 157-158]

Juan Pobre's Sancho said:

"The men like their hair to be very black; the women, however, have very flaxen hair, which is naturally so since they do not use lye or bleaches to make it blonde, unlike the sad and miserable women in our country who are not content with what God has given them." [Pobre 1603: 14]

Only their hairdressers knew for sure. Obviously Sancho/Pobre has been taken in here.

The women wore their hair long and bleached it probably with lime as people do in other parts of Austronesia. Did Pigafetta not notice that the Chamorras were blonde? That seems a curious oversight. Perhaps there was a change in fashion about this time. If so, does coincidence alone explain this change in hairdo that apparently took place almost simultaneously with first contact with the Spanish or could the Chamorras have been attempting to imitate the visitors?

Another explanation is that hairstyle represented social status. Notice that the **earliest** accounts have both men and women with long black hair. Later accounts have **women** with blonde hair and men with topknots over a shaved head. The shaved head is **believed** to have been the mark of a chief. Perhaps, the bleached hair indicated a high-**ranking** woman.

It is impossible to determine to what extent the physical attractiveness of the **Chamorra** women and the physical superiority of the men effected later events.

Mendoza and Pobre were very impressed with not only the physical strength of **the** Chamorros but with their aquatic prowess as well. Mendoza reports:

I will declare unto you one thing that happened in the presence of many **Spaniards**, the which did cause them greatly to marvel, which is, — there was a **mariner** commanded by the captain of the ship to keep the stern board side and **not** to suffer any of them to enter therein; and being as one amazed to see **canoes** that came thither (the which be small barks or boats made all of one **piece**) one of them dived down under the water, till he came there where the **mariner** was (unmindful of any such matter should happen) and upon a sudden, **without** seeing the other, he snatched his sword out of his hand and went under the **water** again therewith; the mariner made a noise and declared the knavery that **the** islander had done unto him, whereupon there were certain soldiers that **made** their harquebuses ready to shoot at him when he appeared from under the **water**. This islander perceiving it, came forth and swam above the water, **showing** his hands and made signs that he had nothing in them, which was the **occasion** that they did not shoot at him.

So after a while that he had been there resting of himself, he returned and **dived** under the water again and swam so far as he thought that the bullet from the **harquebus** could not reach to hurt him and finding himself in security, he took the **sword** from between his legs whereas he did carry it in secret and began to **flourish** with the same mocking our people whom he had so easily deceived.  
[Mendoza 1585b: 257]

Pobre's Sancho tells of a remarkably similar incident:

**When** the ships pass on their way from New Spain to the Philippine **Islands**, these people go out to them with their usual supply of coconuts, tubers, **water**, **rice** and other miscellaneous agricultural products. They carry everything **possible** because of their great desire for iron, which is more valuable to them than **gold** or silver. In the beginning, their greed for iron was so great that **sometimes**, when a piece was thrown overboard, they would dive after it and

**grab** it before it reached bottom which was at more than 200 fathoms. On one **occasion**, an *Indio* got aboard a ship and began looking about for iron, which he **coveted** with all his heart, like those who covet gold and silver. While he was **looking** around he spied a harquebus, but he pretended to be looking at a **cannon** fastened to the deck. Finally, when he thought no one was watching **him**, as quick as someone throwing a dart — at which these people are highly **skilled** — he threw the harquebus into the water and dived after it. When **everyone** thought that the harquebus had been lost and the *indio* drowned, he **miraculously** surfaced at a distance of a harquebus shot, showing signs of great **glee** and mocking those aboard the ship. [Frequently distances are measured in “**ha** rquebus shots.” The range of the harquebus, a matchlock shoulder fired **cannon**, was approximately 200 yards.]

“What I have just related seems impossible, especially to those who only **hear** the story and who have no concept of the sea or knowledge of any place **other** than Castilla la Vieja. These islanders are expert underwater divers **because**, from the time they are born, they bathe and swim as much under the **water** as above it. [Pobre 1603: 15]

What can we make of these reports?

First it is important to understand that none of these reports was done by a trained **anthropologist** who was intensely interested in the culture he was observing. These were **travelers** transmitting travelers’ tales. They remarked upon things that were unusual **rather** than the common. If a priest dealt primarily with men with a topknots, he reported that **Chamorro** men shaved their heads and wore topknots. If an explorer bought rice from **a** man with black hair down to his waist, he reported that the men wore their black hair **long**. A bit later we will come across an example of a priest who probably observed one **man** being beaten by his wife and, because it seemed so strange, reported it. It was later **transmitted** as a normal occurrence. Obviously, both the Chamorro men and women were **physically** spectacular and attractive, but, as García says some of them were quite fat. **Apparently** some of the women bleached their hair but the antiquity of this custom is **unknown**. It is now believed that most men wore their hair long and their beards full. The **shaved** head with the topknot is believed to be a distinguishing characteristic of the chiefs **or** “*chamorris*.” The men wore nothing at all except a frond hat and occasionally

sandals. Most women probably went naked although some apparently wore a narrow apron of bark, woven fabric or shell on occasion. Sometimes, probably on ceremonial occasions, they are reported to have worn a “grass skirt.” As accessories, they augmented these outfits with garlands of flowers worn in their hair and necklaces of turtle shell or red *Spondylus* (the genus that includes several species of spiny oyster) shells.

“At Gun Beach,” Kurashina said, “we were able to find beads that represented different stages in the manufacture — some completely finished, some partly finished and some in the rough. These beads were made from pink *Spondylus* shell. I have seen similar beads from the ethnographic present in New Guinea. They were designated as a form of currency.

“At the time when Sanvitores was living here,” Kurashina said, “Chamorra women wore these beads around their necks. The beads were considered women’s money. Even today, Palauan women wear women’s money — often just a single bead. And it’s a form of currency worn as an ornament. So these seem to have been more than ornaments.”

Chamorro-Guamanians are very proud of the physical strength of their ancestors. The superiority in size and strength is emphasized in many of their legends. In *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam*, Marvis Warner Van Peenan recounts the legend entitled “The Battle of the Two Chiefs”:

Once in the time of our before time ancestors, there were two chiefs, one of whom was called Malaguana. He was the chief of the town of Tumon. He was very strong, and his skin was dark. One day, in one of his bamboo traps, he found a coconut crab so big and round that he decided to carry it home as a gift to his son, but the crab had other ideas. It escaped and hid in an abandoned crab hole under an ifil tree. The chief’s son was so angry that he pulled the tree up by the roots. The boy was only ten years old, and this was indeed a great

**display** of strength — too mighty a deed, in fact, to please his father who would **permit** no one on the Island to be as strong as he. So Malaguana killed his son.

But the death of his son was in vain, for soon Malaguana began to hear **tales** of the feats of strength of another chief, Gadao, of the village of Inarajan. **Gadao**, it was said, was as strong and as handsome as Malaguana. This **comparison** Malaguana could not bear, so he set out from his village one day **with** the purpose of killing his rival. He arrived at Inarajan at ten o' clock at night, **or so** said the moon, and he met a man cooking fanihi for his supper. Malaguana **stepped** forward and addressed the stranger:

"Where is your chief who is so strong that he can fight with me?"

The other replied casually: "Come, Friend, bring me a coconut, and eat **with** me. Later I will take you to our great chief."

Malaguana obeyed with bad grace and shook the tree with such force that **the** coconuts came down like rain. He picked up the largest coconut and gave it to **the** stranger. The other was not the least intimidated by this display of **strength** on the part of his guest. He took the coconut from Malaguana and, with **one** hand, squeezed it so hard that it pulverized and the husk and the meat fell to **the** earth in such small particles that they appeared like sand.

Upon seeing the prowess of the stranger, Malaguana, who was no fool, **began** to think.

"If this man is so strong," thought he, "how much stronger must his chief **be!**"

So, he spoke aloud and said:

"I have changed my mind, Friend. I shall not fight against your chief **today**. We had better arrange our battle for another day. Will you kindly take me **home** in your canoe which is so big and swift?"

"With pleasure," answered the stranger. Silently, they walked down to the **sea side** by side. They each took an oar and began to row, but alas, they rowed in **opposite** directions, and the canoe broke into two parts. When Malaguana **arrived** at his home, he found that he was rowing only a half of the canoe, and **looking** back, he saw the stranger disappearing around Inarajan rowing the other half **of** the canoe.

And who was the stranger? Surely you have guessed. It was Gadao, the **strong** Chief of Inarajan, himself. And when he arrived at his home, the cave at Inarajan, he wrote the whole story down on the walls where he could read it over **again** and again and laugh silently. [Van Peenan 1945: 13-14]

Archaeological evidence supports the reports of the size and strength of the Chamorro**s**.

**T**rembly has examined the remains of many of Guam's prehistoric people.

"In terms of height, by today's standards they weren't very tall," she said. "But if you **think** back to the height of European in the 16th and 17th centuries, these people

were tall in comparison. The males run between 5'7" to 5'9" with an occasional 5'11".

The females usually run 5'2" to 5'3". Probably in comparison with pre-19th century Europeans, that was tall. If you look at the costumes and armor in the museums you will say 'Gee! that's a small dress!' So I think that in comparison, these people were quite tall.

"But what we notice more in what we can see in the bones is that they were very robust — muscular, stocky people. In the first place, they are big-boned. The girth of the bone is just big. The muscles attach to the bones and we can see the place of attachment of the muscle on the bone. In these people those sites of attachment are really built-up and rugged looking so they must have been very, very muscular people."

Cardiologists would probably approve of the absence of large mammals as well as the rest of the Chamorro diet. Pigafetta said:

Their food is from certain fruits called coconuts and potatoes [yams]. There are birds, bananas, [Pigafetta literally called them "figs one *palma* in length." A *palma* was the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the pinkie; about nine inches] sugarcane and flying fish. [Pigafetta 1521: 200-203]

According to Legazpi's reporter:

This Guam island is high and hilly. It is full of coconut palm groves and other trees all along the seashore. It is thickly populated also including in the valleys where there are rivers. There are many rice fields, and many yams, potatoes, sugar cane, bananas and the latter are the best I have seen because in smell and in taste they have a great advantage over those of New Spain. There is also much ginger. A sample of sulfur rock was found. The highlands are completely bare of bush or trees except in some ravines. No one was found who ate or had any kind of meat, any wild or domestic cattle, any birds whatever except a few turtle doves that they kept in cages; as for the Indians we kept captive on board, they did not wish to eat any meat at all and in the beginning they did not want to eat any of our things. They have fish in quantity which they take with fishhooks and fishnets, some of which are rather large implements. Some people noticed a few times, when the Indians were bartering at the ships, if some fish of any kind swam by the ship, they dove in after it and took it out with their [bare] hands, which is something wonderful to see. [Rada 1565: 164]



Pobre discusses the Chamorro diet in several places. Their favorite fish apparently was the flying fish, but they enjoyed most of the bounty of the sea, with the exception of shark. The high status people did not eat what Pobre calls tough-scaled fish or freshwater fish.

Pobre's Sancho also gives an account of their agriculture and a bit of their food preparation:

"Sometimes when they return early from fishing, or when they do not go fishing at all, they go to the hillside or jungle to see their farm plots where every able-bodied person goes to work. Their most common crops are tubers, of which there are four types (1) some called *piga* [wild taro, *Alocasia macrorrhiza*] are long and acrid; (2) others, shaped like hands and feet are called *dagos* [winged yam, *Dioscorea alata*]; (3) others that are long and white are called *nicas* [edible yam, *Dioscorea esculenta*]; (4) and others that are purplish, hairy and round are called *sune* [taro, *Colocasia esculenta*]. The method they use to cook the tubers and *orima*s [breadfruit, *Artocarpus altilis*], which serves instead of bread and also as gifts for the high-status *indios*, is to bake them as a kind of pie, which they call *tazca* or *tazga*. It would be an endless story to describe it, but at least it is done with less effort than in our country, as you must have noticed during the time you have been with them. [Pobre 1903: 16-17]

A bit later Pobre gives us a recipe for preparing flying fish that was served to the dying Sancho:

They would bake the fish, remove the head and scale part of the body. Then crumble the flesh into small pieces. Next they would grate one of the best coconuts and mix the meat with a bit of salt. This mixture was put on top of the fish and offered to the patient. [Pobre 1603: 30]

García says that their diet was seasonal:

They live during four months of the year on products of the ground, coconuts, which are abundant, bananas, sugar cane, and fish. The remainder of the year, they supplement the lack of fruits with certain roots. The little rice that is grown they save for fiestas. [García 1683: 43]

There are numerous reports of cannibalism throughout Oceania — Melanesia and Polynesia for example.

There is some small evidence of cannibalism in the Marianas. There appear to be no contemporary reports of cannibalism. All the evidence is circumstantial and archaeological. It should be pointed out that cannibalism is very difficult to ascertain from the archaeological record. There are a number of possible explanations for charred human bones. They range from cremation of the dead, accidental death by fire, the inadvertent placement of a fireplace by one generation on the gravesite of another, to the roasting of conspecifics.

Kurashina is ambivalent:

“Again,” he said, “these are very difficult questions to answer with certainty. About three or four years ago there was quite a bit of controversy about prehistoric cannibalism. The conclusion was that it was very difficult to prove human cannibalism. Personally I haven’t seen any evidence of cannibalistic behavior. Yes, it is plausible that it existed here but I’m a scientist and I reserve my judgment until I have proof.”

Obviously, considering the paucity of evidence, if cannibalism existed in prehistoric times it was extremely rare.

Strong drink was unknown to the Chamorros. Garcia says:

**They practice no excesses in eating: they have no wine or other intoxicating liquor which has been a great impediment for the faith in other countries. Their drink is water and their commonest ailment is dropsy. [García 1683: 43]**

The Chamorros lived in well-constructed houses some of which were built on the Latte stones for which the period is named. The first report is from Pigafetta on the Magellan expedition:

**Their houses are made of wood covered with shingles made of banana leaves they are six fathoms wide and have only one story. Their rooms and beds are furnished with woven mats which are made of palm and are very beautiful and laid upon soft and delicate palm straw. [Pigafetta 1521: 202]**

The Legazpi expedition reported:

Their houses are tall, well-built and finished, raised one level above the ground on top of some big stone pillars and upon those they build the granary and have their living room, with rooms and divided areas on either side of the living room. Their sleeping areas are matted like camp beds. As for their high attics where they store their household and personal effects, and the small windows in their rooms, everything is well crafted, something worth seeing because they are made without any tools. These are the houses in which they sleep.

They have other houses, low ones near the ground, where they cook their food, prepare and serve the meals, with attics where the servants sleep. Both types of houses are covered with palm. They have other large houses used as boat sheds, not to live in but used as community halls. They place their large proas and their canoes in the shade there. Each village has one of these sheds. There was one of them where we took our water, very nice with four naves, made in the shape of a cross, that could hold 200 men, 50 in each wing. They were very spacious, wide and high and worth seeing. [Rada 1565: 164]

Pobre's Sancho tells of their building bees:

When their houses are old, or they wish to repair or rebuild them, all the relatives and neighbors in the village gather the necessary materials. On the designated day, they will get together to construct it, even though it may be from the ground up, and within a half day, or two or three days, they will complete the house for him. These are the best houses I have ever seen because they are all built on stone pillars, which the others do not have. Not only will they build their relative or neighbor's house, they will also provide meals for him and for his entire household, as well as for themselves. The situation is that what I do for my relatives and friends they will also do for me. [Pobre 1603: 17-18]

Young, unmarried people lived together in a carefree, sexually permissive existence in the long houses. Concubinage was common until marriage. One can almost hear García's umbrage when he says:

The young men who are called *umitaos*, are very indecent and live in public houses with young girls, whom they buy or rent from their parents for two or three iron hoops and a few turtle shells and this does not prevent the girls from marrying later. Married men are usually content with one wife and do not annoy others. [García 1683: 470]

Louis de Freycinet visited in 1819 — after almost 300 years of Spanish influence. He discusses the sexual mores of the pre-contact Chamorros in greater depth but with similar moral outrage.

Before marriage, the greatest liberty prevailed between people of the two sexes and even in the main villages certain houses were open to ease the lubricious unions. Those houses were called *goma urritaos* (bachelor houses). We have said few words of these shameful establishments. The difference between these and the houses of prostitution that politicians tolerate in our cities is: that where the women of the bordellos are scorned by the public, *goma urritaos* were inhabited by young girls on whom there was no dishonor nor on their parents. Strange! in a country where the obligation of a spouse and the degree to which social control of sexual alliance was so strong. The brother could, without blame, have carnal knowledge of his sister. Very often fathers would sell, without shame, their young daughters to these young libertines if offered an acceptable price. The mothers themselves encouraged their daughters to follow the impulses of their sexual drives; to hurry and sacrifice their purity on the altar of shamelessness. Just as, in France, one is encouraged to go with the family to spend an evening at the concert.

They still have some songs that they used to sing to their daughters that depict only too well the customs of the people with whom we stayed. Here is something of a translation of one song.

Go out, go out my dear girl  
To be eaten by those who are going to take advantage of you.  
Because if you give yourself now, the man will have pleasure  
Because they will be frustrated if they wait too long  
And you will keep them from having a lot of chagrin.  
[Freycinet 1819: 369-370]

There is an important caveat here. As Turner says:

In the nineteenth century, however, there appeared a series of reports by scientists and administrators which throw some light on contemporary native life and history. The accounts of Chamorro custom by Chamisso (1818), Freycinet (1819) and Dumont d'Urville (1828 and 1829) are obtained chiefly from Luis de Torres, the Guam-born descendant of a Spanish navigator, for many years second in rank to the governor in the Marianas. Torres was a lifelong student of Chamorro history and culture. He was also interested in the Caroline Islanders, who visited Guam in 1788, and he arranged for their subsequent settlement in the Marianas. Although Freycinet's data have been quoted frequently in this present work, since many aspects of the ancient culture have been treated only by him, one should bear in mind constantly that his report was not recorded until 1819, 150 years after Spanish conquest. His descriptions of the non-material aspects of Marianas culture are particularly open to question. [Thompson 1945: 5-6]

Juan Pobre does not discuss this aspect of island society. It seems unlikely that in seven months he was ignorant of the practice. Perhaps he did not want to offer his

Christian audience anything about which to feel morally superior. He does, however, offer limited insight into sexual practices:

“Occasionally, Spaniards have inquired of these *bárbaros* whether they engage in any unnatural acts. To this, they have shown repugnance and astonishment and have answered that such things have never been seen nor heard of in any of their islands: nor do they have words to express such things. Furthermore, if any among them were to do such a thing, his relatives would put him to a terrible death.

“In truth, Brother Sancho, these people, whom we call *bárbaros*, are naturally so good in some ways that their conduct will serve as the standard against which the Lord God will judge us all on Judgement Day. Look at what is happening today in many parts of Italy, and even in Spain, sins of which I am guilty myself. [Pobre 1603: 20]

The Chamorros had a matrilineal-matrilocal society in which women inherited property and children were considered to be descended through the mother’s line. But according to Pigafetta, women did not work the land that they inherited:

**They [the women] do not go and work in the fields but they busy themselves at home making cloth and baskets with palm leaves. [Pigafetta 1521: 200]**

As usual, Pobre’s account is more complete and probably more accurate:

“Now, I want to tell you what the women do in the house. They are very skilled at making woven mats, which in Castile are called *esteras*. These are used as mattresses and blankets by both men and women, one is used to sleep on and another as a cover. They use woven mats to fashion various kinds of hats, as tables on which to eat, and as wrappers in which to send presents. Their principal skill and occupation, therefore, is to know how to make woven mats very well. These are made from a tree similar to a low nipa or palm, which they call *nipay*. They also bake in the morning and in the evening, whenever possible.

“As women do in many places in Spain, they work in their garden plots, tilling and planting. The soil, however, is very difficult to till because they do not use hoes or any instruments made of iron which, as I have said, they treasure so highly that they will not allow the metal to touch the ground. Therefore, in order to till the soil they use sticks fashioned from the *palma brava* [palma brava, *Heterospatha elata*] which they call *bonga*. The end of the stick used to till the soil is shaped like a knife that projects to one side or the other of the stick and is three fingers wide and two hands long. With this tool they till and weed their land. [Pobre 1603: 17]

This tool is similar to the *fusiño*, or thrusting hoe — a tool still used in the Marianas. Modern versions of the *fusiño* have an offset blade made iron or steel.

Chamorro society was matrilineal and possibly matrilocal. In a matrilineal society a man is in a relatively weak position in relation to his wife. This is even more the case in matrilineal/matrilocal societies.

García discusses the relative weakness of the male in Chamorro society:

In each family the head is the father or elder relative, but with limited influence. A son as he grows up neither fears or respects his father. In the home it is the woman who rules, and her husband does not dare give an order contrary to her wishes, nor punish the children, for she will turn upon him and beat him. If the wife leaves his house the children go with her, knowing no other father than the next husband their mother may select.

They have no laws whatever. Individual choice governs the behavior of each one. Transgressions are punished by war, if they are of the crowd; by public scorn if they are of the individual.

They do not have many wives nor do they marry relatives, if one can call marriage that which might better be called concubinage for its lack of perpetuity, for they may separate and take another husband or wife at any trifling quarrel. However, if a man abandons his wife it costs him a great deal, for he loses both his property and his children. Women can leave their men without inconvenience, and do so frequently through jealousy, and suspecting their husbands of disloyalty, punish them in many ways. [García 1683: 48]

Although women had tremendous influence and authority in Chamorro culture (as well as in modern Guamanian society), one must not imagine the husband as some sort of subservient creature cowering under the authority of his wife.

Much of what is believed to have been true of the ancient society is derived by ethnographic analogy — the observations made by later anthropologists of more intact similar cultures. Judging from these observations, husbands also had their prerogatives. One of these may have been wife beating. Some island women see a beating as a demonstration of love.

Marshallese women are not expected to stand or walk upright in a room where **men** are sitting. They sometimes go to the extreme of climbing out of a room through a **wi**ndow and entering another room through another window in order to avoid walking **throu**gh a room in which men are seated. In these matrilineal/matrilocal societies, men are **treated** with utmost honor and respect. Formality seems to be a male concern. **Women** must show respect or avoid such settings. As in most societies, the Chamorro **husband** was probably treated with the respect appropriate to his position in society.

While women exerted tremendous influence in every aspect of life, men held **overt** power. Although a woman inherited family property from her mother, it was her **maternal** uncle, brother or son who administered the inheritance. The most influential **males** in the lives of children were their maternal uncles.

Pobre offers a more complete and sensitive report of Chamorro child-rearing **practice**:

The men and women are hard workers, not lazy, and have little regard for **those** who do not work. While they are very young, they make their sons and **daughters** work and teach them to perform their tasks, consequently, the very **young** know how to perform their tasks like their parents because they have been **taught** with great love. So great is their love for their children that it would take a **long** time to describe it and to sing its praises. They never spank them, and they **even** scold them with loving words. When a child is offended and angered by **what** is said to him, he will move a short distance away from his parents and turn **his** back on them, not wanting to face them. They will then toss sand or pebbles **on** the ground behind him and, after he has cried for a little while, one of his **parents** will go to him and, with very tender words, will take him in his arms or **raise** him to his shoulders and carry him back to where the others are gathered. **Then** they will always give him some of their best food and, speaking to him as if **he** were an adult, tell him how he should behave, admonishing him to be good. **With** such great love, these barbarians raise their children, that they, in turn, grow **up** to be obedient and expert in their occupations and skills. [Pobre 1603: 17]

Apparently polyandry — women with more than one mate — was not practiced.

Although polygyny — men with more than one mate — was allowed, it was unusual due

to **the** less powerful position held by the husband. Adultery on the husband's side was a **serious** offense punished by the wife gathering a mob of village women and female **relatives** who would march on the husband's house, burn his crops, and dispossess him of **everything** that was portable. They might then burn the house.

García tells us:

Sometimes the woman who has evidence against her husband calls a **meeting** of all the women of the village, who, wearing hats and armed with **spears** and lances [Putting on hats and taking up weapons (both items of male **dress**) was supposed to give the women male strength with which to deal with the **p**roblem before them], advance on the house of the adulterer, and if he is **growing** crops, they destroy them. They make him come out of the house and **threaten** to run him through with their lances at last driving him away.

At other times, the offended wife punishes her husband by leaving him. **Then** her parents go to the husband's house and carry away everything of value, **not even** leaving a spear, or mat on which to sleep. They leave nothing more **than** the mere shell of the house and sometimes they destroy even that. If a **woman** is untrue to her husband, the latter may kill her lover, but the woman **receives** no punishment. [García 1683: 48-49]

Pobre quotes Sancho with a somewhat different version:

"As I have said, when a man and woman marry and live together in a **house**, although they may have been married twenty or thirty years, if the **husband** is unfaithful to his wife, or takes a mistress, and if it should anger his **wife**, she will leave the house, taking the children and all the household furniture **and effects**, and will go to the house of her parents or of any other relatives, **where** she will remain. During all this time, the children will not acknowledge **their** father, even though he might pass very close to them. Before the wife will **return** to the husband, his relatives will have to go to great lengths and beg her to **do so**. If the wife is unfaithful to the husband, her relatives do not have to go to **such** lengths because it is easier to obtain the husband's pardon since this sin is **considered** less serious for the women than for the men. [Pobre 1603: 21]

Circumstances in which the husband was carried by his wrath to kill the wife as **well** as her lover would lead to a blood feud in which the husband would eventually have to **answer** to his late wife's brothers and uncles. Blood feud was, in fact, the normal **manner** in which justice was meted out.



But every quibble was not settled by the shedding of blood. Pobre's Sancho discussed the penalty for murder:

"When one person kills another, if they are from the same village, the assassin will flee and go of to another island so as to avoid being killed by the victim's relatives. He stays away until his father or his mother, or he himself, removes from their own home a piece of turtle shell, which is the greatest treasure among these people. This shell, measuring one or two *palmas* together with some rice and a large fish, is taken to the father, or to the mother, or to the wife of the deceased and is presented as compensation for the death. Once this has been done, the exile is notified and is free to return and go about the village without fear. Such is the punishment that is imposed. [Pobre 1602: 20]

The Chamorros had a system of government that rivaled their dress in its near nonexistence. Legazpi says with an obvious lack of understanding:

They have no laws or chiefs whom they obey; and therefore everyone goes wherever he wishes. [Legazpi 1565: 138]

It probably seemed to a Spanish sea captain that the Chamorros did as they pleased but there was, in fact, social control. Social control was manifested largely though the class system.

## The Precontact Class System

The Chamorro class system is extremely important to a major thesis of this paper so some detailed attention must be paid to it.

The Chamorros apparently lived in a rigidly stratified society. Traditionally this has been referred to as a caste system but modern anthropologists reserve the word *caste* for the system on the pre-British Indian subcontinent in which every occupation was an inherited position. Class is a better description.

What do we know about the class system of the Chamorros?

Very little really, although Pobre and García both discuss *principales* and **commoners**, they do not describe social stratification. It was first described in detail by **Frey**cinet who, remember, visited in 1819 — after almost 300 years of Spanish influence.

What did Freycinet report?

*Classification of the inhabitants.* — The picture I am trying to draw for you **below** is to demonstrate without further development or explanation, the types of **people** of which the actual population of the Marianas is composed. The **indigenous** people of the islands were divided into three political categories: the **nobles** (*matuas*) semi-nobles (*acha'ots*) and the commoners (*manachangs*).

We must consider that the lower class was not at all like the upper **classes**. They could never move out of the social rank into which they were born. **Navigation** on the sea was absolutely forbidden to them; which explains why the **natives** would always class foreigners who came to these islands as nobles. The *acha'ots* on the other hand were *matuas* deprived of their noble status because **they** had committed some grave offense. They could, after the proper **rehabilitation**, take back their original class. The middle class could be reduced to **the** level of the commoners.

The *matuas*, true chiefs of the country, had under their orders the *acha'ots* and the *manachangs*, and enjoyed certain privileges about which you will learn **later**.

Everyday occupations were dependent upon the individual's class.  
[Freycinet 1819: 364]

**Frey**cinet continues the discussion of social stratification a couple of paragraphs later.

The profession of boat building belonged, by right, to the *matuas*, who **attached** great value to this prerogative, they took extreme pride in demonstrating **their** skill. The *acha'ots* were accepted as helpers in this important work but strict **regulation** forbade the *manachangs* from participating.

The same reservations were placed on the military and the saltwater **fishing** professions; the two privileged classes were the only ones allowed to **participate** in them. All the nobles who lived next to the sea were mariners. In **the** event of a long expedition the warriors of the interior came to join with these **leaders** and would go with them in their boats. [Freycinet 1819: 365]

And later, he adds to this description:

*Occupations.* — We are going to add here a few details which will **complement** those previously given about the social interactions of the **inhabitants**.

The *matua* who lived on the coast had, as we have said, the exclusive **privilege** of open water sailing and saltwater fishing. Each of them was assigned a **certain** area of the sea; he could not fish outside this area without the

permission of the owner of the other area he wanted to fish. They were also the **only** ones allowed to trade with the neighboring islands. The *matuas* in the **interior** were in charge of agriculture and freshwater fishing; to fish in the sea, **they** had to have the express authorization of those whose local position allowed **them** to distribute fishing rights.

Sometimes an *acha'ot* or semi-noble was given the opportunity of **participating** in fishing or farming; although the master that he served only gave **him food**. But the master would expect a gift to compensate him for his kindness.

But it was not the same for the *manachang*, who only had himself to **depend** on and he had to work for no salary. The sort of spite and hate to which he **was** subjected did not allow him to take part in the works that were the prerogative of the upper classes so he was compelled to menial labor. We have **even** seen some of them beg their lords to give them employment. If they are not **hired**, it is their responsibility to find out what they had done to displease the **upper class**.

Invariably attached to a glebe [plot of cultivated land] the *manachang's* **main** occupation was cultivating the fields. He was also used to build the long-**houses** under which the proas were stored, to clean and repair roads, transport **food** during war, and transport necessary material for the construction of houses. In **ge**neral, he was assigned to perform the most unpleasant and painful details.

Saltwater fishing was entirely forbidden. They were only allowed to fish in the **rivers**. The eel and various bottom fish that live in the silt were the only fish **that they** were permitted to catch. These excellent fish were held in horror by the **upper classes**. Even today there is a distaste that is inexplicable to the upper **classes** who, even the modern population where the belief is suppressed, do not **eat eel**. The *manachang* was forced to catch the eels with his hands after **stunning** them with a stick, during the night while someone held a torch. The use of **a fishhooks**, nets or gigs was severely forbidden.

In cooking for their families *matua* and *acha'ot* women would never use **cooking** utensils made by the *manachang*; they preferred to have the *manachang* **make** mats, cradles, and baskets, &c. They would use the utensils made by **these** degraded beings to serve travelers.

There were also certain dishes that they prepared for themselves because **they** were afraid that the food would be soiled by the impure hands of the *manachang*; the cooking of rice, roots and a small number of other foods was **done** only by the upper classes.

The ropes for mooring, the cords for rigging boats, towing or the heavy **braid** used for caulking, braid of various kinds, a multitude of baskets, sacks, **boxes** and cloth that we have listed earlier were the object of everyday work for **the women** of the low class. [Freycinet 1819: 371]

The word *matua* probably comes from *magas taotao* or "ruling people." The word *Acha'ot* probably comes from *Acha Hihot* that means "nearly the same." And the word *manachang* probably means "to fall off." This indicates that the *matua* and *acha'ot*

were nearly equals and the *manachang* were social outcasts. So we see some movement between the upper two classes but the bottom class was apparently quite rigid.

To flesh out the picture, it is necessary to rely on other reporters like Pobre and Garcia who discuss the *Chamorris* at some length and, again, on ethnographic analogy. The “*chamorris*” were kings or chiefs. They were selected from the class of the “*matua*,” who were the brothers, uncles and sons of the principal landowners. They controlled most of the wealth. But the *matua* were not a group of useless nobles. All of the most prestigious occupations were reserved for them. They were the warriors, sailors (navigators), fishermen, canoe builders, and traders. The middle class, a lesser nobility called the “*acha'ot*,” were usually closely related to the *matua*. They had almost the same privileges as their kin and were allowed to assist in the privileged occupations. For convenience one can consider the *matua* and the *acha'ot* two subclasses of a single class. The *manachang* were, at best, the working class.

Many authorities have referred to the *manachang* as slaves. This is questionable.

Juan Pobre was certain that they were not slaves. He says:

“They do not use slaves to farm the land, instead they have *criados* [*indentured servants*] whom they treat very well. They consider the people who *live* in the jungles and hills to be of lower status and they call them *manachangs*. *These*, in turn, have great respect for the *principales* who live on the beaches, so *much* so that, without permission, they will not go near the houses nor their *funeas* [boats]. [Pobre 1603: 21]

*They* were probably not bond servants in the sense of chattel. But, based on Freycinet’s *account*, they may have been serfs — workers attached immutably to the land.

Remember, the only evidence we have that they were serfs was given by a *Frenchman* raised in a feudal society. He was a nobleman — a gentleman. There is *really* no way of knowing the rigidity of Chamorro social stratification. For example,

was the *manachang* a serf (invariably attached to the cultivated land) or, in this period immediately following the French Revolution, did Freycinet assume that serfdom was in the “natural order of things?” Or, if they were serfs, could the *manachang* have been reduced from workers to serfs due to the influence of the Spanish? We really have no way of knowing.

Juan Pobre, who is obviously our best informant, is also unclear. The word he uses, *criado*, means an indentured servant or a servant transported to the colonies in return for a certain number of years free labor. Marjorie Driver, Pobre’s translator, is of the opinion that he may mean a servant raised by the family. But the precise status is unclear.

By ethnographic analogy we might compare the *manachang* to the workers on some of the other islands with a similar class system. We would have to conclude that they were probably not bond servants in the truest sense of the word. They could probably stop working. Perhaps, they could leave and work for someone else. They might even have had a custom similar to the “t’am” of Yap, in which the workers of the villages can ask the landlord for whatever they want. It’s considered polite to slip the word to the landlord before the ceremony so he can be prepared. But they can ask for a truck or an outboard motor or anything and he is expected to go out and buy it.

According to the reports of the French and Spanish, the *manachang* social barrier was rigid. They were segregated from the rest of society and their lives were completely governed by taboos and social restrictions. The *manachang* were not allowed to participate in any of the prestigious occupations, and were allowed to fish only in freshwater streams. They were not allowed to eat in the presence of the nobility or to

approach them too closely. Conversation was conducted at a respectful distance.

Intermarriage was, according to all reports, forbidden. In the event that parental and social pressure could not dissuade a star-crossed couple, the young man would be put to death. As García says:

For nothing in the world would one of their chiefs, called *chamorris*, marry the daughter of a plebeian even if she were very rich and he very poor. Formerly parents killed sons who married daughters of low class families. [García 1683: 45]

It follows that if the woman were of the *matua* and the man of a lesser class, it would still be the young man who had to die.

There is a cliff just north of Tumon Beach and is called “*Punta Dos Amantes*” or “Two Lovers Point.” It associated with a legend.

Once in the time of the Spaniards, as legends about Guam’s Spanish period begin, there was a beautiful girl whose parents wanted her to marry a Spanish captain. The girl, however, was in love with a handsome local boy whom she met secretly.

Eventually the captain asked the girl’s father for her hand in marriage. Over his daughter’s objections, the father agreed. On the eve of the marriage, the girl eloped with **her** true love. Of course, the jilted captain sent his soldiers out to track them down.

The couple fled to Tumon Bay. As the posse drew nearer, the two were forced to **the** tip of the peninsula. When the lovers sighted the pursuers, they tied their hair **together** and jumped off the cliff. According to some versions, they were never seen **again**. According to others, they sometimes can be heard singing when the wind blows. **And**, according to another version, they were transformed into dolphins and swam off **together**.

Although this is reported as a legend from the Spanish era, the magical transformation of the couple into dolphins might indicate a much older origin as part of a creation myth. It is worth considering that the original lovers in the “Two Lovers Point Legend” were of different classes.

It is a truly wonderful feeling to have one’s speculations borne out. In Freycinet:

Long ago, although it was permitted for a man to have concubines, all **taken** from the class to which he belonged, he could have only one wife. It was **severely** forbidden to nobles, not only to marry themselves to *manachang* girls **but** to take concubines from among them. One can cite, for example, an **example** of an infraction to this rule: In this case, the *matua* who was guilty took **care** to hide his indiscretion from his family, who if they had known would have **killed** him. Truly, the delinquent person, in order to avoid the consequences had **the** choice of withdrawing from his class and becoming an *acha’ot* in another **village**. It must be pointed out, however, that the *manachang* girl would have **received** no punishment. We have been told that since the arrival of the Spanish on Guam, a *Matua* of the village of Gnaton, [Apparently this is a variant spelling of *Naton*. There is no longer a village by that name but, in 1944, there was a Naton Beach on the north west coast near Haputo point.] having fallen in love **with** a young *manachang* girl, ran away with her but could not find shelter in any of **the** villages because he refused to let her go. Pursued by the young man’s **parents**, the two lovers wandered; living for a while in the most inaccessible **woods** and rocks. They had an existence so precarious that they were reduced to **despair**. Determined to put an end to their situation, they built a stone cairn **into** which they placed their child — the sad fruit of their love. Then, lost and **bewildered**, they climbed to the top of a very high rock which is chiseled sharply **beside** the sea. There, they tied their hair together, embraced and jumped into **the sea**. This cape has been named in Spanish *Cabo de los Amantes* (Two Lover’s Point). [Freycinet 1819: 368]

Freycinet is kind enough to offer insight into the courtesy required of the *manachang*:

A *manachang* would never walk in front of a noble or *matua* with his head held **high**. He would bow down so low that he would almost be on hands and **knees**. On the other hand, a *matua* would have degraded himself by remaining **seated** in front of his inferior. The *manachang* did not have to practice such **humiliating** behavior toward the *acha’ot*. [Freycinet 1819: 377]

There is probably no way to determine, for certain, whether the *matua* could marry **an** *acha’ot* or whether it was only the *manachang* who were untouchable. But

García's claim that a *chamorri* would not marry even a rich commoner suggests that he is ~~not~~ referring only to the *manachang*. It seems extremely unlikely that a *manachang* could be wealthy.

Even under these restrictions, Charles Beardsley, the author of *Guam Past and Present*, says:

**Slaves** in the society were actually menial servants and were probably better off **under** this system than they would have been in almost any other aboriginal **civilization** one can think of. [Beardsley 1964: 64]

Could the *manachang* have been the descendants of the Prelatte people?

There are reported physiological differences between the *manachang* and the **other** classes. Whether these differences were racial, or dietary is uncertain. Thompson says :

The above evidence suggests that the lowest class were descendants of the **aborigines** of the Marianas, reduced to a depressed caste by immigrant **maritime** warriors, who established themselves in prehistoric times in a position of **dominance**. Their short stature, in contrast to that of the nobles, may be **indicative** of malnutrition due to a low standard of living rather than a marked **difference** in racial type. [Thompson 1937, 14]

With current data it is impossible to determine with certainty the population **history** of the Marianas. But the future may answer at least some of our questions.

“I have the feeling that the study of D.N.A. might someday tell us about the **population** history,” Kurashina said. “D.N.A. studies are now being applied to the **understanding** of the population history in other parts of the world. So we might possibly **be able to** apply that kind of methodology into the population variance of Guam and the **Marianas**. We might someday be able to answer these questions.

“We know that the Chamorro society was a stratified society. That stratification could **have** been caused by two migrations. The absolute social strictures against sexual



contact between the *manachang* and the two higher classes could be an attempt at maintaining the ethnic purity of bloodlines.”

Although the chiefs enjoyed considerable privilege and influence, Chamorro society never felt any need for a central government.

Of their religion and government I do not know what to say. It is better that I say they are a people without God, without king, without law and without common courtesies. Neither the islands in general nor the villages in particular have chiefs who govern more than their immediate vicinity. Only the principals live like princes, forming in each village a kind of republic in which opinions are exchanged but each one does as he wishes if no stronger man prevents it. [García 1683: 48]

As usual Pobre offers a more likely and sympathetic view of Chamorro social interaction:

“Punishment is not imposed, nor are the *indios* knowledgeable of any form of it so as to impose it. There are, however, one, two or three leading citizens in each village to whom they show degrees of respect. For example, when one of them returns from fishing, they will remove his boat from the water for him, or when he returns from the farm they will carry things in their hands or on their shoulders for him. The people of the village who first meet these leaders will take from them whatever they are carrying and carry it themselves. They also show respect for them at their *juntas*, or gatherings, where they are given the first and best places, and at their banquets, where they receive the first and best food. The same is done for their wives. These leading citizens, or *indios principales* are called *magaraies* or *macaraies*. [In modern Chamorro, the word has evolved into *magalahi* — the highest ranking. A term applied to the governor, a mayor, or a magistrate.] On some islands, this same respect is shown to the old people even though they may not hold as high status as the other leaders. [Pobre 1603: 20]

A bit later he continues:

Whenever they happen to meet, they are courteous to one another. If they are wearing woven hats, they take them off; then they share their wads of betel leaf, nut, and lime, which they call *sauos*, and which they always carry in small well-made baskets. Should one meet another after his supply has been consumed, he will offer his good will and show him his little empty basket, thereby giving him to understand that it is all gone because he has shared it with many others. The other person will then offer the betel wad: if he has none he will do the same as the first person. [Pobre 1603: 21]

Apparently, the Chamorros never felt the need to unite under a sovereign. Beardsley says:

In fact, a king would probably have lost his crown if he had tried to pull the tiny provincial sectors of his empire into unity. Nobles, commoners, and slaves did not mind bending to the social arbiters of Agaña, but a king would probably not have met with the same deference. Custom was accepted because it was amusing and interesting to follow. Sublime right might well have been another matter altogether. [Beardsley 1964: 84]

Ancient Chamorro religion did not have an organized priesthood. It had no temples or defined creed. It had a sophisticated mythology populated with supernatural beings, which were a powerful influence in the lives of the people. Each individual was believed to have an immortal soul called an "*aniti*." At death, the *aniti* of those who died a violent death were believed to go to the dwelling place of Chaifi where they were cooked. It was the manner of death that was important. Good and evil had nothing to do with it. Good was believed to be its own reward in this life, as was evil. The *aniti* of one who died a tranquil natural death was captured by placing a basket over the head of the deceased. It was housed in the basket, which was placed in a prominent place in the home. It was free to travel to an underworld paradise filled with good things to eat, flowers and other earthly pleasures. The *aniti* would frequently visit its basket dwelling where it could cause harm or benefit.

The *aniti* of the departed were viewed more with dread than with veneration. A practice of ancestor worship sprang up around these beliefs. It expressed itself with the keeping of the polished skulls of ancestors in the home. García explains the practice:

They recognize the immortality of the soul, and speak of an inferno and of a paradise, to which go the souls of men of more or less merit, according to whether they have died a natural or a violent death. Those who die of violence, they say, go to the inferno or Sasalaguan or the house of Chaifi, who is a demon, and has a cauldron in which he cooks them, stirring them continually.

Those who die a natural death go to another place under the earth, which is their paradise, where there are bananas, coconuts, sugar cane and other fruits of the earth.

There is not found among them either sect or shadow of religion, nor priests of any kind. There are only some impostors who set themselves up as prophets, called *makahnas*, who promise health, good fishing and similar benefits by means of invoking the dead whose skulls they keep in their houses with no altar, niche, or adornment except a basket in which they are left about the house, forgotten until the time comes when they want to ask some favor of the *aniti*. But recently, I believe because of an idolatrous Chinese who was cast up here in a storm, and of whom we shall speak farther on, some have now a kind of veneration for the skulls and bones of the defunct and they carve and paint them on the bark of trees. [García 1683: 50-51]

There is some ambiguity here. If García is claiming that the practice of carving and painting the skulls and bones is new, he may be right. But if he is claiming that the veneration and collecting of the skulls is new, his claim is incorrect. Reports of this practice date from the Loaysa expedition in 1526, well before the arrival of Choco, the “idolatrous Chinese” of whom García speaks, in 1648.

There is ample archaeological evidence of this practice predating Choco. In addition, the practice of ancestor worship and preserving of the skulls, is not uncommon on other Pacific islands.

Kurashina said, “We have found numerous headless skeletons. We have found isolated skulls. These finds have been dated well before Choco. So there is ample archaeological evidence to support the antiquity of this custom.”

In *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* Burney reports the findings of the Loaysa expedition:

These people worship the skulls of their fathers and grand-parents; such skulls they dig out of the ground as soon as they have lost their flesh, then anoint them with oil and keep them in their houses in order to worship them. [Urdaneta 1526b: 465]

As usual, Pobre gives a much more detailed and sympathetic account of

Chamorro religious custom:

"I am happy to tell you what I know. As far as worship among them is concerned, as in the case of punishment, inasmuch as they have neither king nor castle, it follows that they have neither law of any kind nor idols to worship. Apparently, the one thing for which they have high regard are the skulls of their ancestors, especially those of their parents and grandparents. Many of these are kept in a high place inside their houses and, toward them they make a kind of bowing gesture, thereby showing them a degree of respect. For this reason, some say they use *fotoques* [statues of saints.] and idols. The fact is they do not use them. Rather, they revere ancestral locations. While the man goes fishing, he will leave someone in charge who is more given to such ceremonies, such as his wife, his sons or his daughters, or his *criados* [servants] so that while he is away, no one will go up to where the skulls are. Otherwise, the dead, whom they call *antis*, will become angry, which means he will drown, or he will not catch fish, or he will be unsuccessful in whatever he turns his hand to. Therefore, he will try to keep anyone, even members of his household, from going up to where the *antis* and the skulls are kept until he returns from fishing. At that time, he first carries up his fish, then he removes the skulls from the little boxlike cases and sets them in front of the fish and, while performing certain ceremonies, he offers them the flying fish that he has caught. He speaks to them very softly so that no one can hear what he says. When he has caught a large fish, such as a blue marlin or a mahimahi, or a turtle, or a *parbo*, which they call *taga* [snapper, "tagafen saddok," red snapper "tagafi"], he offers it to the skull. Then he puts the oldest skull on top of the others, then he removes it, and places it on top of whatever he has caught. Then the relatives and closest neighbors are summoned and they make a fiesta for their skulls, drinking ground rice mixed with water or with grated coconut milk. They then make signs and perform ceremonies, as if inviting the old skull to eat. Then, they begin to sing very loudly, as if giving thanks to the fisherman. They tell him, 'you are much beloved, this head loves you very much. This skull loves you dearly because he has made you very lucky in fishing and he honors you so much.'" [Pobre 1603: 22]

The Chamorros had an informal priesthood, of sorts, in the *makahnas*. The *makahnas* were conjurers, mediums and medicine men. They supposedly had supernatural power and were able to contact the *aniti* of the dead. How they came by these powers, whether they were apprenticed to medicine men, appointed by the people, or were self-appointed is unknown, but that they had considerable influence is certain. Garcia's continuation on this subject is heavily colored by his religious beliefs.



**The makahnas** like all the bonzes or priests of India, look out for their own interests, and not for the well being of the living in the invocation of the dead, of whom **they** know nothing can be expected; and if they invoke the dead honestly it is not to obtain favors but to placate them so they will do them no harm. Because the devil, in order to maintain this respect and servile fear, is accustomed to appear to them in the forms of their ancestors to frighten them. This is **the** most that Satan has been able to do to these poor *Marianos*. There are no temples nor sacrifices, no idols or profession of any sect whatever, a thing that will facilitate greatly the introduction of the Faith, for it is easier to introduce religion where there is none than to cast one out in order to introduce another. [García 1683: 51]

**Pobre**, as a good Christian, is not about to say anything good about the Chamorro religion but he must say something so he has Sancho say:

“There are among them some *indios* that are called *makahnas*, which means a man who can heal, who can make it rain, and who knows what the future holds. These *makahnas* have many skulls in their houses and are more wont to talk with them than are other people. When the people of the village need water for their farmlands, they beseech these *makahnas* to make it rain. The latter offer prayers and then report that they have done so. They are then given presents which are joyfully received. So that the other *indios* will know that they have the power to make it rain. they will remove some of the skulls that they talk with and will bury them for two or three days before the conjunction of the moon. Ordinarily, it is damp and rainy at that time, but the *bárbaros* believe that the *indio makahna* has caused it to come about. Although he sometimes makes mistakes — more often than not — when occasionally he is successful, they are very impressed with him and, because of this, they give him many presents, which they like very much to do. I, however, am not impressed. Being fond of giving presents, they will share their food anywhere. Very few will deny food to others. The devil seeks the downfall of all men and, although he has all these *bárbaros* under his banner, he also tries to deceive them with his tricks and schemes. He appears to some *indios*, especially to these *makahnas* who are most intimate with him, in the guise of one of their ancestors whose skull the *makahna* has in his house and, because he has not performed well the ceremonies that the devil has required of him, the devil abuses them often leaving them weak and exhausted. At times he threatens them by saying ‘because you do not see to it that I am respected and because you do not respect the skulls and because you permit people to go up into your house, I will make sure that you drown. Do not go out to fish today or tomorrow because your boat will capsize. You will not be lucky fishing, nor in your plantings, because you have not done what I have commanded you to do.’ Then, between eleven and twelve o’clock at night, they will usually go about the village raving and shouting. The *indios* who have been awakened then recognize the illness that has struck the ill-fated one. From that time on, this poor person is held in low esteem because the people will say that the *aniti*, which is the skull, is treating

him so badly because he did not carry out satisfactorily whatever he had been commanded to do. In order to shame him, they will tell him, 'Go, go away. This has happened to you because you did not do well what you had been told to do.' He is so offended by this that he will return to his house and will not leave for more than 10 days because he is ashamed to be seen." [Pobre 1603: 22-23]

Freycinet expands García's and Sancho's discussions:

In the first rank, one must place the *makahnas*, sorcerers, they had the power of a priest. Below them there were medicine men or rather medicine women, *eamtis*; because almost all of them were of the feminine sex [here Freycinet observes in a footnote that in medieval Europe the women and maidens of high birth used to learn the art of amputating and operating to be useful to their fathers, husbands or male family members who were always exposed to the danger of being wounded in combat and tournaments.] These ladies were from all three classes. Each class had practitioners who specialized in curing each illness: so the diverse branches of sickness or accident that afflict the human species, dislocation or fracture of limbs, wounds, fevers, dysenteries, indigestion, colds, &c. &c., were treated by the obvious specialist called for to assist on the occasion. As far as the practice of assisting in giving birth, it was exclusively done by women. [Freycinet 1819: 364]

Closely related to religion in most cultures are funerary practices. García offers probably the best contemporary description of Chamorro death rituals.

With all this, the *Marianos* have certain superstitions, especially when they are fishing, at which time they observe silence and great abstinence, either for fear of or to flatter, the *antis*, which are the souls of their grandparents, so they will not punish them by keeping the fish away or by frightening them in their dreams. They are very credulous. Some, when a man is about to die, place a basket at his head as if inviting him to remain with them in the basket instead of the body he has inhabited and to show him that he will have a place to stay whenever he returns from the other world to pay them a visit.

Others, after anointing a corpse with fragrant oil, carry it about to the homes of relatives in order that the soul may remain in whichever house it chooses, or that it may when it returns to visit them, find refuge in the house of its choice.

Their demonstrations of grief at funerals are very singular; many tears, fasting and a great clattering of shells. Weeping customarily continues for six or eight days, according to their affections or obligation towards the departed. They spend this time singing lugubrious songs, giving parties around the catafalque on which they have placed the defunct, adorned with flowers, palms, shells and other things they consider suitable.

Their demonstrations are much greater when one of their principals dies, or a Chamorro of the upper class, or a highly esteemed matron. Then, in addition to the usual observation, they decorate the streets with palms, erect

ches **and** other funereal structures; they destroy coconut trees, burn houses, **break up** their boats and hang the torn sails in front of their houses as a sign of grief. **They** add to their songs more verses setting forth their grief, amid the refuse **weeping** with such expressions as "From now on life will be more difficult, **lacking** that one who was the life of all, lacking the sun, the moon that **terminated** the night of ignorance, the star of all good fortune, the bravery of all battles, **the** honor of his line, his village and his country." And in this manner until **into the** night, the praise continues in honor of the dead man, whose **bulcher** is decorated with oars, as the sign of a great fisherman, or with lances **signify** that he was a brave warrior, or with both if he was both warrior and **erman**. [García 1683: 52]

**The** Chamorros were fiercely competitive. According to Mendoza, war was an **ect of** the Chamorro lack of a central government:

**In** all these islands there is not as yet known neither king nor lord, whom **rest** should obey; which is the occasion that every one do live as he likes and **is** pleasure. These islands were wont to have war the one with the other **en** **occasion** did force them. [Mendoza 1585b: 255]

**quently** minor slights or arguments over precedence would lead to war. Their

**apons** were simple but deadly. Pigafetta said:

**ese** people do not have weapons but they use sticks which have a fish bone at **tip**. [Pigafetta 1521: 202]

Loaysa agrees:

**ey** do not own tools made of iron. They work wood with flints [The Spanish **pedernal** can also be translated "stone tools."]. They have no weapons **er** **than** slings and some fire-hardened sticks whose tips are made from the **bones** of dead men and from fish bones. [Urdaneta 1526a: 457]

Mendoza also remarked on their arsenal:

**weapons** which they do use are slings, and darts hardened in the fire, and **both** the one and the other very expert throwers. [Mendoza 1585b: 254]

**The** Chamorro use of human bones for spear points is supported by archaeological **ence**.



“**We** have found numerous skeletal remains with missing limbs.” Kurashina said.

It is not **only** the human thigh bones that were used for the construction of spear points.

In fact, **sometimes** the tibia was used.”

“**I** can certainly verify that we have bone tools that were made from human bone; **specially** the harpoon points,” Trembly said. “The human femur and tibia gives a **greater length** of straight dense bone than they could get anyplace else. We can identify **human** bone because of this. And also in the burial sites the leg bones are frequently **missing**. The body will be there more or less intact; hands and feet, even the kneecaps **will still** be there but the long bones in between will be gone. I tend to think that in the **case of Guam** this was done well after the flesh had decomposed. Now in Hawaii we **sometimes** found bodies where sections were cut out of the limb but the part that **articulates** in the pelvis would be cut off and the bottom part of the bone would still be **there so** they had cut in and just taken the shaft of the bone. So that looks like they cut **off the** flesh.”

Their physical strength and toughness could make them fierce warriors. Pigafetta

s:

When our people wounded any of the islanders with their [crossbow] **arrows**, (of which weapon they had no conception), and chanced to pierce them **enough**, the unfortunate sufferers endeavored to draw out these arrows from **their** bodies, now by one end, now by another; after which they looked at them **in** **astonishment**, and sometimes died of their wounds, a circumstance that did **not fail** to excite our pity. [Pigafetta 1521b: 195]

**People** frequently misunderstand the element of sport or playfulness in Chamorro

**care**. Legazpi was impressed with their courage and pragmatism:

**With**standing that some of the natives on land were shot down [by the **Spaniards**], the others did not discontinue trading with our ships; but rather those **on the** ships after they had sold their goods, went ashore in their canoes and **there** **with** their hardened clubs, stones, and slings (which comprise their

**weapons**, and which they manage very skillfully) they took the place of those who were **fighting**, and those who were fighting embarked in the canoes and came also to **the ships** to trade. [Legazpi 1565: 138]

García working from Sanvitores' writings gives a more comprehensive account of Chamorro warfare but mistakes the recreational aspect of it for cowardice:

**They** are barbarous warriors, quick to anger and easily calmed, laggards in **fighting**, quick to flee. One village rises against another with a big hurrah, but without a leader, without order and without discipline. They are customarily on a campaign several days without actually meeting in battle, each group observing the movements of the other, and when they arrive at the moment of battle, peace is quickly adjusted, for one side, having lost two or three warriors, gives up the fight and sends messengers to the enemy bearing the shell of a turtle as a sign of submission. The winners celebrate the victory with satirical songs in which they **praise** themselves and make fun of the losers.

**Their arms** are stones and lances with points of human bones in place of metal. These are made of three or four sharp tines, which, puncturing the flesh, break off, causing certain death. No remedy for this has been found although it was **tried** in Mexico by a group of doctors.

**They** use these weapons from boyhood and are very skillful in handling them; moreover, they can throw stones from a sling with such dexterity and strength that they are able to drive them into the trunk of a tree. They do not use bow and arrow, nor sword. They have only a kind of cutlass and some knives obtained from our ships in exchange for fruits. They have never had buckler or other means of defense, depending only on their quick movements to escape the blows of an adversary. [García 1683: 46]

Death by accident, homicide or war was apparently relatively rare judging by the archaeological evidence.

"In general, the skeletal evidence of trauma of any kind is quite low," Trembly said. "**I** previously worked in Hawaii and I have noticed the difference. In comparison to Hawaii, we find very few fractured bones here or other kinds of evidence of trauma that would show up on bones. I've been quite surprised.

"We find an occasional head injury that could have been caused by a sling stone. I think we have found three. Now that's three out of hundreds of skulls we have seen here."

**This** might be the result of the Chamorro belief that only those who died a natural death **would** experience an afterlife. If those who were killed or died by accident were unceremoniously disposed of at sea or left to decompose on the surface, there would be very little evidence of trauma.

Archaeological finds also support García's report of the practice of the arts of war by children.

"We have found sling stones made from unbaked clay in numerous places," Kurashina said. "We have several excellent examples. They are smaller and could easily have been used by children. So the techniques of warfare may well have been practiced by children."

In addition to war, the Chamorros enjoyed athletic contests and debating. Of their recreation, García reports:

They are natural gamblers, fond of amusement and of *fiestas*. The men meet to dance, throw lances, run, jump and exercise their strength in many ways. During these entertainments they recount with much laughter, their traditions and stories, and give out as refreshments rolls of boiled rice, fish, and fruits, and a drink made of atole, rice and grated coconut.

The women have their own special fiestas, at which they adorn themselves with wreaths of flowers or shells, pendants of beads made from small pink shells which they value as much as we do pearls. They also make belts of them adding pendants all around of small coconuts, and strands of tree roots, so that they look more as if they were in cages than dressed.

Twelve or thirteen join in a circle and without moving, sing in verse and in measured time, their histories and legends, in three part singing, with the occasional tenor assistance of one of the chiefs, who attend these fiestas. The songs are accompanied by movements of the hands, in the right hand a crescent and in the left hand a small box of shells and bells that serve as castanets. This is in such perfect time and so well done that it causes no little admiration to see how well they learn anything to which they apply themselves, [García 1683: 46-47]

**By** far the most impressive technology of the Chamorros was their seamanship. Early **explorers** frequently extolled the virtues of the “flying proa” for many pages but **dismissed** the people and culture that built and sailed them with a sentence or two.

**The** proa was made by hollowing out the trunk of a breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus mariannensis*) in dugout fashion. The sides were heightened to about five feet by sewing planks **to** the sides of the dugout with rope made from coconut or pandanus fiber. An **outrigger** and sails would then be added. The sails were lateen, or triangular shaped, made **from** loosely woven pandanus fronds. The boats came in two sizes: a small inshore canoe **and** the larger proa.

Virtually all of the early explorers who visited the Marianas islands extolled the crafts. **Pigafetta** says, probably of the smaller canoe:

**Their** amusement, men and women, is to ply the seas with those small boats of theirs. Those boats resemble *fucelere*, [Venetian rowing canoes] but are narrower and some are black, white and others red. At the side opposite the sail, they have a large piece of wood pointed at the top, with poles laid across it and resting on the water, in order that the boats may sail more safely. The sail is made from palm leaves sewn together and is shaped like a lateen sail. For rudders they use a certain blade resembling a hearth shovel which has a piece of wood at the end. [Pigafetta 1536: 23]

**William** Dampier, a seaman on a British privateer that visited the Mariana Islands in 1686, provided, perhaps, the most photographic description:.

**The** natives are very ingenious beyond any people in making boats or proas, as they are called in the East Indies, and therein they take great delight. These are built sharp at both ends. The bottom is in one piece, made like the bottom of a little canoe, very neatly dug and left of a good substance. The bottom part is instead of a keel. It (the canoe) is about 26 or 28 feet long; the under part of this keel is made round, but inclining to a wedge and smooth, and the upper part is almost flat, having a very gentle hollow, and is about a foot broad. From hence both sides of the boat are carried up to about 5 feet high with narrow plank, not above 4 or 5 inches broad, and each end of the boat turns up round very prettily. But what is very singular, one side of the boat is made perpendicular, like a Wall, while the other side is rounding, made as our vessels are, with a pretty full belly. Just in the middle it is about 4 or 5 feet broad aloft, or more, according to the

length of the boat. The mast stands exactly in the middle, with a long yard that peeps **up** like a mizzen-yard. One end of it reaches down to the end or head of the boat, where it is placed in a notch that is made there purposely to receive it and **keep** it fast. The other end hangs over the stern. To this yard the sail is fastened. At the foot of the sail, there is another small yard to keep the sail out square **and** to roll up the sail on when the wind blows hard; for it serves instead of a reef to take up the sail to whatever degree they may please, according to the strength of the wind. Along the belly side of the boat, parallel with it, about 6 or 7 foot distance, lies another small boat, or canoe, being a log of very light wood, almost **as** long as the great boat, but not so wide, being not above a foot and a half wide at the upper part and very sharp like a wedge at each end. And there are **two** bamboos of about eight or 10 feet long and as big as one's leg placed over **the** great boat's side, one near each end of it, and reaching about six or seven feet from the side of the boat, by the help of which the little boat is made firm **and** contiguous to the other. These are generally called by the Dutch and English "outlayers." The use of them is to keep the great boat upright from **oversetting** because the wind here being in a manner constantly east, (or if it were west it would be the same thing) and the range of these islands where their business lies to and fro, being mostly north and south, they turn the flat side of the boat against the wind, upon which they sail and the belly side, consequently with **its** little boat is upon the lee. And the vessel having a head at each end, so as to sail with either of them foremost, indifferently, they need not tack, or go about, as all our vessels do, but each boat serves either from head or stern, as they please. When they ply to windward and are minded to go about, he that steers bears away a little from the wind by which means the stern comes to the wind; which is now become the head only by shifting the end of the yard. This boat is steered with a broad paddle instead of a rudder. I have been more particular in describing these boats, because I do believe they sail the best of any boats in the world. I did here, for my own satisfaction, try the swiftness of one of them. Sailing by our log, we had 12 knots on our reel, and she ran it all out before the half minute glass was half out; which if it had been no more is after the rate of 12 miles an hour. But I do believe she would have run 24 miles an hour. It was very pleasant to see the little boat running along so swift by the others side. [Dampier 1697: 206-207]

It was in honor of these craft that the first name given to these islands by Magellan was the *Islas de las Velas Latinas*, Islands of the Lateen Sails. These early explorers also attributed remarkable feats of seamanship and navigation to these boats and the smaller canoes. The agility of the small sailing canoes was great enough to allow them to follow a European ship and weave back and forth between the stern of the ship

and the **dingy**, that was usually towed along behind, without ever touching the connecting rope **with** the canoe's mast. Pigafetta reports:

And **although** the ships were under full sail, they passed between them and the small **boats** [fastened astern] very adroitly in those small boats of theirs.  
[Pigafetta 1536: 22]

They **were** occasionally known to cut the connecting rope and sail away with the small boat **before** the large ship could bring cannon to bear.

**B**ecause of the great speed of these craft, the early explorers frequently referred to them **as** "flying proas," The adjective "flying" is not as much an exaggeration as it seems. Those **who** have had the pleasure of sailing on a double-hulled sailboat with a skilled **skipper** can attest, that as it skips from wave top to wave top in a stiff wind, it actually **seems to** fly. As Pigafetta says:

**T**hey can change stern and bow at will and those boats resemble the dolphins which **leap** in the water from wave to wave. [Pigafetta 1536: 23]

The navigational skills of the Austronesian peoples are legendary. Many early **explorers**, Capt. James Cook for example, were guided over long distances by native **navigators** by means that were unfathomable.

A New Zealander, David Lewis, M.D., has learned many of the means by which these **people** made, and to some extent still make, long voyages over the open sea with no **navigational** aids more sophisticated than a song to guide them. He has discovered that they **use** varied clues from the sea itself to augment celestial navigation. The flights of **various** land nesting birds are a good clue to the locations of land. The backwash of **bioluminescence** from land can direct a navigator to distant islands. One of the major **aids in** voyages of exploration, some of which stretched for up to 5,000 miles, was the **currents** and streams of the ocean itself. Since coral is spread by being swept along in

these oceanic rivers, an explorer is more likely to discover a new island by following these streams. As the currents follow the prevailing wind, or vice-versa, there will usually be wind for the sails.

But how in a choppy sea does one determine which way the current is flowing?

The current is marked by the location and movement of a large base wave. The crests of this base wave may come 10 or more minutes apart. The difficulty lies in discerning the large infrequent base wave from the constant chop of the ocean. The navigators distinguished the base wave by spreading their scrotum on a flat surface and attending to the movement of their testicles.

The navigators frequently used a song or poem composed by a previous visitor to guide them along a route that they had not traveled. According to Lewis, some still retain this skill. In pre-contact times there was a sea route between the Marianas and the Carolines. When the Spanish began to massacre the Chamorros, the Carolinians wisely stopped making this voyage. It was later reopened intermittently but had not been sailed since early in the 20th century. In 1976, Lewis challenged a Carolinian navigator to follow the word-of-mouth directions of a traditional song over the 500 miles to Saipan. The navigator, Hipour by name, successfully piloted Lewis' ketch first 100 miles north to a small uninhabited island then across 500 miles of open ocean to Saipan. Lewis devotes an entire chapter of his book *We, The Navigators* to this incident.

For several years a group in the Hawaiian Islands studied the traditional canoe building, sailing and navigation techniques of the Micronesians under master navigator Mau Piailug. In February 1999, as a final project, a crew of 52 men and women set sail in a canoe that they had built, from Hawaii to return Piailug to Micronesia. Using

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traditional sailing and navigational techniques, the group had nearly completed its journey when it landed on Saipan in April after stops at numerous islands along the way — a journey of 4,000 miles. The voyage continues.

Unlike their cousins on some of the other Pacific islands, Chamorro-Guamanians have entirely lost the boat-building and sailing skill of their ancestors. As a part of the U.S. Bicentennial celebration, a group of Guamanian “craftsmen” were awarded a grant of \$40,000 to build a flying proa. What they built was a dugout canoe of Carolinian, not Chamorro, design. It was placed on the front lawn of Government House, the governor’s official residence, until it rotted and was unceremoniously dragged away in 1980.

Some others have had more success. In the summer of 1978, a group on Saipan, with the aid of seven Carolinian craftsmen, managed to construct an oceangoing proa but, again, it was of a Carolinian design.

The open ocean sailing and navigation technology of the Chamorros that so impressed the Europeans was a privilege of class. Only the *matuas* were allowed to do it. The *acha’ots* were probably allowed to assist. The *manachangs* were not allowed to participate in any way. This excluded them from the cultural capital and the power of their society. It insured that they would remain outcasts.

This section has discussed at least one and more likely two occasions of colonization. The first that of the Prelatte people. Apparently they found unoccupied land and just moved in. It is possible that they evolved the Latte culture internally but mounting evidence suggests that they did not. The rapid changes in material culture, the development of military technology and the evidence, albeit sparse, that the Prelatte were

of a **d***i***f**ferent ethnic origin, lend credence to the conclusion that the Latte people migrated to the **M**arianna Islands, probably from the Philippines.

Judging from the extreme restraints placed on *manachangs*, the social requirements placed upon them and the extent to which the Chamorro society restricted inter**bre**eding between the *manachangs* and the two upper classes, it seems likely that the *manac**h**angs* were, in the first instance at least, descended from the Prelatte people. Although, as social outcasts, they became the dumping ground for the discouragibles of the **u**pper classes. They appear to be an untouchable class.

# The “Discovery” of Paradise

## — The Coming of the Spanish

The next “Maritime Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places” were from **E**urope.

The discovery of Guam by Europeans initiated a period of unpleasantness that was **t**o continue to some degree until the present. Despite that, Fernão de Magalhães, **m**ore commonly known in English as Ferdinand Magellan, is one of Guam’s great **p**opular heroes.

The discovery of the Marianas was a part of a period of 16th century Spanish **e**xploration. And the period of Spanish rule of the Marianas was part of an overall period of **S**panish conquest and colonization. It is impossible to understand the first 400 years of **G**uam’s historical period without understanding at least the rudiments of the Spanish **c**olonial system.

On 12 October 1492, a Genoese named Cristoforo Colombo, known to the **S**panish as Cristóbal Colón, but better known to the English-speaking world as **C**hristopher Columbus, landed in the Americas. He was searching for a westward water **r**oute from Europe to the Far East. Specifically to the Spice Islands — The Moluccas. **T**he Moluccas were pivotal during the years of discovery and conquest, for they produced **t**he spices that were so much in demand in Europe that buyers gladly paid the spices’ **w**eight in gold. Spice can be blamed for the rape of Asia and the Americas.

Everyone knows that:

In fourteen hundred and ninety-two

Columbus sailed the ocean blue.

And **ever**everyone knows that the people of that time were convinced that the world was flat and **that** Columbus believed that he had found India. Everyone is half wrong!

In *Spain in America*, historian Charles Gibson says:

The date and fact that Columbus sailed the ocean are correct. But, that the **w**orld was a spheroid had been known by navigators and the intelligentsia since the Pythagoreans had made the discovery in the fifth century B.C. Aristotle speculated about the distance from Spain to India by a westward route and Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the globe with an error of less than 15 **p**ercent.

This was in the third century B.C., and though Eratosthenes' figure was **l**ater disputed as too large, the method and the spherical hypothesis on which it **d**epended always had adherents among the learned people. [Gibson 1966: 6]

There is also good evidence that Columbus was aware that in his attempt to find the **I**ndies he had discovered unknown lands but he apparently believed that those lands **w**ere in Far Eastern waters. This conviction, though unrealistic, was consistent with the **a**ttitude of mysticism that he adopted. Columbus spoke of "another world" and a "new **w**orld" but these references were associated with heaven. He believed that heaven itself **w**as located on a large bulge of earth that one would find by traveling far up the Orinoco **R**iver.

Columbus made his discovery while sailing under the flag of Spain. Later, sea **c**aptains from several European countries sailed across the Atlantic to explore the New **W**orld.

Magellan demonstrated the impracticality of the western route to the Indies in his **v**oyage of 1519 to 1524. This voyage was just a little short of treason. Magellan, a **P**ortuguese, set out in 1519 in the employ of Spain to prove that the Portuguese-

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controlled Spice Islands lay within the Spanish sphere of influence as established in the Treaty of Tordesillas. Magellan avoided treason by first becoming a citizen of Spain.

Although there was some cosmological debate between the Spanish and Portuguese about the precise location of the line and of the Spice Islands, Spain was unable to present a compelling case and incapable of imposing a military solution. It turned out not to be the case that the spice islands were within the Spanish half of the sphere and Portugal continued to exploit her monopoly on Spice Island trade while Spain set upon a campaign to ravish the New World. The Americas were now known to be separate continents between two large oceans.

Students of U.S. history have traditionally regarded the Spanish colonial presence in what is now the United States as a relatively minor event. As historian Herbert E. Bolton says in *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands*:

With a vision limited by the Rio Grande, and noting that Spain's outposts within the area now embraced in the United States were slender, and that these fringes eventually fell into the hands of the Anglo-Americans, writers concluded that Spain did not really colonize, and that, after all, she failed. The fallacy came, of course, from mistaking the tail for the dog, and then leaving the dog out of the picture. The real Spanish America, the dog, lay between the Rio Grande and Buenos Aires. The part of the animal lying north of the Rio Grande was only the tail. Let us first glance at the dog. [Bolton 1929: 32]

For 27 years or so after Columbus' departure, the Spaniards occupied themselves with exploring. Ponce de Leon explored Florida in 1513. Vasco Núñez de Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean in the same year. And Juan Diaz de Solis discovered the Rio de la Plata River between Uruguay and Argentina in 1516. In 1519, the same year that Magellan sailed on his historic journey, a small band of amateur soldiers marched against and subdued the huge empire of the Aztecs. This event is usually cited as the beginning of the "age of conquest."

Hernando Cortes was commissioned by Diego Velazquez, the Spanish governor of **Cuba**, to establish full contact with the empire of Montezuma. When he discovered the **fabulous** wealth there, he dissociated himself from Velazquez and conquered Mexico. Along **the** way to Tenochtitlán, Cortes formed alliances with native peoples who were **subject** to, but enemies of, the Aztecs. Thus the several hundred Spaniards under Cortes were **re**inforced by many thousands of Amerindians. Numerous Amerindians later **claimed**, rightfully, that they had helped the Spanish in these wars of conquest and they **petitioned** the king for favors, honors and rewards due them as “native conquistadors.” **These** petitions were taken seriously by Spanish monarchs.

Montezuma invited the Spaniards into his palace, was promptly taken prisoner, **held** and made to rule as a puppet emperor while the Spanish plundered the empire. **Relations** between the two peoples remained superficially harmonious until the spring of **1520** when the Aztecs took advantage of the absence of Cortes to revolt. Despite Cortes’ **speedy** return and determined resistance, on 30 June 1520, or “Melancholy Night,” the **intruders** were expelled from Tenochtitlán. Montezuma died at about this time under **mysterious** circumstances. His nephew and son-in-law Cuauhtemoc assumed the mantle of **emperor**.

Cortes took refuge with his allies in the province of Tlaxcala and immediately **made** plans to retake the city. His final attack in the summer of 1521 was accomplished **by the** combined effort of a land assault across the causeways and a marine landing **across** the lake in brigantines. Cuauhtemoc was compelled to surrender in August 1521.

To the Amerindians of Latin America, Cuauhtemoc, not Montezuma, is the tragic hero **of** the “Black Legend.” While to the Spaniards, Cortes is the hero of the “White Legend.”

The Black Legend was espoused by the Amerindians who survived the conquests and **the** national rivals of Spain. The Black Legend points an accusing finger at Spain and **finds** Spaniards guilty of gross misconduct. It says that the Spaniards slaughtered thousands of Amerindians and subjected the remainder to exploitative forced labor. Since the 16th century, the Black Legend has thrived wherever anti-Hispanism has filled a **need** as in large segments of modern Spanish America and in the English speaking **nations** to the north.

The White Legend is, of course, found where pro-Hispanism has filled a need — in **Spain** itself and among the *Ladinos* of Latin America. According to the White Legend, the **Spaniards** brought Christianity to the Amerindians, eliminated human sacrifice and **cannibalism** from their society, and offered them draft animals, plows, and other material **benefits**.

Both legends are true but neither gives the whole truth. Of course, the Spanish **killed** and caused the deaths of more Amerindians than the other colonizing powers but **they** had a lot more to kill before there developed a shortage. That the populace of most of **Latin America** represents a greater percentage of the pre-European ancestry is obvious. A **genetic** study by a group of researchers from the National Institute of Nutrition in **Mexico City** concluded that 56.3 percent of the Mexican gene pool derives from the **Amerindians**. Could the United States make the same claim? Unlike the English,



Spanish clergymen compiled impressive ethnographic studies of many of the Amerindian cultures before they were terminally contaminated.

Once the Amerindians had been subjugated, there appeared three Spanish groups to vie for control of the conquered lands — the *encomiendero* class, the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish secular state.

Two of the three apply to the colonization of the Marianas so they shall be discussed in some detail.

The *encomiendero* did not apply to the Marianas because the Marianas were held as private property of the king.

## CHURCH

In a secular world, it is easy to doubt the Spaniard's claims of piety and to scoff at their mission of converting the Amerindians. In *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith said:

In consequence of the representations of Columbus, the council of Castile determined to take possession of countries of which the inhabitants were plainly incapable of defending themselves. The pious purpose of converting them to Christianity sanctified the injustice of the project. But the hope of finding treasures of gold there was the sole motive which prompted him to undertake it; and to give this motive the greater weight, it was proposed by Columbus that the half of all the gold and silver that should be found there should belong to the crown. This proposal was approved of by the council.

As long as the whole or the far greater part of the gold, which the first adventurers imported into Europe, was got by so very easy a method as the plundering of the defenseless natives, it was not perhaps very difficult to pay even this heavy tax. But when the natives were once fairly stripped of all that they had, which, in St. Domingo, and in all the other countries discovered by Columbus, was done completely in six or eight years, and when in order to find more it had become necessary to dig for it in the mines, there was no longer any possibility of paying this tax. The rigorous exaction of it, accordingly, first occasioned, it is said, the total abandoning of the mines of St. Domingo, which have never been wrought since. It was soon reduced therefore to a third; then to a fifth; afterwards to a tenth; and at last to a twentieth part of the gross produce of the gold mines. The tax upon silver continued for a long time to be a fifth of the

gross produce. It was reduced to a tenth only in the course of the present century. But the first adventurers do not appear to have been much interested about silver. Nothing less precious than gold seemed worthy of their attention.

All the other enterprises of the Spaniards in the new world, subsequent to those of Columbus, seem to have been prompted by the same motive. It was the sacred thirst of gold that carried Ojeda, Nicuesa, and Vasco Nunez de Balboa, to the Isthmus of Darien, that carried Cortes to Mexico, and Almagro and Pizarro to Chili and Peru. When those adventurers arrived upon any unknown coast, their first inquiry was always if there was any gold to be found there; and according to the information which they received concerning this particular, they determined either to quit the country or to settle in it. [Smith 1776: 528-529]

Even the Devil has scoffed at the pious purpose:

"It is not Christianity that leads them on," Lope de Vega had the devil say in his play *El Nuevo Munda* (ca. 1600), "but rather gold and greed." [Gibson 1966: 68]

But to take such a one-dimensional view of Spain's motives toward the New World is unnecessarily harsh. As Gibson says:

But it is clear that at least for a select group of Spanish missionary friars Christianity did lead them on. To doubt their motive is to carry skepticism to unreasonable and unnecessary lengths. For the early friars the propagation of the faith was an objective as compelling as gold to the conquistadors or tribute to the *encomiendados*, and no one who reads their record can seriously think that it was not. [Gibson 1966: 68]

It can fairly be said that the desire to convert the natives was the primary motivating force in the colonization of the Marianas. Since the conversion of the Marianas followed the pattern of that of the rest of Latin America, it is worthwhile studying the pattern.

Behind the movement for converting Amerindians lay some extremely powerful influences. In Spain Ferdinand and Isabella, "The Catholic Monarchs," had established new royal controls over the church. Jews had been expelled and the Moslem enclave of Grenada suppressed, in the same year that Columbus sailed. Humanistic learning had spread from Italy and infected Iberian universities. The humanistic study of languages prepared the priests and friars for their study of the languages of the conquered peoples.

As a **result** of their humanism the religious immediately recognized the importance of **studying** and recording the languages and cultures of these conquered peoples. An effort for **which** anthropologists and historians should be eternally grateful!

**B**ecause of the diversity and complexity of the Amerindian religions no simple **technique** of conversion was possible. Cannibalism, attribution of divinity to material **objects**, human sacrifice and some very charming fertility ceremonies horrified the friars. These **had** to be eliminated. But as had the early propagators of Christianity throughout **Europe** and the Middle East, the friars found some practices that suggested Christianity. **C**reator myths and cult heroes were converted to Christian themes by interpreting them as the **Amerindian's** pre-existing knowledge of Christianity's supreme deity and his **hierarchy**.

The normal campaign of conversion began with the friars dividing into groups of **two or three** and going out into the Amerindian communities to preach. In deliberate **contrast** to other Spaniards, they went barefoot and unarmed. Initially they preached **through** interpreters but with study and experience they learned the appropriate language or **languages**. At first, they performed mass baptisms to rapidly save souls. In each **community** they concentrated on converting the chief and members of the governing **class**. Amerindians, like all peoples, tend to follow the examples of their leaders.

There was a powerful impetus for Amerindians to convert.

According to the *weltanschauung* of most Amerindians, disease was caused and **cured** by the supernatural. A major purpose of religion was to prevent and cure disease. **The** Amerindian peoples were being devastated by diseases that did not seem to affect the **Spaniards**. It seemed that the God of the Spaniards was more powerful than the gods of

the Amerindian peoples. The obvious conclusion is that if one converts, he will be cured.

And it worked!

Most diseases are not universally fatal. The human body has the ability to develop immunities to most disease. Those who do not develop such immunities will die. Those who do will live. Natural selection will, within very few generations, cause to be created a group of people who have the ability to develop rapid immunity to that disease. But this takes time.

Understand, very few Amerindians were killed directly by the introduced diseases. When measles, typhoid or small pox went through an Amerindian village, everybody caught it. There was no one to prepare food, get water, or nurse the ill. Many millions of Amerindians died because they had no one to perform these nursing chores. Mostly they died of dehydration and starvation. Christian Amerindians, however, had monks who, as Spaniards, were already largely immune to these diseases. Despite 400 years of anti-Spanish propaganda we must always remember that most of these religious were good men whose hearts were in the right place. And their orders demanded, in many cases, that they humiliate and mortify themselves in the service of mankind. Many of these men made heroic efforts to help their people. No doubt, most of the Amerindians in Latin America and the Marianas who survived, owed their lives to the efforts of these men.

After the conversion of the chiefs, idols, temples and all other evidence of paganism were destroyed. A temporary chapel was built after which a permanent church was built, preferably on the site of a previous temple or shrine in order to emphasize the substitution of one religion for another. Fiestas and ceremonies were held frequently in

the **church** or its plaza to attract visitors from as far as possible. The friars then attempted to **expand** the Christianized area by moving out into the surrounding towns where the **process** would begin again. Amerindians who refused to accept Christianity were **punished** — sometimes with death!

The influence of humanism was early and strong. In 1527, Juan de Zumarraga, a **Franciscan** leader in Erasmian thought, was appointed the first bishop of Mexico. In his *Doctrina Breve*, a manual for the clergy, and *Doctrina Cristiana*, a catechism for **Amerindians**, Zumarraga provided published texts of Christian-humanist thought. He was **instrumental** in establishing the *Colegio de Santa Cruz* in Mexico City and in **translating** the scripture into native languages.

Zumarraga's associate, Vasco de Quiroga, another exponent of Christian-**humanist** thought, was instrumental in establishing, in New Spain, communities based on **Thomas More's** *Utopia* — including communal property, communally performed labor and **representative** government. By the mid-16th century there were communities in **Mexico** where the natives conversed in Latin! As Gibson says:

It **would** not be an exaggeration to say that America in the second quarter of the **sixteenth** century exhibited a phase of the European Renaissance that **transcended** European terms, one in which Christian-humanist programs **inapplicable** and "utopian" in European society came to be realities. [Gibson 1966: 74]

**But** the Christian-humanist movement was short-lived. In Spain, Erasmianism became **tainted** and confused with Protestantism and Erasmus' writings were officially **condemned**.

The final result of this missionary program was a "syncretic" **Amerindian religion**. While many Amerindians responded enthusiastically to this new religion, they **tended** to interpret it as a doctrine that was compatible with their own tolerant religions.

They **allowed** Christianity to coexist with their own pagan faiths. Since they were **familiar** with polytheism, they tended to distort the concept of the Christian trinity and the **pantheon** of Christian saints. A common view was that one religious form was to be **resorted** to when another had failed to bring the desired results. This syncretic religion **along with** another that was created in the Philippines rather than European Roman **Catholicism** was later imported to Spanish Micronesia to create another syncretic faith.

Ferdinand had legalized and guaranteed his authority over the Spanish Catholic **Church**. He had secured two papal bulls in 1501 and 1508 which gave him royal **patronage**. Royal patronage allowed him to appoint churchmen in the colonies, to **administer** ecclesiastical jurisdictions and revenues and to veto papal bulls. Spain **enjoyed** these powers over the church throughout her imperial period. Royal patronage **gave** the missionaries security, privilege and authority. The missionaries were loyal to the **crown** — they sided with the monarchy against the *encomienderos* and never sought to **create** an independent organization in opposition to the royal government.

The church itself was divided by rivalries. The 16th Century church was divided **into** two basic classes of clerics — the “*regulars*” and the “*seculars*.” The missionary **friars** were “regulars” (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and so forth) so called **because** they lived by *regula* or rule — they took vows of poverty and chastity. The “*seculars*” were parish priests and other clergy who were not bound by vows or rules. **They** lived in the world — *Saeculum*. They could acquire property, marry and so forth. **Although** the words continued to be used, the *regulars* also lived in the world in America as **mi**ssionaries to the Amerindians. In America, *regulars* handled many secular **functions** — performing sacraments, and the parochial tasks of the conversion program.

The “**seculars**” found their administration limited to white society. But the influence of the **regulars** waned with the rapid Amerindian depopulation. By the second half of the 16th **century**, the monarchy came to favor the *seculars*. This entire period was a time of **constant** internal squabbles. The popular Protestant notion of a controlled, monolithic **Catholic** church is inaccurate.

In the less rigidly controlled frontier areas, including Guam and other parts of **Spanish** America that were to become a part of the United States, there remained **something** more akin to the original enthusiasms for Christian conversion. On the **margins** of Spanish-American society, the mendicant orders continued to operate with **their** original authority. The Society of Jesus or Jesuits added a strong new impetus. The **advancing** friars were agents for the expansion of the empire. The missions emerged as the **characteristic** feature of the peripheral societies where Spanish and Amerindian **cultures** met.

The mission ordinarily took a village form with Amerindians performing both **civil** and ecclesiastical duties. Nomadic tribes were taught sedentary ways of life. **Hostile** Amerindians were pacified. Hunting-gathering economies were transformed into **agricultural** economies. Polygamous peoples were induced to adopt monogamy. And a **variety** of pagan religious practices yielded to or fused with Christianity.

Ecclesiastics of the 17th and 18th centuries usually advanced in association with **soldiers**. The nature of the “spiritual conquest” had changed. The *presidio*, or frontier **fort**, balanced and reinforced the church as an agency of strategic control and defense.

In time, Spanish settlement filled in the gaps left by dying Amerindian cultures and **normal** civil government and secular clergy supplanted the missionaries who moved

on to **n**ew frontiers. Secular clergy and royal government usually moved in after Amer**i**ndian hostility had passed but before the missionaries could assume positions of significant power.

Probably the second greatest achievement of Ferdinand and Isabella was the **e**stablishment in Spain of a patrimonial and centralized Spanish monarchy. With the **e**xtension of the Empire overseas, there was some reduction of this authority. The **m**issionary friars had been granted powers and privileges of another kind. They were **d**enied their original parochial controls after the late 16th century. During the first 100 **y**ears following discovery, an expanding royal state was dismissing its earliest imperial **r**epresentatives and introducing the instruments of a thorough, meticulous, absolutist **H**ispanic monarchy.

But the concept of a Spanish monarchy was too new to be able to impose itself **i**mmEDIATELY on all of the Spanish kingdoms. Isabella was a Castilian so America was **m**ORE a Castilian colony than she was Spanish. The idea that the Kingdom of Castile was the **p**arent country for the American colonies was never seriously called into question **u**ntil the 18th century.

Where Aragon was a monarchy circumscribed by restrictions, the crown of **C**astile was free to rule by royal fiat. This system was transferred to America. Castilian **m**onarchs had long been advised by the Council of Castile. Upon the return of **C**olumbus, Isabella had asked Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca to advise her on the **a**dministration of this new domain. Fonseca was the nucleus around which the Council **o**f the Indies was created. Like the Council of Castile, the Council of the Indies located **i**tself with the royal personage. As the internal and external position of Spain changed,



the **Councils** reflected the character of the sovereign: they were self-confident, vigorous and **precise** under Philip II; and phlegmatic, dilatory and in bad repute under Charles II 100 **years** later.

Technically, the royal dominions were related to Spain only through common royal **sovereignty** — they were regarded as kingdoms like the several kingdoms of Spain. The **Council** of the Indies drafted and issued American laws and served as the appellate court **for** civil cases arising in the colonies.

The execution of these laws and the administration of the colonial “kingdoms” was **the** responsibility of a viceroy. There were two “kingdoms” — New Spain (Mexico) and **New Castile** (Peru). The next administrative level below the “kingdom” was the *audiencia*. At various times there were different numbers of *audiencias*. But they **roughly** correspond to the capitals of the various nations of Latin America.

The chief executive officer for an *audiencia* was the *presidente*. The powers, **authority** and constraints of a *presidente* varied from *audiencia* to *audiencia* and from **time** to time. Subdivisions within the jurisdictions of the *audiencias* were local areas **over** which *alcaldes*, *mayores*, *corregidores*, and *gobernadores* presided.

**No** appreciable functional distinction among these officials has yet been **per**ceived for the Spanish-American colonies. [Gibson 1966: 95]

Crime wouldn't pay if a government ran it!

Contrary to any rational expectation, the sudden influx of precious metals did not **result** in any permanent enrichment of the Spanish crown. It was all frittered away in **fore**ign wars for the defense of Catholic positions in Europe. It was a time Gibson, **writ**ing in 1966, refers to as “staggering” inflation. Prices rose by 100 percent in the first **half** of the 16th century. Compare this with a price rise of 100 percent in a low-inflation

**decade** in the U.S. today. Throughout the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, Spanish America and **Spanish** Oceania existed as the colonial possessions of a bankrupt parent country.

Spain began to tax the colonies. The colonials cheated on the taxes and those taxes **that** were collected were sent to Spain only after being looted by government **officials** of all that they dared take. This was not normal, expectable integrity of office **holders** being occasionally violated by a dishonest administrator. It was instead a **situation** of normal and expected corruption within which the occasional figure stood out **because** he resisted temptation.

The highest posts with the foremost opportunities for corruption went to **peninsular** Spaniards. The lower places in the hierarchy tended to be confined to Creoles. **Criollos** in Spanish colonial history meant persons of white ancestry who were born in a **colony**. The current denotation of a racial or ethnic mixture was absent. It was this **second** tier of American-born Spaniards who would foment revolt in the 19th century.

An interesting feature of the Council of the Indies and Spanish colonial law is the **ease** with which they were circumvented. The Council would promulgate a law only to **have** it ignored. It was a natural tendency of both colonists and administrative officials to **escape** the controls and to engage in freer forms of action through illegal means. The **violations** resulted in new laws that were in turn ignored.

The Spaniards who came to Spanish America did not represent the full spectrum **of** Spanish society. Members of the nobility and first sons of wealthy families came, if at **all**, for short terms to fill administrative positions. They had to get rich quickly because **frequently** it had cost a fortune in bribes to get the posting. The colonial experience of **this** group solidified their attachment to Spain rather than reconcile them to colonial

**ways.** America offered, however, a variety of attractions to second, third and fourth sons.

Merchants, farmers and craftsmen who could not claim nobility occupied a **superior** position in colonial society. More whites came as servants and fewer came as **soldiers** than one might expect.

Unlike English immigrants who settled America as family units virtually all — in **excess** of 90 per cent — of the Spanish immigrants were men.

The Amerindians of Spanish America were an extremely heterogeneous people. **But** these differences meant little to the Spanish in the overall system of imperialism. In **some** areas Amerindians were able to resist the Spaniards until the end of the colonial **period**. But mostly this was in marginal areas. In the colony proper, Amerindians were **always** subject to colonial controls.

First there was the system of *encomienda*. Then there was *repartimiento* — **corvee** labor arranged for a specific time on a specific job. Encomienda never applied to **Micronesia** but corvee labor was frequently required of those who did not have the cash **to** pay taxes. Free contract labor was attempted but was generally unsuccessful. The **people** of Micronesia, particularly in the Marianas, suffered under the third form of **involuntary** servitude under which Spanish subjects labored. Debt peonage was only **occasionally** seen in the 16th century but it became the dominate form of coerced labor in **the** seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Among Spaniards, “Indians” (a term that included all brown, non-European **peoples** had a reputation for sullenness, laziness and meekness — all qualities which the **Spanish** did not admire. With very rare exceptions, white society looked down on “**Indian**” society. Amerindian subordination was expressed legally as tribute; a custom

brought from Spain where it was known as *pechos*, a tax which was paid by white commoners to the nobility in Spain. In Spanish America whites were not *pecheros*.

Spanish-American society was highly stratified. The rich, who were inordinately wealthy, cultivated a deliberate indolence and a set of values appropriate to an aristocracy. Beneath the superficial orderliness of the upper class, Spanish-American urban society manifested social disorder, a want of sanitation and human degradation. The Marianas reflected this model although, as will be shown, it was adapted to fit into traditional Chamorro social stratification.

Those with African, Amerindian, Jewish, Moslem or other non-Christian ancestry were referred to as “stained.” Even for those without “stain” there were class distinctions between *Peninsulars*, Caucasians born in Spain, and *Criollos*, Caucasians born in the colonies. White society was interconnected by blood relationships and marriage ties. It was particularly class conscious and aware of its own internal composition. The white family included a wide range of peripheral relatives, some of whom might be mestizos or mulattos. The family was a closely-knit unit evoking loyalties and obligations of a compelling sort. In many ways, Spanish colonial socioeconomic structure, including the Marianas, was a harbinger of the post-Reconstruction American South.

The Spanish never settled large parts of their American colonial empire; thereby leaving it open for colonization by other European peoples. “Borderlands” refers to those areas now incorporated in the American South and Southwest that were to some degree settled by Spain and then ceded to other European powers or to the United States. It is the area of primary interest to U.S. historians — the tail of the dog. Accordingly, it is the

most intensely studied and reported part of the Spanish-American Empire. It includes the Marianas.

Spanish is widely spoken in the Southwest. Spanish toponyms are current as far north as Montana. In parts of the U.S. land titles and water rights derive from Spanish royal grants. Remnant mission buildings dot the landscape and Spanish heritage is still taken seriously. The tradition includes St. Augustine, Santa Fe, San Juan Capistrano, the Alamo and other appealing elements of our folk lore.

A distinctive type of frontier settlement that the Spanish were successful in establishing in what is now the United States was the *presidio* or garrison. A line of these garrisons eventually stretched from Florida through California to Guam.

It could be argued that considering their head start and the size of their effort, the Spanish contribution to U.S. history and culture is unimpressive. It is obvious, however, that this contribution is greater than most of us realize. In addition, if one considers the difference in Spanish and English goals and priorities, in the New World, the difference is readily explained.

Now, back to Magellan and Guam.

Magellan, a Portuguese nobleman, proposed to Dom Manoel, the king of Portugal, an attempt to find a westward passage to the Indies, as Columbus had failed to do. After being snubbed by the king, he renounced his citizenship and took his offer to King Charles I of Spain. On 20 September 1519, Magellan's fleet of five ships, the *Concepción*, the *Victoria*, the *San Antonio*, the *Trinidad* and the *Santiago*, set sail. During the Atlantic crossing, *Santiago* was lost in a storm. During the passage of the

straits that would bear the name of Magellan, the crew of the *San Antonio* mutinied and returned to Spain.

It is incredible that from the time the fleet left the coast of South America until they reached the Marianas they found no land of consequence. They sailed through Polynesia which, one must admit, is somewhat sparsely islanded and Micronesia with her thousands of islands and atolls without once finding any islands of significance. An Austronesian navigator would, no doubt, have been able to find any number of islands at which to resupply. And Magellan's fleet was manned by the best seamen the Haoles had to offer!

The "official" account of Magellan's voyage is that of Antonio Pigafetta. Pigafetta was a young scholar from Lombardy. He served as Magellan's secretary and "gentleman-companion." In the stratified milieu of the renaissance voyages of exploration it was necessary for the "gentleman-captain" to maintain a discrete social distance from not only the crew but the other officers as well. It was not unusual for the "gentleman-captain" to have a "gentleman-companion" with whom to dine and confide as a social equal. If the gentleman-companion was also the secretary and historian for the voyage, the captain could be assured that the official report would have the best spin.

By the time they finally stumbled onto the Marianas, they were in pretty bad shape. Pigafetta describes the ordeals of the small fleet of three after entering the Pacific.

On Wednesday, 26 November 1520, we came out of the said strait, [Strait of Magellan] and entered the Pacific Ocean, where we stayed for three months and twenty days, without taking on any food or refreshments and ate nothing but old crumbled biscuits, full of worms and stinking on account of the urine filth that the rats had left on them and eaten the best part of them. We drank yellowish infected water. We also ate the raw hides, that were on the main yard, to prevent the yard from chafing the rigging. They had been made very hard by the sun, rain and wind. We left them for four or five days in the sea, then we placed them

for a while upon embers, and thus ate them. If only we would have had enough saw dust and rats which cost half a ducat each, but we could not find enough. [Pigafetta 1521: 189-190]

Pigafetta does not mention the first meeting between Chamorros and Europeans — perhaps because Magellan does not come off looking too good.

Historian Antonio de Herrera claims that the first action mentioned by Pigafetta was the second of two. According to this report, when the natives first sighted the ship they sailed out, swarmed aboard, and began to make off with everything they could lay hands on. When they showed reluctance to leave the ship, the Spaniards employed their crossbows and killed a number of Chamorros.

Herrera's report is based on a detailed eyewitness account by an anonymous author. This report was probably written by an officer on Magellan's flagship *Trinidad*. It is usually attributed to Gines de Mafra, a minor official on the *Trinidad* although some experts claim that it was written by Andres de San Martin, a pilot-navigator who accompanied the voyage on a royal commission. San Martin was killed with Magellan in the Philippines. According to this report:

It was the 7th March 1521, the look-out on the mainmast began shouting "Land Ho! Land Ho!" and as the word spread among the ships the men went so wild with joy, it looked as if the ones who took the news calmly were the most foolish, as anyone who has ever experienced a moment of emotion of their kind will understand. The look-out presently exclaims he sees a sail. And so, for being the herald of this twofold good news, they reward him with a piece of jewelry worth a hundred ducats. Drawing near the shore, the ships anchored. The people ashore, who all the while stood watching, now began to come out in great numbers on their small boats, gazing at the ships, and soon started coming on board completely unawed. So many of them crowded on deck especially on the flagship [that] some of our men urged the captain to order them off. The captain either gave the order, or someone jumped to the conclusion that he had given it — at any rate the flagship's bosun boxed a native for some slight misdemeanor and the native hit him back at once. The affronted bosun whipped out his cutlass and wounded the native on the shoulder. Thereupon the entire mob fled in panic over the side and scrambling to their canoes began hurling bamboo spears at the ship. Those on board replied with cross bows, yet the

natives were so numerous some sailors were wounded. A curious thing happened during this affray. While some natives were busy fighting with our men others came out from the shore on boats loaded with food, and, paddling past their neighbors, gave the food to our men, and then joined their neighbors in fighting against us. When Magellan noticed how the number bringing food was increasing, he ordered the men on the ships not to fire at them. As a consequence, the natives attacking also stopped so that eventually all of them turned once more to selling the food as they had began in the first place — coconuts and fish in abundance just for a few Castilian glass beads. [Noone 1986: 60]

Pigafetta continues discussing scurvy and navigation then describes the discovery of the Marianas:

After navigating 60 leagues [a Spanish league was four Roman miles or 5.9 km or 3.66 miles] along this route in 12 degrees of latitude and 146 degrees of longitude, on Wednesday the 6th of March, we sighted a small island toward the NW, and two others toward the SW. One of these islands was larger and higher than the other two. The Captain General wanted to touch at the biggest of these three islands to find refreshments, but it was not possible, because the people of these islands came aboard the ships and stole from us so we could not keep them off. We wanted to come to an anchor and lower the sails in order to go ashore but with great skill and speed they stole from us the small boat, called a skiff, which was tied to the poop of the ship of the said captain. Being very angry about this, he went ashore with forty armed men and burning 40 or 50 houses with many canoes and killing seven islanders, they recovered their skiff. Soon after, we left following the same route. Before we went ashore, some of our sick people begged us, if we should kill any man or woman, to bring back their entrails because they would soon be cured. [Pigafetta doesn't tell if this request was granted.] [Pigafetta 1521: 195]

According to Pigafetta, on 6 March 1521, Magellan's starving, scurvy-ridden crew sighted an island of the Marianas group. Whether or not the island first visited was Guam remains in doubt to some historians, but not to the people of Guam. They are convinced that he visited Guam. In fact, they traditionally identify the village of Umatac, the best natural harbor on the island, as the site of his landing. Lord George Anson, however, conjectures that the two islands sighted were Saipan and Tinian. The best reconstruction based on the logs is that the ship sailed between Rota and Guam, circled around the north of Guam and anchored off Tumon or Agaña



Because of the theft of the skiff, Magellan changed the name he had tentatively **g**iven the islands, *Las Islas de las Velas Latinas* (the Islands of the Lateen Sails) to *Islas de los Ladrones* (Islands of Robbers). We have no record as to the name applied by the **C**hamorros to their new acquaintances.

While there is little doubt that Magellan was the first European to visit the **M**arianas, it is obvious that he was not the first foreigner. When the Chamorros first **s**potting his fleet, they did not show the caution one would expect from people upon first **c**ontact with strangers who were distinctly different. In addition, when they came aboard **t**he ships, they knew exactly what they wanted — iron. These facts have led many to **c**onclude that the Chamorros had had previous contact with other cultures. Most **c**onclude that the Chamorros had been visited by Chinese and or Japanese seamen — or **s**omeone else from a culture that had iron. The Chinese connection is possible because in **h**istorical times a Chinese trader shipwrecked in the Marianas. And a Japaese connection **i**s likely. Studies of precontact fishing implements strongly supports contact with Japan.

In *Guam Past and Present*, Beardsley questions Herrera's report because he **d**oubts the willingness of the Chamorros to trade after such an incident. He fails to take **i**nto account Chamorro loyalty. Obviously he had not read the de Mafra/San Martin **r**eport. Perhaps from the Chamorro point of view the sailors had only harmed the men **w**hom they had shot, and therefore were simply men to be dealt with with caution. Or **p**ossibly de Mafra/San Martin was mistaken or exaggerating about the killed natives. In **w**hich case, the Chamorros, while no doubt impressed with the Spaniards' weaponry, **w**ere perhaps contemptuous of their marksmanship.

Before leaving our discussion of Magellan, there is a subject that is worth taking up as an aside. Who was the first man to circumnavigate the globe?

While it is Magellan who is usually credited with that feat, obviously Magellan personally never made it. He was killed in the Philippines. The Spanish like to honor Sebastian de Elcano, who commanded the expedition after Magellan's death, with this distinction. It could be said that that honor belongs to the entire crew of the ship as it crossed the parallel of Spain after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. But almost certainly the title goes to Enrique de Molucca, a slave purchased by Magellan while in the Moluccas in the service of Portugal. Magellan planned to use Enrique as an interpreter when he reached the Indies. Enrique disappeared about the time that Magellan was killed. Some claim that he was killed with Magellan, others that he escaped and managed to get home, still others that he was a part of the plot. One even says, without sufficient evidence and in contradiction to some known facts, that he was really a native of Cebu, in the Philippines!

Whatever the case, from the point of view of determining the first person known to have encircled the globe, the point is moot. As Rodrigue Lévesque says in *History of Micronesia a Collection of Source Documents: Volume 1 — European Discovery 1521-1560*:

Whether or not Henry [English for Enrique] survived the massacre and eventually returned to his homeland in the Moluccas, it can be said that he was the first man around the world if only because he had crossed the meridian of the Moluccas by the time he reached Cebu. [Lévesque 1992a: 293]

The discovery of another way to the Spice Islands initiated a period of intense rivalry between Spain and Portugal.

To capitalize on Magellan's discoveries, Spain sent out other expeditions. The **second** western fleet to visit the island arrived in 1526 under the command of Fray García **Jofre** de Loaisa. One of Loaisa's ships was captained by Juan Sebastian Elcano who had **sailed** with Magellan. The Loaisa expedition used the Marianas as all visitors would for **the** next 142 years. They resupplied their stores of food and water and traded with the **Chamorros** who sailed out to meet them. Loaisa also continued the pattern of ill **treatment** of the natives. He kidnapped eleven men to work the pumps. They escaped **upon** reaching the Philippines but were killed by the people there who thought they were **pirates**. He also recovered Gónzalo de Vigo, a man who deserted from the *Trinidad*, a **ship** of Magellan's fleet that had tried to return to Mexico from the Moluccas.

On 26 January 1565, Gen. Miguel López de Legazpi formally claimed Guam for **Spain**.

Legazpi was from an old and honored Spanish family and considered a man of **great** wisdom. This expedition was sent on order of Philip II. By 1559, the subjugation **of** Mexico had been accomplished. New Spain, as Mexico was called, was ruled by a **Viceroy** and an *Audiencia*. In 1559, Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain and **president** of the *Audiencia* was directed to dispatch two ships to explore the islands **toward** the Moluccas. It took five years to outfit this, the first expedition to sail directly **from** Mexico to the Marianas. The expedition was piloted by another notable explorer — **Andrés** de Urdaneta. Urdaneta had sailed with Loaisa. Upon his return to Spain he **renounced** military life and became an Augustinian monk. He was known to be one of **the** **best** cosmographers of his day — or perhaps one of the best Haole cosmographers.

In his excellent history of Guam, *Destiny's Landfall*, Dr. Robert F. Rogers

discusses the ethnic make-up of the Legazpi expedition:

The expedition was essentially New World in composition (i.e. mostly *criollos* — Spaniards born outside Spain), the first of many with little direct participation by Spaniards born in Spain (*peninsulares* or *gachupines*). Mestisos (people with Spanish and Indian blood) and mulattoes (people of Negro and Spanish or other blood) were recruited, but pureblooded New World Indians were not because they were considered by the Spaniards as unreliable at that time. (Rogers 1995a: 13)

Recent research by Marjorie G. Driver of the Micronesian Area Research Center has determined that:

Not surprisingly, when Legazpi sailed for the Philippines with specific instructions to seek a return route back across the Pacific to New Spain, he carried a commission as governor (*adelantado*) of the Islands of the Ladrões. [Driver 1993: 1]

Legazpi arrived at Guam on 22 January 1565. He was met, of course, by the proas. But the proas stood off at a distance from Legazpi's fleet. The general was unable to induce the Chamorros to come aboard. Perhaps they remembered the kidnapping of their countrymen by Loaisa 31 years earlier. Legazpi sailed down the west coast of the island until he arrived at a natural inlet — presumably Apra harbor. He stopped there to replenish his supplies.

Legazpi recorded his experience:

We continued our course on this latitude. On Monday, 21 January, we came in sight of land, which afterwards proved to be one of the Ladrões Islands called Guam. We steered to that island, but we were no more than two leagues from it when fifty or sixty proas under sail surrounded the fleet. These proas were rigged with lateen sails of palm mats and were as light as the wind. This is a kind of boat that sails with remarkable speed either with the wind or at random. In each canoe were from six to eight Indians, altogether naked covering not even the privy parts which men are wont to cover. They laughed aloud, and each of them made signs inviting us to his own town (for they were from different villages) and promising to give us food there. At nightfall we coasted the island and the next morning we cast anchor in a very good port [Umatac]. The day had scarcely begun when a great number of those proas appeared about us. There

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were so many of them, who came to trade with us, that some of our men who counted them affirm that there were more than four or five hundred of them around the ships. All that they had to sell us were articles of food, namely: potatoes, rice, yams, coconuts, sugar cane, excellent bananas and several other kinds of fruit, They also brought ginger, which grows in this island in so great quantity that it is a thing to wonder over: and they do not till or cultivate it but it comes up and grows of itself in the open fields, just as any other herb.

The natives shouted at us, each one inviting us to buy of him. The men of the fleet began to give them the face-cards from old playing cards, and to put bits of woolen cloth and other objects around their necks and on their heads. The Indians seeing this asked for these articles and adorned themselves herewith as they had seen our men do. In these transactions many ridiculous things happened and many jests were played. Afterward our men began to give them nails which the Indians liked so well that they desired nothing else after that. They would smell them before taking them. For each nail they gave measures of rice containing about half a *fenega* [ a Spanish dry measure of between one and two bushels] more or less. After the rice was drawn up into the boat by means of a rope, because the Indians would not trade outside of their own canoes, and the packages were opened, it was found that only the top layer was rice and the rest straw and stones. The Indian who had practiced this jest would clap his hands in glee and laugh long and loud and go from that vessel to another to play the same trick. [Legazpi 1521: 137-138]

On 26 January 1565, Legazpi claimed all of the Marianas. As this was an official claim Legazpi instructed his senior notary Hernando Riquel to record and certify the procedure.

On the 26th day of the month of January of the year 1565, being on an island of the Ladrões that the native islanders gave us to understand by sign language is called Guan, the most illustrious Sir Miguel López Legazpi for His Majesty Governor and Captain General of the people and the fleet going in his service to discover the Islands of the West, having disembarked in the cove where watering was done, before me, Hernando Riquel, Senior Notary for the said fleet and for the government of the said Islands of the West, declared: that in the name of His Royal Majesty King Philip, our Lord, and as his governor and Captain General, of the people of the fleet going in his service to discover the Islands of the West, declared: that in the name of his Royal Majesty King Philip, our Lord, and as his Governor and Captain General, was taking and did take possession and was taking and did take the tenancy and physical and actual possession of the said island and of the other dependent islands in the vicinity, and as a token of real possession, took out his sword and cut tree branches, pulled out grasses, threw stones and had crosses cut in the trees, specially in a few coconut palm trees that were near the beach, and he caused masses to be said and celebrated by the religious of the Order of our lord Saint Augustine who are with the said fleet, and he took a stroll from one place to another, and he

formally and presently did other formal acts and ceremonies of physical possession as is required in such cases, is usually done and customary to do. The said possession took place quietly and peacefully in the presence of many persons without any contradiction from any person.

As proof that all the above-said happened thus, he asked me, the said notary, to prepare a certificate and in fulfillment thereof, I, the said Hernando Riquel the above-mentioned notary, bear witness to the aforesaid for I was present, together with his Lordship the said Governor, being witness thereof the Most Reverend Father Fray André de Urdaneta, Prior, the Master-of Camp Mateo del Sanz, the accountant Andrés de Mirandaola, Lieutenant General André's de Ibarra, Gerónimo de Moncón and many other persons. In witness whereof I affixed here my usual signature and rubric to attest to its truthfulness. [Riquel 182].

Notice that Riquel reports that the Ladrones were taken in the name of "His Royal Majesty King Philip" not in the name of Spain. The entire Mariana chain became the personal property of the King.

Legazpi refused to allow his men to trade with the natives without his specific permission. He hoped to avoid giving offense and to avoid desertions. Despite these precautions, there was trouble. A watering party was showered with sling stones and a ship's boy who had wandered away from the party to take a nap was found and killed by the Chamorros for reasons that are unknown. The general sent a hundred armed men to punish the natives.

The punitive expedition landed but was unable to find any Chamorros. They burned some proas and, leaving some of the party in ambush, returned to the ship. Soon the natives, thinking that the Spaniards had gone, returned. They were ambushed by the party that had remained on the island. Three of the wounded were hanged at the spot where the seaman's body had been found. A fourth would have suffered the same fate had it not been for the intercession of two friars.

From the time of her discovery in 1521 until the first attempt at her colonization by the Spaniards in 1668, Guam was a regular stopping place for the Spanish galleons

traveling from Mexico to the Philippines. The Legazpi expedition successfully found a return route to Mexico. The return route was much farther north than the route west but occasionally it would touch the farthest north of the Marianas. By the mid-16th century, the Spanish Main had become a gauntlet of pirates and privateers, so the Spanish had taken to moving the booty of Mexico by way of the Pacific to Manila and hence to Spain. The annual Manila Galleon, as she was called, became one of the dream prizes for privateers.

In 1577, Sir Francis Drake sailed from England in a ship named the *Pelican* which was later renamed the *Golden Hind*. He passed through the Straits of Magellan and sailed up the west coast of South America as far as California, wreaking havoc on Spanish settlements and shipping. After amassing a fabulous treasure and a good deal of hard feeling, Drake was afraid to return to England the way he had come. So he sailed, instead, across the Pacific. In late September or early October of 1579, he spent one day at an island he called the “Island of Thieves.” It is not known whether or not this was one of the Ladrões but considering the penchant of navigators to use stolen navigational documents, it seems likely. Drake was, in fact, using charts stolen from Alonso Sánchez Colochero, a Spanish pilot. Some historians claim, however, that Drake’s “Island of Thieves” was probably Belau.

The religious had been agitating almost since the time of discovery for an opportunity to evangelize the Ladrões. In the 81 years of the 16th century between discovery and Juan Pobre’s residence on Tinian, at least 74 ships carrying as many as 3,000 people had visited Guam. Most of these ships carried priests or friars. Several had attempted to evangelize the Chamorros. The first to do so, was apparently a Franciscan



Discalced named Fray Antonio de los Angeles. The Discalced were so named because they wore no shoes — they went barefoot. In 1596, Fray Antonio and 21 other Franciscans were on the Galleon *San Pablo* en route to the Philippines. They stopped in the Marianas for provisions. When he saw the Chamorros, Fray Antonio asked his superior for permission to stay in the islands. The superior, probably thought Antonio was joking, or something, because he casually agreed. The next thing he knew, Antonio was in a proa on his way ashore. Two crewmen jumped into a proa to bring him back but before they could find him and return, the *San Pablo* sailed. The next year the galleon rescued all three. But Fray Antonio goes down in history as the first missionary to the Marianas.

In 1662 the galleon *San Damian* stopped at Guam to replenish her supplies en route from Acapulco to Manila. On board was a group of Jesuit missionaries, one of whom was Diego Luis Sanvitores. Upon sighting the naked natives that surrounded the ship, he decided to dedicate himself to converting them and getting them decently clothed.

There is no doubt that upon the discovery of the Marianas by Magellan, the Chamorro race and culture were doomed. It is merely an accident of history that Padre Sanvitores was the agent of that doom.

Since Sanvitores was probably more responsible than any other for the destruction of the Chamorro race and culture, his life and works are worthy of examination in some detail. The best source for information about the life of San Vitoes is Francisco García who, in 1683 published *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores*. This book is an attempt to beatify San Vitoes as the name is usually

misspelled in English. As such it is an expression of not only the White Legend but Catholic mysticism. García's account is one of a miracle worker. An important part of the myth of Sanvitores is miracles, miraculous healing and divine intervention. Although it was published 11 years after Sanvitores' death is still the best account of this weird and wondrous man.

Diego Luis de Sanvitores was born on 12 November 1627 in the city of Burgos, the Capital of Castile. His father was Don Jeronimo de Sanvitores, a man of noble lineage, a knight of the Order of Saint James, and a man of influence in the court of Philip IV. His mother, Doña Maria de Maluenda, was also of noble lineage. They had several children, among whom were two sons.

In 1638 Diego began his studies in the Imperial college of Madrid and, on 25 July 1640, he joined the *Compania de Jesus*, Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. The 17th century Jesuits were a religious order of *regulars*, or an order that lives by rules. Unlike many other orders, who are referred to as "brother" "friar" or "fray," Jesuits are traditionally referred to as "father" or "padre."

Two days after he was accepted as a Jesuit, Sanvitores departed for Villarejo de Fuentes to begin his novitiate. He demonstrated such a gift for learning that his name afterwards appeared in the catalog of the school with the complimentary phrase, *Emperador as que jubilado*, an appellation with which no other student was honored. [According to García's translator Margaret Higgins, this phrase is extremely difficult to render into English, but it means one who has completed his work with great honors.]

Both of his parents objected to his choice of career. They preferred the profession of arms for their son. But they softened as time passed. When it was known that he was

succeeding so well in his studies and that he could not be dissuaded, his father wrote him a letter a part of which he never forgot:

**My son Diego, I have learned that thou hast entered in the Company. Be assured that if thou dost not go forward much in virtue, and art not a truly holy man, Thou art no son of mine. [García 1683: 6]**

In 1640, the 12-year-old Sanvitores was received in the *Santa Casa de Noviciado*. He completed his novitiate before he was 14, but could not take his vows because of his youth. So he went to Alcala where he continued the study of philosophy and theology. And on 12 March 1650 he was ordained a subdeacon. But he still had a year to wait before he was old enough to be ordained a priest. Finally on 23 December 1651, at the age of 24, he took a third probation and then went to Oropesa where he was an instructor in grammar.

He went to Madrid for a year and a half of special studies in theology. While in Madrid, he participated in the missionary activities of Jesuits in the public streets. Young Sanvitores preached with such fervor that his father, who was present on one occasion, was moved to tears.

From Madrid he went to the College of Alcala, where he was an instructor in arts and sciences. At the age of 32 he wrote from Alcala to the General of the Jesuits, Padre Ghosbino Nikel, begging authorization for passage to the Indias, to convert the heathen. In the letter he gave a detailed account of his vocation and obtained from the padre general the desired permission. During a severe illness, he made a solemn vow. He said:

**From now henceforth I shall employ my life and strength in the ministry of the missions, principally among the heathen, and if this is not permitted, then among the faithful, according to the disposition of the superiors and the institute of the Company of Jesus. [García 1683: 6]**

He wrote to the padre general of the Jesuits asking to be posted in Japan, China or, as a last resort, to the Philippines. The padre general, after reading the letter, immediately gave his authorization for Sanvitores' transfer to the Philippines.

After obtaining the consent of his superiors, Sanvitores had to console his father and prepare him for the departure. His father gave his wholehearted approval of the departure but, as a parting gift from his son, he asked for a picture. Sanvitores then went to Cadiz to take leave of his brother Don Joseph de Sanvitores, Viscount of Cabra.

Passing through Cordoba he met Padre Luis de Medina, who at the time was studying philosophy in that city. Sanvitores, who had never seen him before, saluted him and said with special affection:

**"See we are to be great friends." [García 1683: 9]**

On 15 May 1660 Sanvitores sailed for Mexico with several other Jesuit missionaries. They arrived in Vera Cruz on 28 July.

In Mexico Sanvitores continued his apostolic labors with the same zeal that he had in Spain. Padre Francisco Solano, who accompanied him on the voyage to Mexico and in later years was his successor in the Ladrones, compared him to Saint Francis Xavier — a comparison which would have thrilled and embarrassed Sanvitores.

But Sanvitores was not satisfied with his success in Mexico. He wanted to be in the Philippines. When the news reached him that a ship had arrived at Acapulco, he went to the viceroy and arranged transportation to Manila for himself and 14 companions. But the ship was small and crowded, so the others of the company had to wait in Mexico for another year.

Sanvitores sailed from Acapulco on 5 April 1662 on the *San Damian*. It was said that throughout the voyage Sanvitores exerted such a strong influence on all on board that even the sailors gave up gambling and cursing — truly a miracle!

When the *San Damian* arrived at the Ladrões, of course the Chamorros sailed out in canoes to meet the vessel and to exchange island products for knives and other articles of iron. García says:

It is impossible to express the feelings of the zealous Padre San Vitores when he saw the poor, naked natives, who, although living in the path of the Spanish galleons, had never enjoyed the blessings of Christianity. And realizing that their poverty and that of their forlorn aspect, he cried, with tears streaming down his face, that there were those who sought gold in the world, while here were the richest mines of all, souls purchased by the blood of Christ. And he prayed that the light might be sent in order that there be not so many souls lost which could, at a price, be redeemed by the light of the evangel. And as the ship drew nearer the islands, there surged within him, like a celestial light, that passage from the Scriptures: *Evangelizare pauperibus misi ti*, [Evangelize the unfortunate people.] which continually resounded in his soul and which he himself believed to be a divine inspiration. He was more than ever convinced that it was to these people that he was called. From that time forward he thought of nothing but his mission to the islands later called *Las Islas Marianas*, and would gladly have remained there despite the fact that he knew nothing of the language, and was without financial means with which to undertake any new project, if he had not been already under orders to proceed to the Philippines. [García 1683: 10-11]

The *San Damian* proceeded to her destination, and he went with her — albeit reluctantly. On 10 July 1662, the *San Damian* put into the port of Lampong, in the Philippines. From there the party of missionaries had to go on foot to Manila over difficult and sometimes almost impassable trails.

Sanvitores was sent to the mission at Taytay, where he studied the Tagalog language:

And, although the Tagalog language is a most difficult one, this servant of God learned it with such facility and in such a short time that, when some of his companions thought themselves fortunate in having mastered only the rudiments of it, he was already using it fluently in preaching and in daily contacts with the people. [García 1683: 11]

He preached his first sermon in Tagalog only three months after his arrival at Taytay.

Sanvitores also established a rapport with the people. When a Chinese pirate menaced Manila with a fleet of nearly 1000 vessels full of armed men, the people were terrified. But Sanvitores roused them to a successful defense of the city.

He then went into the mountains of Maralaya and Santa Ines, where he worked among the natives. Then he took passage to the island of Aindoro, where, he said, the natives reminded him of those of the Ladrones — they were ignorant and, what was worse, naked:

**Here he met with great difficulty and suffered severe reverses in his attempt to evangelize and convert the inhabitants, who were a wild and unruly race. [García 1683: 12]**

But he managed to convert about 200.

Finally, he was ordered by his superiors to return to Manila. Although he continued to work in the Philippines, Sanvitores was stubborn — the idea of establishing a mission in the Ladrones was an obsession. He believed that the Ladrones had a greater right to receive the benefits of the Christianity than the Philippines. First, because possession had been taken of the Ladrones in the name of the crown prior to the colonization of the Philippines; and second, because of their “forlorn condition.” He wanted to clothe them — in the robes of Christianity and in what he considered the necessary garments of decency. He spoke repeatedly to his superiors in the Company, soliciting their aid.

In a letter to the royal ministers in the Philippines, Sanvitores set forth his many reasons for wishing to attempt this new spiritual conquest.

**For the desire of our Catholic monarchs has always been to widen the frontiers of the kingdom of Christ more than those of their own empires, and that which they expend in material things they gain in souls which Christ has purchased with his**

blood. They could give no better evidence of this than in caring for these poor natives who have neither gold nor silver, nor anything else to be hunted in their country, thus closing the mouths of heretics who like to say that the lust for gold rather than religious zeal is what causes the Spaniards to seek the riches of the Indies. And if His Majesty seeks souls and not riches, God will exchange him gold for the souls he saves, thus rewarding his piety. [García 1683: 13]

A bit later, he added:

And the Ladrone islands are in the path of our ships. There are many and they are well populated with a gentle race. Without idolatries and with fewer vices than most other people; friendly with the Spaniards whom they have received and treated well when they were shipwrecked in past years. They will not admit the Dutch to their islands as they are known enemies of the Spaniards, which later fact would assist greatly in our project. There is owing them the favor which has been given to other nations, even at much cost to the treasury. This aside from the fact that they have had this right for more than a century, since Don Miguel López de Legazpi took possession in the name of the king in 1565, before the Philippines were thus taken, and with the promise that he would send them missionaries who would teach them the law of God. Moreover, possession of them was taken by means of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was said on one of the islands. [García 1683: 14]

He continued by discussing the extreme spiritual need of the adults and of the children who died in infancy, the ease with which they could be converted, because they had no idolatrous practices; their docility and gentleness; and other qualities which would provide good soil for the propagation of Christianity.

He went on to point out, with almost military logic, that according to those who had been to the Ladrones, it would only be necessary to provide an example and the people would accept the faith. He said that the king had converted the Philippines, corrupted as they were by idolatry and Islam, at the cost of much blood and treasure. With the major objective taken, Sanvitores claimed that it would only take 15 or 20 Filipino Christians and a few Spanish friars with no military escort to accomplish the task. But he also asked for enough wheat and wine to provide for Masses, clothing and

other necessities until he could produce them there. These provisions could be put ashore by the annual Manila Galleon.

And whatever ship might be sent from Manila to these islands with supplies for the missionaries, and having paid its visit there sets out again for Acapulco, catching the southwesterly winds which are so helpful on the voyage eastward, this brief stop and yearly assistance would be sufficient to assure the success of the venture. Thus might be prevented the two and three year periods which occasionally occur when no ship visits the islands.

Experience has shown how delightful the voyage can be from New Spain to the Ladrones, and from there to New Spain, and how difficult is the remainder of the way to Manila. The Ladrones. being the first islands that the faith could have conquered; the first islands where the missionaries were received in a friendly manner; the first to be taken possession of for the Crown by Miguel López de Legazpi; the first in which a promise was made to return and Christianize them; their land the first on which Mass was celebrated, and being as they are directly in the path of our ships, they deserve prompt attention. Many of our ministers have passed these islands on their way to the more remote Philippines and have seen the natives who have visited the ships. These latter, in their forlorn condition, tacitly charge us with having neglected them, as we have passed that way for the last hundred years without taking cognizance of the great harvest that could be made there, leaving the devil in quiet and peaceful possession, although to the great distress of the ministers of Christianity. No doubt this is the reason why God punishes us so greatly in the loss of our ships, in such frequent and severe storms and delayed voyages. [García 1683: 16]

The royal ministers praised the zeal of Sanvitores. They said that they would like to cooperate with him but there were “difficulties.” There was no available ship. There was no money with which to pay the cost of sending a mission to the Ladrones. There were no priests who could be spared.

There was no ship, because the one that made the annual voyage to Mexico did not put in at the Ladrones because of contrary winds. She first went to Mexico and then back to the Ladrones. This was to travel 5,000 miles in order to make a few hundred, and would cost too much.

There was no money. The royal exchequer could not finance or support such a mission — funds for support could not be raised in the Ladrones.



Sanvitores countered their objections, but they remained firm. Some of the religious as well as government officials disapproved of his plans.

But Sanvitores believed himself chosen by God for this particular undertaking so he refused to admit defeat. He answered opposition by saying that nothing is impossible to God. He increased his fasts, penitence and prayers. He worked long into the night writing letters to those who could help him.

Once Sanvitores was convinced that he could not get a satisfactory hearing in Manila he sent the king, Don Felipe IV, his *Papel de Motivos* [Literally a “list of reasons” the *Papel de Motivos* was a legal document that accompanied a petition.] accompanied by a letter from the Archbishop of Manila, Don Manuel Pobleto, who was one of his supporters.

He also included an extremely presumptuous letter of his own. In order not to antagonize those ministers who opposed him in Manila, and to avoid offending the king, he attributed his arguments to Francis Xavier:

The Apostle of the *Indias*, San Francisco Xavier, writing to P. Maestro Simon Rodriguez, one of the first companions of San Iñigo Loyola, who governed the Company in Portugal, says thus: “The time has now arrived, beloved Brother in Christ, Maestro Simon, to undeceive the king, for the hour is nearer than he knows in which God will call him to give an account saying, ‘*Redde rationem villicationis tuae*,’ which means, ‘Give me an account of thy administration.’ For this reason, try, Maestro Simon, to make the king adjust the spiritual affairs of the *Indias*, as a means of ridding himself of his sins. It appears to me, and God grant that I be mistaken, that the king, at the hour of his death, will be overtaken by the many debts he owes to God, on account of his manner of life. And I fear that in heaven, God, talking about him to the saints, may say, — ‘The king shows much good will in his letters, to my honor, in the *Indias*, and rightly so, for it is his possession by right of title, but he does not punish those who fail to carry out his wishes as expressed in those letters, seizing and punishing only those who have charge of the hacienda if they do not procure, as they ought, satisfactory benefits.’ I see only one way, from the experience I have in these matters, to propagate our holy faith in the *Indias* and that is for you to tell the king and his ministers that none serve so well in the *Indias* as those who with all their might

work for the extension of the faith of Christ. And, for that reason, order and charge that they procure the conversion of Ceylon (other prospective missions are mentioned here also) and for this let them search everywhere for religious personnel and make use of the work and ministry of our Company and of others that may appear suitable to augment the divine service.

“And if the ministers should be negligent in this, threaten them with an oath (and it would be a great service to God thus to threaten and still a greater one to carry out the threat) that if they do not thus assist the royal conscience, helping in every possible way the Christianization of the Indias; as soon as they return to Portugal they shall be punished by long imprisonment and confiscation of their properties.” [García 1683: 19-20]

This implied accusation of negligence in the service of their king alarmed the ministers in Manila.

Sanvitores even suggested that the king spend 15 minutes a day asking God to help him understand the Biblical verse:

**What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?  
[Mark 8: 36]**

Despite this lack of diplomacy, the padre's suggestion was favorably received by the king. As a matter of fact Sanvitores may have, by accident of design, hit upon the perfect psychological weapon to sway the king. Philip was terrified of “Last Judgment.” He was a notorious womanizer who had fathered 30 known illegitimate children. And he was known to go into periods of depression and repentance in fear of God's retribution.

To further ensure success, Sanvitores wrote a letter to Padre Everardo Nithard, confessor of the queen Doña Mariana de Austria, urging that the matter be taken up with the queen, in an attempt to obtain her favor and assistance for the mission.

After setting forth in a general way his reasons for soliciting the support of the queen, and dealing with those who were thwarting his plans, he wrote:

**Who can doubt that if the queen could procure the reduction or the return to the faith of all the heretics and infidels in the world, she would do so at whatever the cost! And if not all could be attracted, for some might be unwilling, at least she would do anything within her ability for the conversion of those who did not resist,**

and especially for the salvation of the souls of multitudes of children who are perishing day by day. They could be rescued — there being priests at hand, and the parents offering no opposition to baptism, and thus their salvation would be obtained.

If there is even one child within the palace that is about to die and is without succor by means of holy baptism, if the queen hears of it, she hastens to its assistance without hesitation and attends to its baptism, Then how much greater evidence of her piety would it be, were she, who is known for her gentleness of heart and a natural inclination to charity toward all those about her, to do no less than rise from her throne and go to the rescue of thousands of infants who have no one to provide the only remedy, which is holy baptism, unless it is done by means of the royal *cédulas* and orders which the king may well choose to dispatch.

And for every year's delay in the dispatch of these orders, for lack of anyone who will interest himself in the matter, and lacking only that one word by which His Majesty would signify his interest and devotion, many perish miserably and irremediably for lack of the one needed remedy.

For if it be known that if a child is dying without baptism, any woman, whatever her position, would be moved to cry out in its behalf in order that succor might not arrive too late; and thus knowing that there are many who perish annually, will not the queen see herself obliged to do whatever she may to hasten the rescue?

Imagine what will happen in heaven when those children know their great debt to Her Majesty, who came to their rescue with the salvation which, had it not arrived in time would not have provided the happiness they now enjoy?

And if the *niños* of silver or wax which the faithful give as votive offerings in return for favors, such as the recovery of sick children, are pleasing in the sight of God, how much more acceptable will be the souls of those infants who die baptized, redeemed by the blood of the Lamb of God, whom they will follow and praise throughout eternity?

For the first thing that the Heavenly Father did when the Son of God grew into boyhood was to surround him with an army of children, giving them to him as soldiers of the guard who would receive the wounds and attempts on the life of the child Jesus by the cruelty of such as Herod. And how happy was the gentle Jesus when children drew near to him and he said that of such was the Kingdom of Heaven!

Still greater will be the pleasure that God will enjoy now with the formation of this other army of infants, there being no need for the impiety of a Herod, which instead give way to the same charity of the gentle heart of the queen when she directs all her energies toward the conversion and reduction of these islands to the faith of Jesus Christ. [García 1683: 21-22]

While Sanvitores awaited the king's reply, opposition increased in Manila. But Sanvitores succeeded not only in obtaining the desired assistance from the king but he so interested the queen that she gave of her own funds.

The Jesuit superiors could see that their relations were becoming strained with the ministers of the crown. They ordered Sanvitores not to speak of the matter to the governor, and that if the governor brought up the subject, Sanvitores was to make every effort to divert the conversation to other matters. Sanvitores agreed to carry out the wishes of his superiors. He had, after all, sworn an oath of obedience. And besides he realized that this in no way prevented the continuance of his communications intended for the king and queen through his father Don Jeronimo Sanvitores. Philip IV, decreed by Royal *cédula* of 24 June 1665, that the governor of the Philippines must provide a ship for Sanvitores' mission to the Ladrones. A *cédula* was any of a number of official Spanish documents. The king gave Sanvitores' a copy of the order so he could speed up the work. The *cédula* was dispatched on 24 June 1665, and at the end of June 1666, arrived at Manila.

When the royal *cédula* arrived at Manila there was a change of heart, or at least a change of words and behavior on the part of those who had most firmly opposed the mission. In obedience to the royal decree, the governor ordered that a ship be constructed in Cavite, and that the ship should be called the *San Diego*.

But interests stronger than those of the missionaries contrived to have the ship sent to Peru with merchandise. This meant that Sanvitores had either to abandon his plans for the voyage or spend two years in getting to Guam. The ship was not to stop at Guam on the passage eastward, so Sanvitores would have to go to Mexico then Peru on his way to the Marianas. In an account given by Padre Lorenzo Bustillos, an intimate of Sanvitores, the following incident is reported:

**When the order was given for the ship to sail to Peru, the ship itself as if it had knowledge of that fact, and realized what a serious offense had been committed**

against God and his servant, rolled over on its side and remained thus inclined and no human efforts served to right it. And the servant of God [Sanvitores] said that if the officials did not at once change their decision, no matter what efforts they might make in an attempt to right it, it would remain as it was. [García 1683: 26]

Others have suggested that the ship was deliberately poorly built because of the governor's opposition to the king's wishes.

Sanvitores was fired up with religious fervor and he was fed up with the ministers in Manila. He threatened the City of Manila with all manner of calamities, misfortune and ruin if the will of God was not carried out. Sanvitores was venerated by most and believed by many to be a saint and a prophet. His words were believed, and the governor proclaimed that the ship should go first to Acapulco with Sanvitores and from there should return immediately to Guam with him and his companions.

Sanvitores embarked from the port of Cavite with Padre Tomas de Cardenoso, on 7 August 1667. The passage across the Pacific was easy. It was accomplished in five months instead of the usual eight months to a year.

But there were still the usual illnesses and storms. García says:

The ship encountered one severe storm in which the winds and the, sea appeared to have determined upon the destruction of the vessel, which rolled and tossed, now high on the crest of a wave, now at the bottom of an abysm. The members of the expedition believed each plunge would carry the ship to the bottom, and all gave themselves up for lost. Padre San Vitores, seeing that the crew wanted to cut loose the mainmast, counseled them, saying that the winds were nothing but demons and that soon they would be calmed. So it was, for within two hours the weather had modified and the ship resumed its normal course. [García 1683: 27]

As was the custom by the 17th century, Sanvitores had a military escort — Capt. Don Juan de Santa Cruz.

The ship arrived at Acapulco at the beginning of January 1668. Sanvitores went ashore, barefooted. He was keeping a vow he had made during the voyage.

Sanvitores had not intended to go to Mexico City. He wrote to the viceroy informing him of his plans and asking for assistance for the mission. Of course, the viceroy replied that his plans presented many difficulties which could be resolved only by his presence at the capital. He also said he wanted to meet Sanvitores.

So Sanvitores went to Mexico City. He took an image of *La Concepcion de Nuestra Sonora*, [Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception] and went to the palace of the viceroy. The viceroy, at that time, was Señor Marques de Mancera. He was engaged and could not talk immediately with the missionary. Sanvitores was apparently impressed with the effects of his high-handed action in Manila. He sent in the image of the *Señora Indrona* [Our Lady of the Indies] with a message that *Señora Indrona* would speak for them, that she was going to rob the palace, to help her children, *Los Ladrones*, and that Sanvitores would await the reply — he got his audience.

He talked to the viceroy numerous times to explain the importance of his enterprise, the orders of the king; and the need for 10,000 pesos.

The viceroy said he wanted to comply with Sanvitores' request, but that there were grave difficulties. There was a lack of funds in the royal treasury and he had not received official instruction to give money to Sanvitores. For him to do so without orders might not please the king. The members of the *audiencia* concurred.

Sanvitores replied:

"Señor, consider how precious are the souls redeemed by the Blood of Jesus Christ and what ought to be given for those to whom Christ gave so much. All the treasure of the Indies would be a small price to pay for one, and the queen would give all, emulating the piety of the king, who said on many occasions that for one redeemed soul he would give all the wealth of the Indies. See, then, that **this** is the desire of our rulers, who try more to extend the frontiers of the kingdom of Jesus Christ than their own, and to give vassals to the redeemer more than to accumulate riches. Observe that on your decision may depend the salvation or

condemnation of innumerable souls and remember that you will have to answer to the supreme judge of the living and the dead, who will take as strict account of small things as of large ones, and will demand an eye for eye and a tooth for a tooth when he asks an account of the souls who were lost through your fault.” [García 1693: 29-30]

Finally the viceroy and the ministers granted what was requested.

There was another event that is said to have had some influence on this decision.

Sanvitores was conferring with the viceroy and his wife in their private apartments at the palace. The viceroy offered some resistance but his wife made the gesture of kneeling before her husband to plead with him. At that moment an earthquake shook the city.

It was soon believed throughout the city that the earthquake had been sent for a definite purpose. No one doubted that by this means God was trying to hasten the dispatch of Padre San Vitores' affairs in behalf of the *Ladrones*. And thus it was, for on the following day, although it was a Sunday during the carnival, the viceroy met with his council and all members, contrary to their previously expressed intentions, voted that ten thousand pesos be supplied Padre San Vitores for his mission. Some concern was still expressed as to how news of the matter would be received in Spain. The council had taken action on the matter without special license to do so. [García 1683: 30-31]

Notice that, contrary to the claims of many of Sanvitores detractors, in García's history, the source of all later histories, García does not say that Sanvitores attached divine meaning to the temblor. The only statement García makes is *Nadie dudo*, no one doubted, but nowhere does he say that Sanvitores made any use whatever of the event to alarm people.

The fears of the ministers that the crown would disapprove of this bequest was largely circumvented when 18 wealthy people guaranteed the sum. They agreed to refund the full amount to the royal treasury if the king did not approve.

There was still one potential difficulty in Sanvitores' path — that of obtaining the **money** promptly. But those in power bent over backward to release the funds — they **wanted** this trouble-and-earthquake-maker out of town.

Sanvitores was also interested in getting cloth of any variety or quality, in any **length** whatever, with which to cover the nudity of the islanders he was about to **evan**gelize.

The most liberal contribution of all came from the congregation of San Francisco **Xavier**, which gave him 10,000 pesos for the conversion of the islands. Several modern **historians** have claimed that the Jesuits gave this 10,000 pesos to Sanvitores. This is **incorrect**. The money was donated by the Congregation of St. Francis Xavier, a religious and **charitable** society composed of ecclesiastical and lay people, members of the church, but **not** necessarily of the Jesuit order. There were and still are many such societies **connected** with Catholic and Protestant churches. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul **functions** under supervision of the Capuchin order but it would be incorrect to state that **funds** dispersed by them for charity are given by the Capuchin order.

Sanvitores stayed in Mexico for three months. The Congregation of San **Franc**isco Xavier had a portrait of him painted that they hung among other portraits of **disting**uished men of the Society of San Francisco Xavier. Sanvitores departed for the **port of** Acapulco toward the middle of February 1668, accompanied by another padre, **Tomas** de Cardenoso, a Mexican Amerindian, and a student, Lorenzo Bustillos.

A few days after his arrival at Acapulco, in March 1668, a missionary expedition from **Spain**, on the way to the Philippines, arrived. In this group was Padre Medina, who **was** Sanvitores' companion from the early days in Spain in 1660.



Sanvitores had brought from Manila an order from the padre provincial, Domingo Ezquerro, giving him the authority to choose, from among those priests who had arrived from Spain, the ones whom he wished to have with him in the Ladrones. So it was not difficult to convince Medina to go to the Ladrones. When they arrived at Guam, Padre Tomas de Cardenoso, who had come from Manila with Sanvitores, Padre Medina, Padre Pedro de Casanova, Padre Luis de Morales and Lorenzo Bustillos went ashore.

They sailed from Acapulco on 23 March 1668. The ship also carried an image of the Virgin, called "Our Lady of Good Voyages."

On the voyage, Sanvitores composed hymns in Chamorro so that they could be used in the conversion of the Chamorros. This gave him an opportunity to practice the language. He also started writing a vocabulary with the help of an interpreter. He learned the language so thoroughly that only eight days after arriving in the Ladrones, he preached in it. It must be recalled, however, that according to all reports, Chamorro was very closely related to Tagalog — those who could speak Tagalog could understand and be understood in Chamorro. And those who could speak Tagalog could easily and rapidly learn Chamorro. Sanvitores was fluent in Tagalog.

While Sanvitores was saying Mass one of the ship's crew sighted the island of Rota, and cried out:

"*Tierra, tierra*," [land] which, to Padre San Vitores, was as if he had cried "Heaven, heaven," for the joy that he had on hearing those words. Soon afterwards the island of Guam was seen, as it was called by the Spanish, or Guahan, as the natives say. [García 1683: 36]

At nightfall, on 15 June, the ship arrived off the island and was surrounded by some 50 canoes, each carrying from four to six people shouting in Chamorro, *Mauleg, Mauleg*, — good, good.

Although invited, the Chamorros would not go aboard. Sanvitores asked the captain to have the “Litany of Our Lady” chanted. When Sanvitores said, “*Sancta Maria: Ora pro nobis*,” [Holy Mary pray for us.] the Chamorros began to come on board the vessel without any fear.

Sanvitores distributed gifts, located the chiefs and began the process of conversion.

The next day a shipwrecked Christian named Pedro, a man who was highly respected by the or *chamorris*, of Guam, brought his daughter, a child of two years, and offered her to Sanvitores for baptism.

Sanvitores had the child baptized by Padre Morales. He named her Mariana, in memory of the mother of Jesus and in compliment to the queen of Spain. And, in appreciation of the many kindnesses of the queen, he renamed this group of islands, *Las Islas Marianas*. At some point, Sanvitores renamed the islands after Christian saints — an action that, from the point of view of preserving some small part of the Chamorro culture, fortunately didn’t take root. He called Guam, for example, San Juan.

Pedro assured Sanvitores that he would be well received. The missionary also had the assurance of Padre Medina and Padre Casanova, who had gone ashore earlier. This advanced party had had something of a fright. Some of the Chamorros had come to meet them with spears, and little by little armed warriors crowded the beach. The secular members of the party feared that the padres might be killed. But the padres continued and discovered that what had been mistaken for hostility was, in reality, a welcome.

The padres and the Chamorros embraced. The Chamorros conducted the padres to the chief of the village of Agaña, who was called Quipuha. Quipuha was in a house

that was richly embellished and decorated with palm fronds, where he was in company with other Chamorros. The Padres kissed his hand and passed their hands over his chest.

There were two Quipuhás. The first, and the elder, was the one who is referred to by **the** “White Legend of the Marianas” as the last of the great Chamorro chieftains. And by **the** “Black Legend” as the traitor of the Chamorros. As usual with White/Black Legends, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. Probably the best and the worst that can be **said** of him is that he was a victim who was duped into betraying his people. It was he who **received** and entertained Sanvitores and his party, aided in the construction of the first **church**, and when he died was buried under its altar. Another Quipuha, a nephew of this **Quipuha**, will appear later.

The missionaries were somewhat conversant in the Chamorro language, some of **them** had previously served in the Philippines and the languages were closely related. In **addition** they had been studying with Esteban, a Filipino survivor of a mutiny aboard the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*. Esteban had been rescued in 1668 after more than 23 **years** in the Marianas.

They explained their mission to Quipuha. They said that the reason for their **arrival**, which was to teach the people the law of God and the way to heaven. Quipuha **answered** that they were welcome and that for a long while he had hoped they would **come** to his country.

This hospitable reception was attributed to a visit that the Virgin Mary was said to **have** made to the island of Tinian. The Virgin appeared to a Chamorro named Taga, and **urged** him to be baptized and to help the Spaniards who were marooned there in 1638.

The padres gave Quipuha some iron hoops and a hat.

Remember Fray Juan Pobre? He played an inadvertent part in the emasculation of **the** Chamorros too. In general the Chamorros had been somewhat hostile to most of **the** Spaniards who came to their islands. Juan Pobre, however, made it a social coup to **keep** a pet priest.

When the Chamorros understood that the padres were to remain in their islands most of them were glad. There was one *chamorri*, however, from one of the mountain **villages**, who came down complaining that Quipuha had admitted strangers to the land. But ~~when~~ he understood that they were padres, he decided that it would be all right. **Perhaps** he didn't understand, or perhaps no one understood, that a contingent of armed **Spanish** soldiers would be staying with them.

It is worth remarking here that the majority of Sanvitores' party, particularly the **companions** and soldiers, were not ethnic Spaniards — they were Filipino or Amerindian. **All** references to "Spanish" and "Spaniard" should be seen as a sociological/political **rather** than ethnic identifications.

On Sunday, 17 June, they returned to the ship. They were followed by some of **the** *chamorris*, who thanked Sanvitores for his arrival and asked the captain of the ship to **leave** the padres.

The captain agreed.

The Chamorros carried the padres on their shoulders, made them presents of the **fruits** of their land and celebrated the strangers' arrival with singing and dancing. To **make** up for their lack of clothing, a matter which distressed Sanvitores to no end, they **dressed** themselves in palm and banana fronds. Soon the Mass was said on the shore

with an altar improvised from materials at hand. The Chamorros were allowed to attend the Mass, but in a place apart from the Christians.

And on the first day Sanvitores preached his first sermon in the Marianas. He informed the Chamorros of the reason for his coming — to take them to heaven. And the requirements he put on them — to believe the “divine mysteries,” keep the commandments of God, and be baptized. According to García, 1500 adults were converted. Because it was necessary for them to be instructed before baptism, they offered their children, 23 of whom were baptized that first day.

From the beginning, the *chamorris* quarreled over who should take the priests to their villages. Some came from the northern islands to ask for them. Sanvitores decided to divide the group and send them to various parts of the islands.

Sanvitores had prayed while still in Cavite that God might spare the lives of all the dying Chamorros until he got to the islands and they could be baptized.

And now he garnered the result of this supplication, for he and his companions baptized many children and many old people whose lives, it appeared, had been miraculously conserved. Upon receiving baptism, as if they expected nothing else, they expired and went to glory.

At this point a particular case. The venerable padre being in Cavite the 7th of August 1667, saying Mass and insisting with great fervor on the above mentioned supplication, a little girl was born on the island of Aguijan. It appeared to her father that the *aniti* or a demon threatened her and was about to kill his child. The father begged it not to do so even though it kill him instead. He told this to his wife, who, a few days later, found him dead in his bed.

Padre Luis de Morales arrived on this island at the beginning of December 1668 and on going ashore was called to baptize the little girl, she was very ill. And on receiving the water of baptism, she died in the arms of her mother, from whom the story of the apparition of the demon was known. [García 1683: 57]

Sanvitores was compelled to live in Agaña. The Chamorros believed it was suitable for him to live in the principal settlement.

Sanvitores made Agaña a showplace for Christianity in the islands. He had a **church** and a *residencia*, or house, built on land donated by Quipuha.

Sanvitores told the Chamorros about baptism, Heaven and Hell. And, not **surprisingly**, many begged for baptism. The *chamorris* used their nobility as a reason to **demand** to be baptized immediately. They apparently felt that because of their social **status**, they were entitled to the immediate benefits of baptism. This assumption on the **part** of the *chamorris* was to cause friction between the *chamorris* and the missionaries **later**. In this case, Sanvitores told them that it was necessary to know the Christian **doctrine** first. He started a school for the children and began indoctrinating adults.

The other padres were not idle while Sanvitores worked. He followed the **tradition** of Spanish proselytization. From the beginning he put them to work. He didn't **wait** until they knew the language. He sent them to the villages on the various islands of the Marianas accompanied by interpreters.

He gave them an explanation of the creed and commandments which he had **prepared** in Chamorro, in order that they might read it to the people.

Since Sanvitores was obliged to remain in Agaña and could not go to the other **islands** as he wished, he remained with Bustillos, who was still a student. He sent Padre **Medina** to visit all the villages on the island of Guam. He sent Padre Casanova to Rota; **Padres** Cardenoso and Morales to Tinian.

Many of the secular companions performed the work of ministers. Sanvitores **insisted** that their own lives not hinder the work of conversion. They were all expected to **live** in a Christian manner so that their works would not be contrary to the word they **preached**. They swore not to make wine or tuba (coconut palm wine). He instructed

**them** with great care in the methods of baptizing and teaching the catechism and those **whom** he believed most capable and dependable he sent to the villages that were not **served** by ministers.

Before he had been in the islands for a month he had many adults of all ages **ready** for baptism. But the Chamorro social system got in the way. The *chamorris* **wanted** to prevent the baptism of the common people.

They had heard so much in praise of this sacrament, that they did not wish to **perm**it the lower class to be baptized nor even to hear the Christian doctrine. They said that **so** fine a sacrament should be reserved only for nobles, and a law so wonderful was not **for** common people.

Sanvitores declared that in the matter of salvation there is no difference between **nobles** and plebeians — God is no respecter of persons. Is García referring only to the **chiefs** or the highest of the three classes as nobles? Are commoners both the middle **class** and the outcast class or only the outcasts. It seems likely that García and possibly **even** Sanvitores did not understand the complexity of Chamorro social stratification.

Sanvitores told them they should make a point of having the common people **believe** what they themselves believed, for it was to their honor to have all beneath them **accept** the belief of the *chamorris*, and that no one should be exempt from the precepts **which** were obligations. He told them that if they did not wish to be equaled in anything by **the** common people, they should try to outdo them in their observance of the **Commandments**, and in the practice of their Christian obligations.

When that didn't work, Sanvitores said they were lacking in charity and humility — **both** necessary to receive baptism. And he refused to baptize even one *chamorris*

until they all promised not to embarrass or interfere with the conversion and baptism of the common people.

The first adult to be baptized was Quipuha. The ceremony was performed with great solemnity to impress those who saw it.

He was renamed Juan, in honor of John the Baptist, the patron saint of that island. He was also the first to be buried in the church. Sanvitores overcame the resistance of the people toward burying their dead in any but the old manner. So the Chamorros were giving over the care of the *anitis* to the Spanish. It was said that after Quipuha's death he appeared to his son and told him that he was in heaven. To those who believed this story, and they were probably many as it did not differ from traditional Chamorro belief, this confirmed what the priests had been saying.

The baptism of Don Juan Quipuha, as he was called after he became a Christian, was followed by that of other *chamorris* of Agaña and many of the common people.

Before baptizing adults, Sanvitores made them bury the skulls and bones of their ancestors, and he burned the images which they had made of wood and carved on trees. This caused one man to threaten him. At one point, Sanvitores and a soldier were destroying these images. A Chamorro came toward them brandishing a lance as if he would kill them if Sanvitores did not desist. They merely smiled at his threats. The other Chamorros who were looking on, laughed because, according to García, not all of them revered the skulls of their ancestors — particularly when the padres told them that the souls of their parents and grandparents were burning in hell.



The new Christians developed a horror of hell. When they sinned they asked for another baptism. Sanvitores told them of penitence. Thus they became accustomed to confession. They also became accustomed to flagellation.

And then Sanvitores went after the ultimate affront. García says:

In consideration of Christian decency, Padre San Vitores dressed in the materials he had brought from Mexico all those whom he clothed with Christianity in baptism. Although it is said that God multiplies in quantity that which is badly needed, there began to be a shortage of clothing. Seeing the lack of garments for the crowds that arrived daily for baptism, Padre San Vitores ordered made a quantity of skirts and shirts of palm matting.

The Marianos refused to wear them, partly for the absurd appearance of the garments and also because of their own custom of going unclad. The venerable padre, in order, by his own example, to remove their objection to the garments, dressed himself in one of them and walked up and down before a large group of the people, at first causing laughter at his disguise, but later bringing tears to their eyes, to see their first apostle wearing the costume of Paul, the first hermit, as if the latter were preaching in their own villages, or the former doing penance in the desert. [García 1683: 68]

There was a Chinese named Choco who at about this time was teaching the Chamorros to carve and venerate figures which, of course, García calls “idols.” Choco arrived in the Marianas 20 years before the padres. He was cast ashore in a storm as he was going from Manila to the Indonesian island of Ternate in a sampan or perhaps a junk.

Choco lived in a village called Paa. Paa was near Merizo. There is a small stretch of beach between Merizo and Inarajan which is still called Paa by many Chamorro-Guamanians. This is, most likely, the site of the former village, and the home of Choco. It is probable that he was cast ashore in Saipan, for it’s known that he had a wife and family there. García says that the reason Choco’s influence was so powerful in Saipan was that he was known there and had made that island his home. Apparently he lived there for some time before going to Guam and establishing residence in Paa.

Choco began to circulate a story that the padres were people who were scorned in their own country, and hated by the Spaniards. He said that they had been banished to Guam. That the holy water was poison and would kill anyone the padres baptized, especially children. And that if one was especially strong and was able to resist that poisoned water, it would at least cause him to have dropsy. He said that he had seen it thus in Manila.

This seemed to square with reality. Many people did die a short while after being baptized, because they were already dying. So Choco could make the people themselves witness the truth of what he had told them.

From one point of view, there was some truth in what Choco was saying. Although the holy water was not poisoning the Chamorros, it was poisoning Chamorro culture.

What was Choco's motivation? He probably felt that the Jesuits were removing much of his influence. And the Spanish in the Philippines had been treating the Chinese like dirt since shortly after Magellan. *Shan Lieu*, as the Chinese were called, from a term which the Chinese traders used in their first dealings with the Spanish in Manila and Cavite to explain who and what they were. From *Shan Lieu* comes the name of Sangley Point, Cavite. In the 16th and early 17th centuries, Sangley Point was the quarantine station for Chinese trading vessels. They were not permitted to go to Manila, but were required to remain at Sangley Point. Merchants who wished to buy from these traditional trading partners had to cross the bay.

Choco's stories had an effect. People began to come out to meet the padres with spears instead of food in their hands. They denied them the food that was customarily

offered to travelers. They called them murders and threatened to kill them if they remained in their village. And the thing that was most disheartening to the padres was the fact that mothers hid their children, or fled with them into the hills, so they could not baptize them, and when they were sick or dying they hid them with even greater care.

García says:

It is true that God consoled the padres with the baptism of some new Christians who, overcoming their fear, received the sacrament, and answering those who tried to alarm them: "What is there to fear from such a good law which they preach to us, which is to honor our parents, not to steal, not to kill, etc. And how could they wish to kill us, when they teach us not to kill?" Fathers and mothers there were who bravely gave over their children to the waters of baptism. And there was no lack of children who fled from their carnal fathers to their spiritual fathers to be baptized. [García 1683: 70]

For example, one of the *chamorris* of the village of Agaña, Don Tomas Bungi, went very late one night to call Sanvitores to his house to baptize his two-month-old son, whose mother did not want to take her child to the church. She feared baptism because of what Choco had said. Sanvitores found the child at the point of death, but the mother still resisted. On the insistence of her husband she gave the child to the priest, who baptized him. That same night he died. In the morning Don Tomas sought out the padre to tell him of the child's death. Sanvitores told him about the joy of the child in heaven. He was so happy with the Padre's description that he brought another son, an eight-year-old, asking the padre to keep him in the school with the others who were being brought up there.

Sanvitores could see the effect that Choco's words were having on his efforts so he resolved to convert Choco.

They argued for three days, during which time the padre was able to convert the Chinese. So Choco was baptized, and was called Ignacio.

Although Choco's influence over the Chamorros declined somewhat after his conversion and the number of baptisms continued to increase, it was still hard to overcome the fear of the Chamorros. And Choco's conversion and baptism didn't take. He again railed against the missionaries and especially against baptism. García says:

Choco became again what he was before, (in his customs and religion and his hate of the padres and all Spaniards) because he had not received baptism in Christian sincerity, as many believed he had at the time of his sudden change, which may be attributed to the natural inconstancy of the *Sangleyes*. But he lost his credit because of his inconstancy, as I am inclined to believe, and served the cause of the faith in others, though not his own, for condemning what he had received, and having received that which had condemned. [García 1683: 77]

It is truly unfortunate that we know so little of this fascinating man who openly opposed the Spaniards for a considerable time, then appeared to accept their faith in order to avoid the punishment that he knew they meant to deal out to him at the first opportunity, and then rejected it again.

Before returning to Agaña, to gain the fruits of victory over Choco, Sanvitores decided to visit the other villages on the way. He is said to have performed many baptisms, cures, and miracles.

At about the same time, Padre Lorenzo Bustillos arrived at a village that was called Talisay. Talisay, was inland from Agat, on the Orote Peninsula, near the village of Sumay. The women and children fled to the hills, and the men came out to meet him with lances, telling him to go away at once because he was a killer and that God was a killer. Again it was the baptismal water.

Bustillos, drank some of the "poison." He told them that Choco had retracted his statements and had been baptized in order to testify, in word and deed, that what he said against baptism was false. Then he read the explanation of the Christian doctrine, that Sanvitores had written. This calmed the Chamorros. They offered him food, and when

he answered that he needed no other food and drink than the salvation of their souls and the souls of their children, they brought him three children that had been hidden in the village. And they promised to be baptized themselves and have the women and children in the hills baptized at a later time — presumably when they were sure that the three experimental subjects were unharmed.

Although Choco's influence gradually subsided on Guam it was still strong on the other islands. An ethnic Spanish mariner and his Filipino servant were killed. Several of the padres were attacked and some were wounded.

The Chamorros in the northern islands were in a state of unrest, and took up arms. The missionaries wrote to Sanvitores, explaining their problems, and the danger in which they found themselves. They asked him to come to their rescue at once. After a trip around Guam, Sanvitores decided to visit the island of Tinian. His companions tried to talk him out of it. Each one offered to go in his stead. They urged him to consider the risk — if one of the others were killed, it would simply mean the death of a missionary, but if he were killed it would mean the death of the mission.

He replied that he could go more safely than any other because he was less deserving than any of the good fortune of dying for Christ. So if he died, he said, he would be less missed, and his blood shed in such a good cause would do more good for Christianity than his life, so poorly employed. García says:

His companions would not accept his reasoning and continued to insist that he abandon his plans for the journey, he said to them, with firmness: "Do not be disturbed, my padres, that I am to be the first to go, for if they strike me with their lances I shall happily await other blows, and yet others, for the love of God."  
[García 1683: 83]

So, like many missionaries, Sanvitores was seeking martyrdom.

Sanvitores embarked with Padre Morales for the islands of the north, on 20 October 1668. The mere presence of Sanvitores was such that several warring villages made peace among themselves, and for the time being, danger of war was averted. Over the next six months he visited six more islands.

He must have looked a lot like Robinson Crusoe. García describes his dress.

His cassock, which he invented in Agaña, was a sack woven of palm leaves, to which he added a hat and bonnet of the same material, also sandals, and, because they wore out so quickly, although the material for them was available everywhere, he often went barefooted, walking on the harsh grasses and weeds with bleeding feet, thus enriching the soil in order that it might return him a hundred to one, the harvest that he sought and so desired. At other times it was necessary to go unshod because of the many arroyos and swamps through which he had to pass.

In the linings of his cassock he had two bags which served him as a valise, where he carried the *Provision de la Visita*, [all the necessities for his travel] which consisted of a Breviary, *Contemptus Mundi* [*Contempt for the World*, a religious book], *Rules*, the *Epistles of San Francisco Xavier*, holy oils; a small bottle of ink; paper for baptismal certificates, his own *disciplinas* [The “*disciplina*” is a length of chain terminating in a fringe of smaller chains. It was used for self-flagellation. Such items were used regularly in many religious orders for the purpose of penitence.] and instruments of penitence; a few bright stamps and trifles of which the Marianos were very fond, and which he gave out as prizes to accompany his teachings.

Around his neck he wore a rosary of our lady, as if it were a chain of great price, and an Image of Christ crucified.

In his hand he had a long staff with a cross at its head, which, with a handkerchief or similar object, served as the banner and standard of the doctrine.

As he was very near-sighted, and as the roads are, for the most part, rough and tortuous, in order not to get lost, but to remain on the trails used by the padres, he tied a cord to his belt and had one of his companions go ahead, leading him by the cord. When it was necessary to go speedily to a village to baptize someone who was dying or help someone in trouble, he went ahead of everyone, running, or, as it seemed to them, flying, in the arms of the angels. And if he had to climb a steep hill, which often happens in the Marianas, the companion would go up first, and Padre San Vitores would follow, being guided by the knotted cord, very often in grave danger of falling off a cliff or even into the sea. [García 1683: 84-85]

Sanvitores did not neglect his “discipline” of self-flagellation. He suffered it nightly, he didn’t excuse himself from for his apostolic duties or because of illness. He is

said never to have removed his “cilice.” The “cilice,” or *cilicium*, was a belt, band, or jacket made like a coat of mail, except that small wire points protruded all over the inside surface. Obviously, this caused severe pain to the wearer.

At about the same time that the church in Agaña was built, he built a school and seminary named *Colegio de San Juan de Letran*. Sanvitores also constructed a building, or group of buildings, in which Chamorro children could receive instruction. This first school was built of palm trees and had a roof of palm fronds. The earliest construction of the Spaniards in Guam was all of wood and thatch.

Unfortunately there is no way of knowing just what life was like for the Chamorro boys and girls who came under Sanvitores care. Comments found in letters of the padres of the period simply state that the local school was as well-managed as the seminaries of Europe. Apparently, the first school building was abandoned when, in 1674, two schools, one for boys and another for girls, were built within the enclosure of the presidio. These were financed by the queen. They were primitive. Everything was makeshift in the earliest days of the mission.

García gives us the text of the letter Sanvitores wrote to the queen to get financing for this project:

“May it please your Majesty to found a seminary on the island of Guam, for the good instruction of the boys of this land, orphans by nature or by the customs of this nation, in which they are in all things free from their parents. Their barbarity will give way more easily to the introduction of our training and their reduction to our seminary, opposing, as we shall, this sacred and royal seminary against those which the devil has established in these islands, of *urmitaos* or unmarried men, who live with girls in public houses, with no other regulation than that which the devil or their own appetites may dictate, with the liberty of their age.

“For this seminary, in Agaña, until there are established others on the other islands, only boys of the greatest ability, best disposition and application to the Christian doctrine will be chosen. They can serve later as teachers for others

and the best ones can eventually be ordained as priests, for the Marianos do not have the vice of drunkenness which has been the principal embarrassment that has made it impossible for the natives of certain other places to receive holy orders.

"The apostle of the Indies, San Francisco Xavier, placed his greatest hope for success in the children, whose instruction and education he commended, above all else, to his companions. Because Christianity, if it is introduced during childhood, increases with age, and the best Christians among men are those who were Christians from childhood.

"The same San Francisco Xavier, having applied to the governor of *India Oriental* for the rearing and instruction of Malabar children, four thousand *pardaos*, [a Portuguese coin] who were assigned to the *Chapin de las Reina Doña Catalina de Portugal*, in the tributes of *Pesqueria* [the south coast India] wrote to the queen, requesting that she consider the money well employed, giving this reason: 'Because these Christian children, sons and grandsons of gentiles are, Señora, the best *chapines* [Literally sandals or clogs used to signify a gift of money on the occasion of a royal marriage. Here it refers to the gift of 4,000 *pardaos* by Doña Catalina of Portugal for the education of Malabar children.] with which your Highness could most surely enter heaven.

"And we can say of this boys' seminary, whose establishment by royal generosity and the piety of the queen, our lady, we hope for, that these Christian boys, sons and grandsons of infidels and barbarians, will be the best guard for the king, our señor, and this house [school] the safest *castillo* and fort of the faith in all his kingdom."

He then adds, "And if there were means, it would be very desirable to establish also a seminary for girls, into which we could take them before the devil catches them for the *urrtaos* or public houses, where they live as I have stated, young men with the girls whom they seek in one place or another, and whom they obtain with the infamous consent of their parents, who permit it for the pay they received." [García 1683: 91-92]

By now, Sanvitores was getting on some Chamorros' nerves. Some recommended that he be killed. They placed the matter in the hands of a *chamorri*, who took Sanvitores prisoner. In order to render honor to another *chamorri* and perhaps to share responsibility and retribution, the captor gave Sanvitores to the other *chamorri* for execution.

The second *chamorri* asked why he had come to the islands. Sanvitores said, to show them the way to heaven. Rumors of miracles were already in circulation concerning Sanvitores. The *chamorri* asked that a miracle be performed for him.



This reminded Sanvitores of the interplay between Christ and Herod. Apparently this brought out his death wish so he decided to imitate the example of Jesus — he refused to answer any more questions.

When the *chamorri* saw that Sanvitores would not answer, he called him a fool, and sent him back to the original captor. Sanvitores was sent in the charge of a group of young men.

They were instructed to tell the *chamorri* to whom they delivered him that Sanvitores was a fool, nearly blind, who went from island to island and from village to village, teaching lies and absurdities, singing couplets with children and others as foolish as himself who gathered about him. The *urritaos* were to say that their *chamorri* did not want to kill him. He was satisfied with just having made a laughing stock of the padre, and did not want to deprive his friends of the amusement they could have with him.

Sanvitores was released.

The missionaries next got caught up in a war between a couple of villages on Tinian. Obviously the Spanish did not appreciate the recreational aspect of Chamorro warfare.

García says:

The war broke out very suddenly, and appeared as if it would destroy the island. And as souls already inflamed by the passion of hatred received very easily any unpleasant impression, and as there were many in both armies who were already deceived by the talk of Choco against holy baptism and against those who preached it, they found it easy to criticize the padres who came as mediators, and they saw them only as enemies, and threatened them with death. Thus the padres found themselves in grave danger.

When Padre San Vitores arrived at Tinian, there were two armies in the field, just going into battle. He took a cross in his hand and with a great show of bravery and confidence went out between the opposing armies and began to exhort them to peace, with reasons, promises and threats. But as anger is as deaf as it is blind, they turned upon him and began to pelt him with stones; but a

great marvel occurred, to which there are as many witnesses as soldiers in both armies. All the stones that touched this servant of God or the cross which he carried, disintegrated immediately and fell to earth as if they were no more than flour. The stones, as we know, are hard as jasper or alabaster, and the natives throw them as skillfully as if they were thrown from a battering ram. [This translation is correct but battering rams do not throw stones.] Padre San Vitores used to say to his companions, in order to allay their fears and increase their confidence in God: "I do not know what manner of stones these could be, but when they touched me they fell apart like flour."

The natives of these islands were harder than the stones, and did not soften on hearing the words of the servant of God, nor even after seeing that miracle which they themselves afterwards told about with awe.

Finally, Padre San Vitores realized that peaceful methods would not serve to stop the war, and he had tried such means, he decided to turn to the methods of war in order to obtain peace, which is so necessary to Christianity. Thus, leaving the padres well instructed in what they were to do during his absence, to delay, if they could not stop, the riots, he returned to Guam, where he arrived on the day of San Eugenia Archbishop of Toledo, and Martyr, the fifteenth of November, 1669.

Arriving at the *residencia* in Agaña, he found Padre Luis de Morales and Padre Bustillos discussing with their secular companions, about the matter of just how far he, Padre San Vitores, must have traveled on his voyage through the islands, and where he might be at that moment. Some said he must be on the third or fourth island, others thought he had gone even farther.

When he entered and they saw him they were alarmed, for they believed he must have had some misfortune which had obliged him to return ahead of time. [García 1683: 105-106]

Sanvitores had returned to get his army. It took him a few days to prepare everything but he finally got his military expedition organized. He left with his "naval armada" of three or four canoes and ten young soldiers. Many of the soldiers who served in the Spanish outposts of that period were boys of 12 to 15. All of these soldiers were Filipinos, with the exception of one man named Juan de Santiago, who was a Vizcaino, from the Basque province of Biscay, and the captain, Don Juan de Santa Cruz, a *peninsular*. Although this does not seem to have been a very formidable "naval armada," it was sufficient to subdue what García calls "thousands" of Tinianese.

Of Sanvitores' army, Rogers says:

By now it was November 1669, a year and a half since his arrival in the Marianas, and San Vitores realized that his mission could no longer rely on the goodwill of some Chamorros to protect the priests. Jesuit historians such as García depict San Vitores as a man of peace. That he was, but, when it appeared necessary, he did not hesitate to use force to impose his will on the Chamorros. His actions showed he was not a pacifist. On Guam he organized a military force of eight Filipino soldiers and two Spaniards, one of whom was the indispensable Captain Juan de Santa Cruz. San Vitores called his little band of priests and soldiers his *Escuadrón Mariano* (Marianas squadron), in military allusion to defending the faith. [Rogers 1995: 51]

When he reached Tinian, Sanvitores learned that the two armies in the field were ready for an attack. With the cross in his hand he rushed out between the two camps, exhorting them to peace, threatening them with punishment if they refused to lay down their arms.

Men from the village of Marpo slung some stones at the missionary. The result was the same as in an earlier incident — those that hit Sanvitores or the cross disintegrated. Like the missionaries and companions, García interprets this as a miracle. It seems likely that these “stones” were the children’s play projectiles made of unbaked clay — dirt clods not intended to injure the padre.

Sanvitores decided that it was useless to plead, so he called Don Juan de Santa Cruz and ordered him to set up a camp between the two armies. He also ordered Santa Cruz to dig trenches and build fortifications.

From this location, the small troop of soldiers, with three muskets or, perhaps arquebuses and one small field piece, tried to control the two opposing armies in which there were, according to García’s report, thousand of Chamorros. This is probably an overgenerous estimate of the number of men in the opposing armies.

Don Juan de Santa Cruz sent a message to the enemy camps. He said that he did not come to make war, but peace. He was not fighting against them but in their interests

— not for the interests of Sungharon or Marpo, but for all, to keep them from foolishly destroying each other and making enemies of friends and relatives. And that if they did not comply with his orders, they shouldn't be surprised if the Spaniards became enemies and spoke through the mouths of their firearms to those who refused to hear the voice of friendship.

Peace makers usually anger the people they are trying to help. Those who would impose peace with force of arms always do. The Chamorros acted in much the same way that the team and crowd at the Super Bowl would act in similar circumstances. They would not listen to the messengers. There were, after all, only a few Spaniards. But the Spaniards had firearms. The Chamorros were afraid of the firearms. They were not foolish enough to attack the soldiers in the open. But they managed, under cover of night, to take them by a surprise and disarm them.

Meanwhile, Sanvitores and Padre Medina went to the people of both villages and negotiated a peace from strength. Apparently, no one was aware that the Spaniards had been disarmed.

Finally, the islanders, overcome by persuasion, reason and fear, tried to reconcile their differences, and those of Marpo sent ambassadors to Sungharon with the conch shell as a sign of peace and friendship. [García 1683: 111]

Someone from Sungharon put thorns in the path that the envoys of Marpo would have to use to return. The villagers of Marpo were offended. They called the people of Sungharon cowards and traitors. So the war started again, and with greater danger to the Spanish than before, because now they were seen as meddlers and mediators of a false peace.

Sanvitores realized that it would be impossible to pacify the Chamorros of Marpo for some time. So while waiting for their anger to cool he sent Padre Medina to visit

Saipan while he remained in Tinian, hoping to soften the anger of the villagers of Marpo and prepare them for a peaceful settlement of the war. When Medina returned from Saipan they began as before, and with the same zeal, to plead for peace. Finally the Chamorros agreed.

The armies met again in a suitable place, but this time in religious procession, not for battle.

Two months after the Chamorros of Tinian had been quieted, the two groups began to fight again when the villagers of one side killed a member of the other group. Apparently at some point the Spanish had recovered their weapons. García doesn't tell how, perhaps as part of the original peace settlement. In order to prevent another embarrassing theft of arms, the Spanish fired on the Chamorros instead of over their heads — the Chamorros learned that the firearms of the Spaniards spit lightning as well as thunder.

García says:

The enemy forces were so prostrated and so disheartened by the thunder of our arms and the few losses in our ranks, that they had neither hands with which to fight nor feet on which to flee. And if our men of war were not likewise men of peace we could have made that day great slaughter.

"God was pleased," Padre San Vitores, later wrote, "With this first demonstration, which is to say, the just punishment of the enemy by those *Guilagos* [Literally "northerner" but used by the Chamorros to identify any foreigner.] for thus in this land they call our Spaniards and other foreigners or men from beyond the sea. The natives of this and other islands were afraid of our arms, and the rumor was soon heard that they were much more than noise, and that infractions of the Law of God or of the good customs that we taught them, would not go unpunished. [García 1683: 115-116]

García and the Spaniards did not appreciate the recreational aspects of Chamorro warfare. The Chamorros occasionally went to "war" over minor perceived slights. They would meet by agreement at the battlefield and sling stones and throw spears at each

other. This gave the young men who were expert at throwing and dodging spears and stones an opportunity to show off. When someone was seriously injured or killed, his side would sue for peace.

The Spanish interfered in these games. This allowed them to look down on the Chamorros as a truculent savages and upon themselves as peacemakers. And it contributed to the White Legend.

Sanvitores is still a seeker of martyrdom. He wrote:

**"Therefore, as the Lord caused his Apostles to go forth with no more arms or escort than have sheep among wolves, and gave them the opportunity to shed their blood for the faith, so also has he willed that these new evangelical fields be fecundated by the bloodshed of Martyrs, as the most flourishing churches in all Christianity have been fertilized." [García 1683: 118]**

Sanvitores began to fear that his own death would come from natural causes before he would have the opportunity of martyrdom. But García reports that he saw a vision of his Martyrdom.

Leaving Tinian pacified, he returned in May of 1670 to Guam. And as one who knows that there remained to him but little time he hastened to tread the path of perfection, giving examples of virtue and particularly of charity and mortification in order the better to merit the promised crown. [García 1683: 118]

Remember, García's account is one of a miracle worker. An important part of the myth of Sanvitores is miracles and miraculous healing.

As the dry season wore on, the Chamorros invited the *makahnas* to bring rain. Sanvitores heard of this and went to the place where the people had gathered. He took the Image of Christ which he always carried and

he fell to his knees and intoned a devout supplication that he had composed in verse in the language of the Chamorros, a prayer for water and for all the spiritual and temporal benefits that might be desired.

Soon all the natives knelt, repeating that which the venerable padre was saying. He then made them a fervent speech, berating them for their inconstancy and infidelity; exhorting them to repentance; warning them not to

invoke the *anites*, or demons, who could give them neither water or anything else and cared only to drag them into the inferno where they would suffer all manner of ills. He begged them to turn to God who, because He had made them in his image and likeness, would take pity on them in their need, and would attend quickly to their petitions if they themselves did not, by their own sins, render it impossible.

The *Marianos* were remorseful and begged for mercy from God. Padre San Vitores promised them that on the following day it would rain (it was then six in the afternoon) if they gave their words that they would attend the Mass that morning to pray for rain. He told them that God is good and that he would surely cause the heavens to rain.

That night the venerable padre prayed fervently and the following morning at daybreak it began to rain heavily. The *Marianos* ran to the church, surprised and happy, praising God, who through the efforts of the *Gran Padre*, had given them rain. And those who were at that time only catechumens, begged for baptism. [García 1680: 120]

A problem developed on Guam. Some of the secular companions, who had helped in the process of conversion, had fled to apostate villages — no doubt, the lure of the *goma urritaos*, the house of bachelors, was strong.

He regretted the loss of his soldiers, most of all because, having lost some, he might lose others. And after having offered prayers and penitence, and charging the other padres to do likewise, he sought a messenger and wrote affectionate messages to the soldiers, persuading them to return to the camp.

But in order that his tenderness might not cause them to think too lightly of their offense, he made them bare his back and he beat himself with a *disciplina* made of sharp steel disks until he was bathed in his own blood, until they, confessed and repentant, took it from him. But he said to them, “My sons, among ourselves we have to satisfy God for this sin. You will make the confession and repentance, but I will suffer the punishment and penitence.” [García 1683: 121]

The ship *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro* arrived on 9 June 1671, and brought more soldiers and four new padres to Guam. It also brought spiritual consolation, because Pope Clement IX sent a brief to Sanvitores in which he gave him his blessings, praised his zeal and that of his companions and urged them to continue as they had

begun. And he sent a large box of crosses, medals, devotional objects, blessings and indulgences.

The new priests were:

Padre Francisco Ezquerro who was born in Manila in 1644 and was a member of a distinguished family.

Padre Francisco Solano who was born in Xarandilla, Spain. After the death of Sanvitores, he served as the superior of the mission.

Padre Alonso López. Very little is known about López. He served the mission in the northern islands of the Marianas group, and drew the first reliable map of the islands. This map, together with certain writings of Padre Morales, served as the basis of a book published in France in 1752, with the title, *Les Isles Mariannes, Sur les Cartes du P.*

*Alonso Lopez, Et le Memoire du P. Morales, Jesuites Espagnols, Missionnaires dans ces Isles. Pour servir a l'Histoire Generale des Voyages* [The Mariana Islands, according to the maps of P. Alonso Lopez and the Memoirs of P. Morales, Spanish Jesuit Missionaries in these Islands. To be used for the General History of Voyages.].

And Padre Diego de Noriega who arrived in Guam already very ill of tuberculosis. His superiors sent him to the Marianas hoping the climate would benefit his health, but he declined rapidly, and died in Agaña on 13 January 1672.

Ezquerro and Solano came from the Philippines by way of Mexico where they were joined by the others. Although four ministers came, the mission was only increased by one. The other three relieved Padres Casanova, Morales and Bustillos. Sanvitores also sent three *chamorris* to Manila.



The group sailed from Guam on 13 July 1671, on the *Buen Socorro*. After some delays and accidents of navigation, they arrived at Manila on 31 July 1671.

The *chamorris* visited the governor, who received them with appropriate hospitality and honors. They asked the governor to send more soldiers to help Christianize their countrymen! The governor, Don Manuel de Leon, treated them kindly, praised their worthy cause and told them that he would try to arrange matters in a way that would help the padres.

One of the *chamorris* was so pleased with life in Manila that he decided not to go home. The other two would have stayed if the padres hadn't persuaded them to return to the Marianas to help the ministers in the conversion of the Chamorros.

The two Chamorros, Don Ignacio and Don Matias, sailed from Cavite on 5 June 1674. They arrived at Acapulco on 13 January 1675, and at Mexico City on 31 January. On the second day they went to visit the archbishop and viceroy, Fray Payo de Rivera. And they asked him to send an officer, with soldiers, who would form a presidio. The archbishop promised in the name of the king to do as they requested.

The padres wanted to send one of the Chamorros on to Madrid to present him to the king. But during their long absence a rumor had sprung up that they had been killed by the Spanish, so it was decided to send both of them back to the Marianas.

Meanwhile back on Guam, Sanvitores sent the new priests along with interpreters to the northern islands. But soon he had to recall everyone because of some small uprisings — the beginning skirmishes of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars.

Certain villages of the island of Guam were uneasy. Many Chamorros were chafing under the padres' rule of law and order. The *makahnas* helped to agitate and

increase the tempest. They were upset at the loss of authority and respect caused by Sanvitores. The *makahnas* threatened the people with drought, crop failure, poor catches of fish, sickness and all kinds of misfortune if they did not throw the foreigners out.

One of those who most hated the Spanish was a respected *chamorri* of the village of Agaña, called Hurao. Because of the respect of the Chamorros toward him, he wielded a powerful influence.

Sanvitores had sent a Spanish boy to cut some crosses to be placed in the houses of new Christians. Some Chamorros killed him, perhaps because they wanted a knife and machete he carried. He had gone out alone, contrary to the orders of Sanvitores.

*Sargento mayor* Don Juan de Santa Cruz had several Chamorros who were suspected of being involved seized. The Spaniards freed without punishment those who proved innocent, but the Chamorros were offended by the Spanish imposition of justice.

To avoid confusion, it must be pointed out that a *sargento* in the Spanish army was a position of leadership rather than a rank. The *sargento mayor* was the highest military officer. He was not a sergeant major. *Sargento mayor* should be looked upon as equivalent to a modern adjutant general in the national guard. He was the highest ranking military officer. By rank, Santa Cruz was a captain. Sanvitores held the authority, although not the title, of Spanish governor and was, therefore, the commander.

The people of Agaña began to reclaim their liberty. To the Chamorros it was intolerable to be compelled to submit to law — particularly outside law.

A group of soldiers was on an expedition to arrest a Chamorro. A *chamorri* nicknamed Guafac and some of his neighbors attacked the soldiers and tried to protect the suspect. In the scuffle, one of the Spaniards killed Guafac.

Guafac is a nickname. The word means *sleeping mat*. The use of nicknames among the Chamorro and Chamorro-Guamanian people is an interesting custom. When a family has once acquired a nickname its use may persist through several generations, long after the reason for its bestowal is forgotten. A few examples of these names are: “Familian Karabao” — The family of Carabao; “Familian Chaka” — The family Rat; “Familian Kalzon” — trousers; “Familian Tuba” — palm wine; “Familian Hilati” — monitor lizard; and “Mata’ pang,” a name that appears in this history, that means dull, or inane.

The result of the killing of Guafac was that 2,000 Chamorros of Agaña and other nearby settlements joined to oppose the Spaniards.

The Chamorros were in a dilemma. Many liked the Spanish but were afraid to seem friendly to them for fear of angering their own people.

One was an out and out traitor to his people. He was called Ayti. He avoided all appearance of friendship with the Spaniards, to help them without bringing harm to himself. From him the Spaniards learned the plan of the Chamorros, which was to finish off, once and for all, the padres and other Spaniards, and free their land of foreigners who wanted to give them laws.

If the padres and their protectors had stayed scattered among the missions this would have been relatively easy.

The Spaniards had now been in these islands for three years, from 1668 to 1671, without having built a fort. But now seeing 2,000 armed men on campaign it seemed prudent to build some kind of fortification. The tradition of Chamorro war-making gave

them the necessary time. The Chamorros spent a lot of time forming up, running errands, carrying messages and getting allies and recruits.

The church and house were surrounded by a stockade of trees and branches. On the side toward the sea and on the side toward the cliff, towers were built.

The Spanish had 31 soldiers. There were 12 native Spaniards among them, and nineteen Filipinos, some with crossbows and others with firearms.

The Spanish decided it would be a good idea to begin with a bold stroke and at the same time to capture someone whose imprisonment might cause the rebels to sue for peace. They decided to attack and capture Hurao, the main agitator of the war. In addition to getting control of one of the main Chamorro leaders this was expected to make the Chamorros fear them and, at the same time, show that they had no fear of the Chamorros.

The plan was executed. As soon as Hurao was taken prisoner his relatives pretended repentance, and appeared to have discontinued warlike preparations. But at the same time that they were pretending to want peace they were sending messengers among the people, inciting them to war.

According to García:

Their deception was not known at once, and as Padre San Vitores had come as an angel of Peace, he exhorted the leader of the Spanish soldiers, Don Juan de Santa Cruz, to try every peaceful means of settlement with the natives. Meanwhile the soldiers, who, being military men, thought that it would be better to bring about peace by means of their arms than by prayers, for the Chamorros were unable to understand that the strangers had any real desire for peace, and all efforts toward peace had thus far only made them more daring and, insolent. But Padre San Vitores said, "The honor of a Christian is the honor of Christ, to which power and all else ought to be sacrificed." And he added that rather than have recourse to that of which the barbarians spoke, they should observe the advice of the angels, the Lord of the angels and all just and reasonable men in

Europe, so that merely to win one point they should not foolishly permit so many souls to be lost.

He told them that honor was never lost when it was given up for God, but that to lose it in a just cause was to win it, and that whosoever risked his own for the greater glory would be doubly repaid by the Lord. [García 1683: 137]

The Spanish soldiers behaved as if they had been beaten. They pleaded for peace, and sent emissaries with food and turtle shells, according to the custom of the Chamorros. According to García, they sent enough of these things for 10 surrenders. But they did not release Hurao.

The Chamorros accepted the gifts, and attributed the entire ceremony to cowardliness. They threatened Sanvitores with their lances and slung stones at him.

On 11 September 1671, the Chamorros made their first attack. They threw, García claims, more than 2,000 men against Spanish trenches in an attempt to take the house and church, but the 31 soldiers repulsed the islanders.

Sanvitores went out, crucifix in hand, to rebuke the Chamorros for their inconstancy. They answered him with insults and stones.

The assaults continued for eight days. The Chamorros slung rocks with such force that some of them went through the roofs of the church and residence. And as there were so few men, the padres took their posts as sentinels while the soldiers slept. Sanvitores chose the second watch, which was from 11 P.M. until 4 A.M. During his rounds he walked serenely over obstacles with which the ground was littered and among the stones which, García says, fell in a constant shower. Although it was dark and he was almost blind, he reportedly never fell.

When the Chamorros saw that they always came out of these encounters with heavy losses, they realized that they would have to produce some kind of defense against the firearms of the Spaniards. Apparently, they used the engineering skills of Choco.

They made heart-shaped shields of wood and placed them on movable platforms. With these they could protect themselves while they moved in close enough to throw lances, stones and fire balls.

They also dug trenches to protect themselves from the sallies of the Spanish. But the Spanish sallied out, routed the Chamorros and destroyed their shields and trenches. The Chamorros, seeing that the Spaniards destroyed their work, called upon the *makahnas* for magical intervention. The *makahnas* placed the skulls of the dead in the trenches. With the new confidence they gained from the promises of the *makahnas* and the protection of their shields, the Chamorros drew nearer the fortifications. They had little fear of the cannon balls, they knew from experience that the cannon served more to frighten than to harm them. Sanvitores refused to allow the cannon to be deployed lethally.

On 18 September, a typhoon passed over. Almost all the houses on the island were destroyed. García says:

**Breadfruit trees were uprooted, as were palms and other plants upon which the people lived, leaving them at once without property, shelter or food.**

**The Lord did not omit his own house from the general destruction, whether to show his ire against those barbarians who did not respect it, or to try the patience of Padre San Vitores; one of the *makahna* whose house was in no way damaged boasted that he was more powerful than our God, for the wind had demolished the church and had not been able to overthrow his house.**

**But even in the ruins of the church, the Lord showed that it was truly his house that he had destroyed in order to build a new one with greater strength and glory. For besides having warned Padre San Vitores, in order that he might have time before the building fell to save various valuables that might be destroyed, he caused the roof to fall so gently that when the principal beam fell over the shoulders of the statue of San Francisco Xavier, inclined sufficiently to be an *Atalanta* [The Greek hero Atlas] of the house of God, other boards and rafters fell on this beam in such a manner that they formed a protection under which the Crucifix and a picture of the Virgin Mary, with another of our Padre San Ignacio, were found safe. [García 1683: 141]**

The Chamorros saw the destruction to the fortifications and decided to take military advantage of the situation. They made what they supposed was a final assault. They attacked with loud shouting, stones, lances and, what most distressed Sanvitores, with blasphemy.

The Spanish repulsed the attack without receiving even one wound, but many Chamorros were killed and wounded. The Chamorros came the following day to ask for peace.

Santa Cruz did not show any inclination toward an agreement. He wanted unconditional surrender. But Sanvitores persuaded the captain to accept peace in order to justify their motive in having taken up arms, and to convince the Chamorros that the law of God was a law of peace.

So they made peace and released Hurao. The prisoner had scarcely been released when his friends and followers, who had not dared to take up arms for fear the Spaniards would take revenge on their *chamorri*, joined with the others and renewed the battle. They attacked night and day for 13 days. They drew back from time to time as they suffered losses but returned with new spirit into the fray.

Finally on 20 October 1671, the Chamorros fell on the Spanish enclosure. The Spaniards made a sally. They put the Chamorros to flight, destroyed their trenches, cast the skulls on the ground and crushed them under foot. This so alarmed the Chamorros that they sent a messenger in to beg forgiveness, peace and mercy. The messenger was Quipuha, one of the *chamorris* of Agaña, the nephew of the Quipuha who had received the padres on their arrival.

The Spaniards agreed to peace with certain conditions inspired, no doubt by Sanvitores. They were required to promise that they would go to hear Mass and the Christian doctrine every Sunday and on fiesta days, that they would send their children to learn the law of God, and so forth.

With this the 40-day war was over; the pride and disdain of the Chamorros had changed to fear. If García's information is correct, a force of 2,000 Chamorros had been defeated while the Spanish had suffered only two casualties. A Filipino named Damian was wounded. He was struck by three lances when he was going out to hunt for food. García claims that he was mortally wounded and recovered only because of the prayers of Sanvitores. Antonio de Alexalde was in one of the towers. He was struck in the chest by a stone so violently that he was knocked unconscious. He too was saved by the prayers of Sanvitores.

In fact, García credits the Spanish victory to divine intervention. Considering the disparity in numbers, even though García's report of 2,000 is probably an exaggeration, it seems that the Spanish victory was miraculous. According to early reports, the range, power and accuracy of the Chamorro sling was comparable to the Spanish harquebus. No doubt it could be fired faster than the harquebus or even the musket, which had been developed by the time of the Spanish-Chamorro wars. García constantly refers to muskets and musket balls so presumably the Spanish had some muskets. But he also refers to harquebuses throughout. So either the Spanish had both or García didn't know the difference. The maximum range of a harquebus was about 100 yards. The maximum range of the musket was approximately 300 yards but it could be fired effectively for only about 50 to 100. In the hands of an expert the musket and harquebus could be fired



only about once every 20 or 30 seconds. The force of 31 now included 12 ethnic Spaniards who were possibly professional soldiers. Perhaps they were armed with muskets while the Filipinos were armed with harquebuses and crossbows. The force also had a small cannon. This cannon was commanded by Don Antonio de Alexalde, an ethnic Spaniard who carried the pompous title of *General de Artilleria*.

So why didn't the Chamorros rush the Spanish positions? Even if each of these boys had killed a Chamorro, or two or even three, the Chamorros would have overrun their positions with extremely light casualties.

García supplies the answer when he compares the courage of the Spanish boys to the ancient Israelites:

**The blind obedience of the soldiers who heard his decisions as the Hebrews beard the oracles of the Ark of the Testament, so favored his wishes that the forty days of war were a continuous miracle or chain of miracles. Because in their frequent assaults, the barbarians always came off the losers, two thousand men being overcome and scattered by thirty-one soldiers of whom not one was lost. [García 1683: 143-144]**

Combat success is largely a function of social organization.

The Amerindian, ethnic Spanish and Filipino soldiers were led by a competent Spanish officer who had trained them in the European arts of military discipline — when things looked bad, they didn't run. They had many of the attributes of European professional soldiers.

To the Chamorros, war was more of a recreational activity than a deadly serious enterprise. If a Chamorro's comrade fell, it dampened his enthusiasm considerably. He was very likely to run away. If, as García suggests, Choco was advising the Chamorros, their soldiering must have been a severe disappointment to him.

Sanvitores, of course, felt freed by peace. He remained in Agaña for a few days to assign various tasks to his companions. Then he left to visit the villages of the island. He rejected the warnings and fears of the others who urged him not to trust enemies who had been reconciled only by fear.

He demonstrated his trust in the first mission journey, because he went with another minister and two servants entirely unarmed. He received word that in the village of Chuchugu, there was a child who had not been baptized, and he wished to go there. Chuchugu was a small settlement in the valley known as Cañada, on the Barrigada road, about 15 kilometers from Agaña. Chuchugu was known to the missionaries for its treachery and violence. The villagers believed themselves safe from punishment by the Spanish because of the village's inaccessibility. Sanvitores' Chamorro guide told him that it would be better for him to go alone, because the villagers were afraid of Spaniards even when the Spaniard was unarmed. Sanvitores ordered his companions to proceed with the journey to visit the villages near the shore, and he went up to Chuchugu alone. He entered the village seeking one child. He found eight and baptized them all.

After the padres had made several journeys Sanvitores sent Francisco Ezquerria and Padre Alonso López to the other islands. The same day on which Sanvitores dispatched the two padres to their missions, 17 November 1671, he set out again to visit all the villages of Guam.

Although married and a Christian, Quipuha, the younger, was shackled up with another woman. Sanvitores admonished him several times, sometimes with flattery and occasionally with threats. Quipuha always replied that he would rather go to hell than give up the woman.

Quipuha came to hate Sanvitores. So when he heard that Diego Bazan was on his way across the island with a message for Sanvitores, he went to Chuchugu and urged the men of that village to kill the boy. The villagers agreed, and went out to the trail where, to all appearances, they were travelers whom he would encounter on the way. They engaged him in friendly conversation and when they caught him off guard one of them struck with a machete, another with a lance, and they left him dead in the road. This was 31 March 1672. The only reason for the murder was the dislike of Quipuha for Sanvitores.

Diego Bazan was a native of Mexico. He was the son of humble parents. García says:

He [San Vitores] met him one day at the gate which they call *Portal de las Flores*, in the great plaza of Mexico City. Looking at him attentively and affectionately, he said, "Son, dost thou care to go with me to be a martyr?" The lad answered quickly in the affirmative, and soon the padre took him as a companion, with the consent of the boy's parents, and he kept him at his side, instructing him in all the Christian virtues so necessary in the making of a missionary soldier, for such he was in the Marianas. For he not only showed great courage in the wars of Tinian and of Guam and on all occasions where battles took place, defending the cause of the Faith, but he also showed apostolic zeal, accompanying the padres in their missions, and going out on mission visits alone, sent by Padre San Vitores, who, knowing the boy's virtue and good behavior, entrusted to him many undertakings for the glory of God. This true soldier of Christ suffered with great constancy and joy all manner of affronts, ridicule and mockery, thus gaining even a greater victory over himself than over the enemy, making known to all that he knew and esteemed the riches of the cross, and what great glory it was to suffer insolence for the name of Christ. Four years of exemplary and zealous life gained him a fortunate happy death, for no doubt it was such in the sight of the Lord, for the cause of public morality or the Faith, or as I believe, for both together. [García 1683: 149]

The same night that the men of Chuchugu killed Diego Bazan they were planning to burn one of the sentry boxes. A dog heard them and gave the alarm. The soldiers came to investigate, saw the rebels and shot a harquebus into the air. The Chamorros fled.

In the morning Solano sent word to Sanvitores of this occurrence. Nicolas de Figueroa and Damian Bernal carried the message. When they arrived and learned that Bazan had not yet appeared, they suspected that he had been killed.

Sanvitores recognized the danger that threatened them all. He ordered the two messengers back to the residence. He sent word to all the padres, wherever they were, to gather with the soldiers in Agaña — he alone would remain in danger.

On the return journey Nicolas and Damian were joined by another Spaniard, Manuel Rangel. When the three arrived at the place where Bazan was killed, a party of more than 20 Chamorros from Chuchugu and Mapaz came out to attack them. Rangel, who was unarmed, was killed. Nicolas and Damian, protected by their leather shields, defended themselves vigorously and killed the *chamorri* of the village of Chuchugu, who was in advance of the party, and in order to frighten the others, they mutilated him with their cutlasses.

Their labor produced the desired effect — the Chamorros fled in horror.

Retiring from the scene as fast as they could, the two became separated and were lost in the hills. Nicolas went to the village of Ipao, where he was killed. A Chamorro embraced him, as was the custom, and threw him over a cliff, where he was killed by men with lances.

Damian came out at the village of Tumon where a friendly Chamorro asked to look at his cutlass. He handed it over and the Chamorro split his head with it.

Sanvitores was with five secular companions. They were to build a church.

He sent them back to Agaña and one, named Manuel de Nava, inadvertently got separated from the others. He arrived at the village of Guay and was thrown into a deep pit by the Chamorros.

The four others, afraid of being killed on the road, went to Nisihan. They guarded their lives throughout that day, with the assistance of some faithful Christians. Nisihan was in the eastern part of Guam. During the night one of the Chamorros guided them to the village of Pagat. For two weeks they remained hidden there, in a cave in the rocks. At last they were conducted secretly by boat to Agaña.

García says of 1 and 2 April 1672:

At this time God wished to reward the apostolic zeal of his great servant, Padre San Vitores, and give him the long-promised crown, a crown which he had earned by his labors in the face of danger, labors performed for the greater glory, and now God led him on toward death by those means which should all be told, for they are precious in the sight of the Lord. [García 1683: 152]

There was a Filipino who had been cast up on the Marianas after the wreck of the *Concepcion* in 1638. Sanvitores had brought him to Guam from Manila as an interpreter. In the beginning he had served the mission laudably, but later he got tired of the hard life and ran away and to live the unrestrained life of the Chamorros.

Sanvitores' went out in search of the deserter intending, at the same time, to baptize the children of the mountains. He left Nisihan on 1 April 1672. On the way, he heard of the death of Diego Bazan, it was then that he gave the order that all padres and secular assistants retire to the residence of San Ignacio in Agaña. He said that he would remain alone in the hills with a Filipino named Pedro Calangsor.

In the very early morning they headed for Tumon. They arrived there at seven in the morning. Sanvitores learned of a newborn baby girl. He went at once to the house of the father, whose name was Mata'pang and begged him to bring out the child and permit

him to baptize her. Mata'pang was a Christian, instructed in the religion and baptized by Sanvitores himself. He had once been badly wounded in the arm by a lance. Sanvitores drew out the bone tip and through his effort Mata'pang was cured.

Mata'pang told Sanvitores to go into his house and baptize a skull he had there.

He added other insults and threatened the missionary with death:

to which the charitable padre replied, in great peace, "Since thou art baptized, let me baptize thy daughter, even though thou kill me afterwards, for I shall gladly give up the life of my body if she gains the life of the soul."

Then, in order to give the barbarian time to calm his anger, Padre San Vitores gathered a group of children and began to teach them the Christian doctrine, calling Mata'pang to come and listen, to which the latter answered, "I do not want to learn for I am disgusted and angry with God." [García 1683: 153]

The padre continued the explanation of the doctrine, and Mata'pang asked another Chamorro, named Hirao, to help him kill Sanvitores.

Hirao resisted, saying he had no reason to kill the padre. He said Sanvitores was a good man who harmed no one but did good to all, that he had been the one who had made peace among the Chamorros, and that they had received many other benefits from him.

He also reminded Mata'pang that the padre had saved his life and that he should not repay him for so great a kindness by killing him. Then Mata'pang accused Hirao of being a coward. He said that if Hirao had not the courage to kill the padre, he would do it himself.

Hirao consented. Mata'pang went to get their lances. This gave Sanvitores time to baptize the daughter, which he did. Mata'pang was angered even more because of this. First he attacked Sanvitores' companion, Calangsor. He threw lances at him. The companion dodged the lances. He could probably have avoided death if he had fled, but he did not want to leave Sanvitores alone and helpless. Finally, one of the lances struck him. Hirao finished him off with a cutlass.

García says:

Fortunate boy! How well rewarded were his four years of service performed with such fidelity for God in the missions, accompanying the evangelical ministers, and he deserved to die for the faith in company with the first apostle of those islands, there having already been in heaven a precursor of this martyrdom.

Padre San Vitores, happy over the fate of his companion and preparing himself for a similar end, took in his hand the marble crucifix less than half a yard in length, which he always wore hanging from his neck, and began to preach to them, saying that God was the one and absolute Lord of all and that he only was to be venerated in all the land of Guam, and other words which the barbarians scorned.

Seeing them approach and knowing that they were about to kill him, wishing to imitate the gentleness and charity of the Lord when he died, he said it the Mariana language, "May God have mercy on thee, Mata'pang!"

Whereupon Hirao struck him with a cutlass, wounding his head, which dropped forward on his neck, while Mata'pang ran him through the chest with a lance. The spirit, loosened now from the prison of the body flew to Heaven, the Saturday before Passion Sunday, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, 2 April 1672, on which day twenty years before he had received the order of *diatono* [deacon] and the power to preach the evangel, which now he preached better than ever, with the voice of his blood. [García 1683: 154-155]

Mata'pang took the marble Crucifix which Sanvitores had held in his hand. He later sold it for 20 bags of rice. He and Hirao threw the bodies into the sea.

García's narrative reflects the attitude of many 17th century missionaries toward martyrdom:

Thus he died, if one can call death that glorious martyrdom, and thus began to live in Heaven that one whom the Earth could not hold, at the age of forty-five years, thirty-two of which were passed in Religion, twelve of them in the Indias, the final four in the Ladrões. He rose to glory with three crowns, martyr, doctor and virgin. Virgin, in imitation of the purity of Mary, doctor of his people, to oblige the queen of Heaven to look upon them as her own, and to make them look upon Maria as their queen.

In this land, ignorant of the holy evangel throughout many centuries he opened a great door through which the church might receive many souls; he left thirteen islands brightened by the light of the evangel; some fifty thousands souls baptized by himself and his companions, and many thousands more of catechumens who hoped to be washed by the waters of baptism; eight churches erected; three seminaries of children; and at last shower the earth with his own blood, to fertilize that which had given him such a great harvest in return for his labor and struggle.

This is not to mention the many sinners he converted, gentiles, Moros, heretics; or the works of piety and religion that he left in Spain, Mexico and the Philippines, which could not be reduced to numbers; for wherever he went, whether to remain or merely in passing, he left signs of his charity that demonstrated the apostolic zeal which inspired his heart. [García 1683: 157]

Capt. Don Damian de Esplaña, the military commander of the mission from 16 June 1674 until 10 June 1676, erected a Chapel on the spot where Sanvitores was martyred. By 1939, according to Higgens:

Today, nothing remains of the chapel except a few bits of its foundation. It is unfortunate that no effort has in later years been made to mark this spot. [Higgens 1939: 157n]

In 1968 the spot was marked with a monument and in 1971 a chapel was built.

Padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores was the second governor of the Marianas. He came fully empowered to administer the affairs of the islands, both spiritual and temporal but he had no official title.

García describes his appearance:

And in order that his likeness may not be lost to us as we lost his body, we shall give it here. Padre San Vitores was of medium height. His skin was very white and his hair was a light chestnut color. He had a wide forehead, bright blue eyes, red cheeks, a long and somewhat curved nose, bright red lips. He was handsome in a grave and majestic way, although the changes of climate, inclemencies of the weather, together with his labors and the penitences he suffered, had changed him so greatly in the Philippines and still more in the Marianas, that those who had formerly known him would scarcely have recognized him. A friend who met him in Mexico on the occasion of his second visit, failed to recognize him because of his burned and discolored complexion.

In the Marianas, says Padre Bustillos, he looked like a living skeleton, for he was no more than skin and bones. And if those portraits that were made of him before he left Spain were compared with one that was sent here after his death, showing him as he was in the Marianas, one could not reconcile the two as being the same individual. [García 1683: 159]

Despite the fact that Sanvitores was largely responsible for the destruction of the Chamorro culture, he is revered on Guam. There were numerous attempts to beatify him.



The most recent was successful. He was beatified in 1985. It is perhaps easier to condemn him.

The Black Legend would consider Sanvitores an agent of evil. He was no doubt an agent of Spanish imperialism. He came with a message of love and mercy but he imposed, with force of arms, a strict code of behavior that was entirely foreign to the Chamorros. It is easy for the Black Legend to condemn Sanvitores and the other Spaniards for their high-handed treatment of the islanders. But those who condemn the Spanish commit, in a real sense, the same sin that they condemn.

Just as the Chamorros were the products of a different culture than the Spaniards, represented by Sanvitores, Sanvitores was the product of different culture than his latter-day detractors. Mata'pang's culture dictated all that he did. Sanvitores' culture dictated all that he did. It was a time in which the Spanish felt that it was their divine mission to civilize "the barbarian." Resistance to "civilizing" Spanish influence was frequently answered with armed force.

As a man of his time, Sanvitores had little choice in the incident that took his life. His culture taught him that children did not belong to their parents but to God. It follows that parents did not have the right to refuse their children the benefits of heaven. In much the same way that a modern doctor can acquire a court order to force parents to admit an ill child for treatment, a 17th century Spanish priest felt justified to use whatever subterfuge or force was necessary to baptize and thus preserve the soul of a child. Sanvitores, no doubt, felt that *not* to use such subterfuge or force would have placed his own soul in peril.

Additionally, according to some versions of the story, the child's mother was present. Although this is possible, it seems likely that the mother would have had the baptism done in the first place if she had been willing. Possibly the offense that was given to the *chamorri* was not so much that Sanvitores had performed the sacrament, but that he had gone over the father's head and appealed to the mother's superior position in the household.

There is also little doubt that the *chamorri*, Mata'pang, felt that he had justice on his side when he struck the priest and his assistant down. Justice or no, when Mata'pang killed Sanvitores, he removed the only buffer protecting his people from the more savage instincts of Spanish soldiery.

According to legend, every year, on the anniversary of the killing of Sanvitores, the waters of Tumon Bay turn to blood. This happens every day if there is a nice sunset and occasionally, the water really does turn red because of an infestation of red algae. But not necessarily on the anniversary of Sanvitores' death.

The martyrdom of Sanvitores can be seen as the end of an era. During the period of *reducction*, or intense conversion efforts, the primary social class with which the Spanish made war was the *makahnas*. They were being supplanted as the islands spiritual leaders by the Catholic priests. This process was to continue throughout the Spanish-Chamorro wars until the traditional *makahnas* ceased to exist. The priesthood replaced them. The traditional *eamtis* may have survived up to the present in the *surahanus* (traditional healers).

# Hell in Paradise — The Spanish-Chamorro Wars.

Although the Spanish and the Chamorros had been skirmishing for years, the killing of Sanvitores inaugurated a period of 25 years known as the Spanish-Chamorro Wars, in which the Spanish perpetrated genocide against the Chamorros, not only on Guam, but throughout the Marianas. Genocide does not necessarily mean the extermination of a group. It also means the killing of people solely because of their race, ethnicity or religion. It seems unlikely that the Spanish set out to exterminate the Chamorro race, but that was very nearly the effect.

Almost the last half of García's narrative concerns the first 10 years of these wars.

The galleon *San Diego* arrived on 2 May 1672, one month after the death of Sanvitores. This was the same ship that had brought Sanvitores.

Although she anchored at Umatac, the padres were not aware of her arrival — the Chamorros purposely hid the news from them, fearing that this ship would bring some type of punishment. The padres had given several letters to Chamorros with instructions to deliver them to whatever ship arrived. The letters were not delivered — the Chamorros were not stupid!

At last Padre Solano found out about the arrival and set out for Umatac to visit the ship. He found the ship encircled by Chamorro boats, but they all fled when their occupants saw him. They were afraid of what they thought he was going to report to the Spaniards.

Adm. Leandro Coello and Capt. Antonio Nieto were saddened by the news of Sanvitores' death — they had both known him well. They left additional military supplies for the mission — even their own firearms. They put ashore some soldiers. No one had to be ordered to stay. There were several who asked to remain ashore to avenge the death of Sanvitores.

The ship, sailed on 7 May 1672, for the Philippines.

On 11 May, one of the soldiers encountered two Chamorros who had been leaders in the war on Guam. One was Hurao. The Spaniard ran Hurao through with his sword. The other man escaped.

Hurao became a popular hero to the Chamorro people. The French Jesuit historian Charles le Gobien reports the speech that was given to him as a direct quotation. Although it is a hand-me-down story it expresses the sentiments of the Chamorros well. Although one can question its exact accuracy we should remember that preliterate people have remarkable memories. Hurao said:

The Spaniards would have done better to remain in their own country. We have no need for their help to live happily. Satisfied with what our islands furnish us, we desire nothing. The knowledge which they have given us has only increased our needs and stimulated our desires. They find it evil that we do not dress. If that were necessary, nature would have provided us with clothes. They treat us as gross people and regard us as barbarians. But do we have to believe them? Under the excuse of instructing us, they are corrupting us. They take away from us the primitive simplicity in which we live.

They dare take away our liberty which should be dearer to us than life itself. They try to persuade us that we will be happier, and some of us have been blinded into believing their words. But can we have such sentiments if we reflect that we have been covered with misery and illness ever since these foreigners have come to disturb our peace?

Before they arrived on the island, we did not know insects. Did we know rats, flies, mosquitoes, and all the other little animals which constantly torment us? These are the beautiful presents they have made us. And what have their floating machines brought us? Formerly, we did not have rheumatism and inflammations. If we had sickness, we had remedies for them. But they have

brought us their diseases and do not teach us the remedies. It is necessary that our desires make us want iron and other trifles which only render us unhappy?

The Spaniards reproach us because of our poverty, ignorance and lack of industry. But if we are poor, as they tell us, then what do they search for? If they didn't have need of us, they would not expose themselves to so many perils and make such efforts to establish themselves in our midst. For what purpose do they teach us except to make us adopt their customs, to subject us to their laws, and to remove the precious liberty left to us by our ancestors? In a word, they try to make us unhappy in the hope of an ephemeral happiness which can be enjoyed only after death.

They treat our history as fables and fiction. Haven't we the same right concerning that which they teach is as incontestable truths? They exploit our simplicity and good faith. All their skill is directed towards tricking us; all their knowledge tends only to make us unhappy. If we are ignorant and blind, as they would have us believe, it is because we have learned their evil plans too late and have allowed them to settle here. Let us not lose courage in the presence of our misfortunes. They are only a handful. We can easily defeat them. Even though we don't have their deadly weapons which spread destruction all over, we can overcome them by our larger numbers. We are stronger than we think! We can quickly free ourselves from these foreigners! We must regain our former freedom! [Political Status Education Coordinating Commission 18-19]

Another encounter took place the same day. Two soldiers saw two Chamorros, a man and a woman fleeing from them. This was the normal behavior of the Chamorros of this time — they had developed a healthy fear of firearms and Spaniards. One of the soldiers fired his harquebus. He killed the woman and wounded the man.

The missionaries didn't like the enthusiasm of their new soldiers. They felt that this aggressiveness was putting the entire mission in jeopardy. The Chamorros of Agaña and nearby retired from their villages to get farther away from the Spanish. The padres feared that all of the islands could rise against the Spaniards and padres.

Padre Solano called together all the men of his "army" and pointed out that while arms could save the missionary effort, they could also destroy it if used unreasonably. He said that until now they had been able to defend themselves because the Chamorros were afraid of their firearms, but if that fear were destroyed it would be impossible for the Spaniards to resist the multitude. He pointed out that if the Chamorros threw

themselves against these arms, they would prevail. The soldiers promised to restrain themselves.

Capt. Juan de Santiago, who commanded the *Escqadron Mariano*, tried to erect a fire-resistant fort in Agaña. He foresaw the possibility of another war. They didn't have the time or the tools to construct it of stone so they decided to build it of earth.

They began to haul clay to make adobes on 13 May 1672.

The Chamorros scattered thorns, brush and other obstacles along the trail and waited in ambush. The Spaniards were careful soldiers and they discovered first the thorny barrier and then the rebels. The Chamorros began at once to shower them with stones and lances. The Spanish advanced, firing several shots from their harquebuses. The Chamorros withdrew. Despite their withdrawal, this was a Chamorro victory. The Spanish had to give up their fire-proof fort when they realized that each load of earth would cost them a fight with the Chamorros.

An insurrection was on. The Spanish were dealing with a guerrilla war.

When they realized that they would be unable to carry out their plan to build a fort, the soldiers decided to go in search of the murderers of Sanvitores and at the same time punish the villagers who had assisted these murders. By Chamorro custom, the injured party would attempt to extract justice and the whole village would defend the delinquent.

Santiago was afraid to leave Sanvitores' murder unpunished because it might set a bad example, or give the Chamorros the audacity to commit other offenses against the Spanish. He had 21 soldiers. Thirteen were Spanish harquebusiers and eight were

Filipinos. Four of the Filipinos had cutlasses and bucklers and four had bows and arrows.

He had to leave some of these in the presidio to protect the padres.

This *Escuadron Mariano* left Agaña on 17 May 1672. It took the trail to Tumon at four in the morning. On the way, it met a nephew of Agao, the man who had escaped death in the earlier skirmish. The soldiers detained him and his wife.

The settlements they passed through were enemies. The Chamorro men were armed but they made no effort to hinder the Spaniards.

On a hill near Tumon they found the Chamorros in ambush. The path was strewn with obstacles. The Chamorros threw stones and lances but the Spanish went forward without delay until they arrived at Tumon. But Mata'pang was not there. So they burned his house, and when the villagers tried to stop them, they burned a dozen others and destroyed several boats.

García says:

The Lord did not want to kill the people of this village, but only to frighten them, because, despite the many shots that the Spaniards fired, not one enemy was killed. Instead, when Sergeant José de Tapia, a Pampango [A Filipino from the Pampangan region of the Philippines. *Pampangos* were a Filipino rural linguistic group used by the Spanish to settle underpopulated areas.] was running after a native, cutlass in hand, and was ready to strike a blow, he was stopped by some branches of a tree, and fell to the ground, at which the Indio fled, leaving behind six lances, so that he might run faster. [García 1683: 165]

But the Spanish, too, took no casualties. On the way back to Agaña they burned some houses in the villages that they suspected of harboring anti-Spanish feeling.

A Chamorro force from 12 villages had closed the road with tree trunks and brush, to channel the Spanish onto the beach, which they had strewn with thorny brush. The Chamorros themselves were waiting on some high rocks near the road.

Santiago led his men into the water, which, because of the high tide, had already covered a part of the road. They waded in water up to their waists. More than half the soldiers had passed when the Chamorros, hidden in the rocks, began to throw lances and to roll large stones over the cliff. At the same time the Spanish were attacked from the sea by Chamorros in boats, who threw lances as if they had no fear of firearms. Those on land had a very covered and concealed place from which to attack, while those in the water used their canoes for cover. They steered their canoes as if they were shields, and, when they were fired on, they dove into the water.

The Chamorros had thrown more than five hundred lances and had wounded two soldiers of the rear guard. Santiago went back to aid them. Another soldier was later wounded in the ankle. The captain received a lance in his chest.

The Chamorros were delighted with this success and began to celebrate their victory and make fun of the Spanish. A soldier, named Lorenzo Bert shot a ball with such skill or luck that he killed a Chamorro who was coming up for air.

And Captain Juan de Santiago said to the enemy that his own wound, over which they were rejoicing, was really nothing of importance and advised them to see if the death of their neighbor were not more worthy of notice. Placing his wounded men in the center of the group of soldiers, himself remaining as rear guard, he managed to pass with them in good order along the shore, from time to time frightening if not wounding the enemy who were alarmed, and with reason, by the valor of our soldiers, comparable with similar deeds that Spaniards have done in America and Asia. They retired, not daring to engage in land warfare with those men who had, in the water, shown themselves to be so valiant. [García 1683: 167-168]

The soldiers made it safely to Agaña.

On the day following this skirmish, the Chamorros from three villages south of Agaña (Aniguag, Asan and Tepungan) came to sue for peace and friendship with the Spaniards. The emissaries brought gifts of rice and coconuts.



Their offer of friendship was accepted on three conditions:

1. That they send their children twice a week to Agaña to learn the doctrine;
2. That they destroy the bachelors houses and
3. That they attend the Mass on all Sundays and feast days.

They agreed to all. The first condition was easily fulfilled. Apparently the children enjoyed the doctrine because they were attracted by the beads and trinkets that the padres gave them. But the second and third conditions were not met.

The nephew of Agao was being held as a bargaining chip for future dealings with the Chamorros. On the day that peace was made with the three villages, some Chamorros sneaked up to the sentry house where the prisoner was held. The rescue party was heard by the soldiers and fled. The Spaniards ultimately freed Agao's nephew to convince the Chamorros that the Spanish had not come to enslave them.

The Spanish decided to improve their fields of fire. They cleared the land around the church and monastery to a distance of more than a 300 yards, to keep the rebels from finding cover or from coming too close.

Meanwhile, the Chamorros built a wall of stones and coral from the cliff to the water to restrict the Spaniards. This wall is said to have been about 800 yards from the presidio. But we do not know where the presidio was except that it was between the Agaña River and the seashore. The Chamorros gathered behind the wall. Whenever the Spanish approached they threw stones and lances.

Padre Ezquerro, realized that the islands were in danger of worse uprisings. He wrote to Padre López, in Tinian, advising him to return to Guam with his companions, to

save their own lives and to augment the number of Spaniards on Guam. Several had met death at the hands of the Chamorros.

On 22 May 1673, the galleon *San Antonio* arrived. Among other things that Gen. Don Juan Duran de Monfort left in these islands was a horse, whose beauty and speed delighted the Chamorros. This was probably the first animal larger than man that had ever been on the islands. As soon as they heard of it people came from all the other islands to see it, and returned home happy if they could take a few hairs from its mane.

The unmarried men liked to carry walking sticks which were carved and colored. At the head of the stick, they attached three streamers made from the soft bark of trees. These streamers were trimmed with heavy thread. It became all the fashion to use horse hair instead of thread. They brought the animal gifts of coconut.

They were impressed with the hardness of its teeth and the heat of its stomach. They thought that it ate iron and that the bit in its mouth was its food.

The *San Antonio* also brought several royal *cédulas* from the Queen.

She decreed, by her *cédula* of 10 October 1671, that at the expense of royal funds, assistance be sent to the evangelical ministers of these islands. In another of 19 August of the same year she had decreed that the churches be ornamented at the expense of the royal treasury of Mexico, and that from New Spain there be sent more workers for this new vineyard of the Lord, as she ordered in a third *cédula*, dated 16 November, 1671. In yet another of the same date, she ordered that two hundred *Pampangos* be sent from the Philippines in order that the fruits of these labors might be harvested in greater safety, as Padre San Vitores had requested.

She issued another *cédula* also, on 16 November, ordering that there be constructed, in New Spain or in the Philippines, a ship to be sent to the Marianas, in order that the padres could pass more easily among the islands and discover other new ones, whither they could not now go in the light craft of the country. In obedience to this order, the *Excelentísimo Señor Marques de Mancera, Don Antonio Sebastian de Toledo, Virrey de Mexico*, sent to Manila from the royal treasury, three thousand pesos for its construction.

Furthermore, the queen decreed that cost should not be considered for a mission of so much glory to God and the welfare of souls. That portion which

depended on the viceroy of Mexico was attended to at once. That portion which fell to the governor of the Philippines we hope he will do in part, for there is great need of it in the Marianas. [García 1683: 181-182]

Father Solano had died so Padre Francisco Ezquerro was the new superior of the mission in the Marianas. He sent Padre Gerardo Bouvens to Manila on the same ship that had brought out the royal *cédulas*. He was to solicit the construction of the ship and ask for passage to Guam for the promised *Pampango* settlers.

Despite the royal *cédulas*, and the pleas of Bouvens, the governor neither wished to send the *Pampangos* nor construct a vessel. But he had to comply, in appearance at least, with the orders of the queen so he ordered the master shipbuilder in the Philippines to build a boat that was guaranteed to be unseaworthy.

The mission was having difficulty getting supplies. Several years before, all generals, admirals or masters of ships had received orders from the governor of the Philippines not to anchor in the Marianas. This put the mission in danger. The Chamorros could see the ships pass at a distance, not stopping nor showing any desire to punish them. So they lost their fear and killed more Spaniards.

There had existed a lull in the fighting from November 1673 through January 1674. On 2 February 1674, Padre Ezquerro and six companions were on the road between Ati and Fu'una. These two villages were between Umatac and Agat. The group was ambushed by a large group of Chamorros. The padre and five of his companions were killed.

This escalated the war. García says:

Believing that for the better progress of Christianity it would be well to give an example of real punishment as a warning to the natives, whom kindness appeared only to make more daring, he [Don Damian de Esplaña, the new *sargento mayor*] determined to begin with one of the most antagonistic and delinquent villages in Guam, called Chuchugu. And in order to justify what he

was about to do, he first sent several ambassadors, inviting the natives to peace and asking them only to discharge their obligations as Christians which they had so many times promised to do, and urging them not to place obstacles in the path of the ministers of the evangel who traveled over the island to teach and baptize.

But the barbarians, believing this request to be only cowardice, became more haughty and refused to hear the ambassadors, while they continued as before to impede in every way possible the progress of Christianity.

Seeing how rebellious the natives were, Don Damian de Esplaña resolved to seek out the enemy in a village near Chuchugu, where he believed that the guiltiest ones were to be found. He commended the expedition to God and said seven Masses to San José for a successful outcome, imploring at the same time the help of the prince of the angels and Patron of these islands, San Miguel. Then, trusting more in divine than in human aid, having animated his soldiers with the hope of victory, the sergeant set out at night, on Friday 13 July 1674, with thirty men. Arriving near the village, he halted and ordered the second lieutenant Don José de Tapia, whose courage was well known, to engage with the vanguard, the houses on the edge of the settlement, while he, at the same time and with the remaining soldiers, would attack the others. He forbade the soldiers to kill women or children, but only those men who resisted.

Our men attacked, divided in two sections and the Indios, after long resistance which cost them some lives, fled. As it was not yet daylight, one woman was killed. In her arms they found a wounded baby boy, whom Padre López, chaplain of the expedition, took in his arms. He offered the child to the Lord in baptism as the greatest prize of the victory. He called him Miguel Maria Ventura, in recognition of San Miguel, our Lady, and San Buenaventura, whose eve it was. [García 1683: 190-191]

Esplaña had arrived in June of 1674 aboard the Galleon *Buen Socorro* along with three soldiers from Mexico, one of whom was a Cholula Amerindian. The Spanish had relaxed their distrust of pure blood Amerindians that had existed in Legazpi's time. Actually a great many of the soldiers that Spain had sent to subdue the Filipinos and now the Chamorros were Amerindian.

Although the rebels were frightened, they were by no means reformed; so Esplaña decided to attack the village of Chuchugu itself.

He departed on 26 July, after overcoming several delays on the road, arrived at the narrow pass which was at the entrance to the settlement.

The Chamorros, who were aware of the soldiers' movements, occupied three prominences, one of which faced the road, while the others were on two sides. As the vanguard under de Tapia began to go up the hill, the Chamorros gave the signal to go into battle. A storm of lances followed. De Tapia had to stop and protect himself with his shield.

The vanguard was unable to go through the narrow pass because of the lances. So they discharged their firearms. The Chamorros replied with another barrage of lances. The Spanish were in danger of defeat.

In a desperate charge the Spanish forced their way out of the ambush. The Chamorros were surprised by this display of valor and afraid of the gunfire. They were routed. From the mountain the Spaniards threw themselves on the village. Much to their chagrin they were unopposed — the village had been abandoned. So they burned it and destroyed some lances.

The victory didn't cost either side much.

The Spanish were busy "improving" Guam. In 1674, the padres erected two colleges or seminaries inside the presidio; one for boys, dedicated to Saint Michael another for girls, consecrated to Santa Rosa.

Esplaña took some time to improve the fortifications of the presidio.

Once this had been completed, he went out to reconnoiter the island. He went to the village of Fu'una, and from there to Pupuro, a settlement just south of Agat whose people were believed to be accomplices in the death of Padre Ezquierra. Fu'una was on the present location of Fort Soledad, in Umatac. He put the Chamorros to flight and burned their houses. But try as he might, he couldn't find anyone to punish.

In the northern part of the island the villages were at war with each other, and each faction tried to get the support of the Spanish.

They sent messengers to Esplaña suggesting the convenience of an alliance, but he did not wish to favor one side or the other because both were friendly with the Spaniards. He asked them all to make peace.

Padre Alonzo López and Padre Antonio Maria de San Basilio went to that part of the island. They went without military escort hoping not to arouse either faction.

The padres made peace between the villages in the north, and began building churches and converting the Chamorros.

The missionaries wanted to return to island-wide operations. So they sent Esplaña to pacify, peacefully if possible, the village of Tumon. Esplaña found the village deserted but, because he was on horseback, he managed to overtake the last boat, kill the captain and capture the rest of the men in it.

The dead native was quartered and hung on two poles as a warning to the other villagers. [García 1683: 198]

And of course Esplaña burned everything he found. After these “successful” operations he decided to inflict himself on the islands of the north. But when he was just about to depart he received news that the Chamorros of the mountains had formed an alliance with those of Chuchugu and its confederates, and had decided to kill all the padres who remained on the island as soon as he had gone.

Esplaña set out on 17 December against these “rebels.” He made a surprise attack on some *ranchos* which had been built in the mountain country when the Chamorros could no longer live in their former villages. One Chamorro was killed and the others fled.

Peace broke out after this storm of insurrections and punitive actions.

Esplaña began to help the padres in indoctrinating the Chamorros. García says:

Arriving at Ritidian, he displayed a great respect and reverence for the padres, and when he saw a large group of natives, he gave them a serious discourse, exhorting them to have great respect for the padres as ministers of God and teachers of the truth, who came to show them the way to salvation. He said, "Be warned, that when you do wrong the padres can punish you and have you whipped, and you have to submit to the punishment, because I, being captain, submit also. If I were bad I should permit the padres to punish me!" These words had much weight because of the natives' respect and fear of the sergeant. [García 1683: 200]

He also tried to persuade the village of Sidia, which was located between Agat and Umatac, to submit to the Spaniards. It was reluctant so he set out for the village on 30 January, put the Chamorros to flight and burned the village. He continued that afternoon to Hati, another village on the west coast. After throwing several Chamorros who tried to impede his passage over a cliff, he went down to the village, burned it and returned to the hilltop for the night. Esplaña continued to punish the Chamorros, burn their houses and destroy their boats.

The Spanish almost caught Mata'pang. He returned from Rota, where he had been hiding. A Spaniard called Lorenzo Hernandez de Ruga, saw him and tried to seize him. But de Ruga was unable to do so, because, although he was old, Mata'pang was too fast and strong. Although badly injured, Mata'pang escaped and returned to Rota. The Spanish sent soldiers to hunt him down but they could neither find him nor learn where he was hiding.

In 1676, Esplaña was transferred to the Philippines. He would be back. He served in the Marianas three times. He was the last of the sergeants major. He would serve twice more as military governor — as a major and finally as a lieutenant general.

When Esplaña was transferred, the padres had no leader for the troops. But the general of the *San Antonio de Padua* helped them out of this difficulty. He left Capt. Don Francisco de Irrisarri y Viñar and 74 soldiers in addition to the 14 soldiers who were already manifested for the Marianas. These were almost certainly professional soldiers — the general knew that he had a war in the Marianas. Irrisarri had had no intention of remaining in the Marianas, in fact, he had even persuaded another man not to remain. But at the request of the general, he accepted the post.

As a sweetener, Irrisarri was given the title of governor of the Mariana Islands. He was the first to hold that title since Legazpi. Until Driver's discovery of Legazpi's commission, this was considered to be the first time that Guam had had a governor. So, frequently Irrisarri is cited as the first governor of Guam.

The ship also brought five missionaries who were distributed among the *residencias*.

The new governor decided to “restrain” the pride of certain villages and castigate the “insolence” of others. His primary targets were the villages of those who had killed Spaniards, waged war against Christianity or persuaded others that the customs of the Spaniards were bad.

These “troublemakers” said that the customs of the Spaniards ought not replace those of the islands, nor should the liberty of their former life be exchanged for the austerity of the sort of existence the Spaniards wished to force upon them with their laws. They urged the Chamorros to do whatever was necessary to force the Spaniards off their islands.



The governor decided to begin with a mountain village named Talisay, whose inhabitants felt that the inaccessibility of their village gave them some protection. They bragged about their courage and ridiculed the Spanish.

Irrisarri decided to make a war on them to teach them a lesson. One evening he went out with his men. They walked all night through the mountains, stumbling and falling on the trackless hillsides. Finally, they arrived at Talisay. They attacked the village and killed five Chamorros. The others of the village escaped, some badly wounded, into the mountains. García continues:

The Spaniards then set fire to the house of the *urritaos*, or one might better say, the house of infamy, desiring if they could, to quench one fire with another.

Our men returned to the presidio, happy over their victory, carrying certain spoils in the form of the souls of three children, precious pearls in the eyes of the Lord, a wise dealer, who took them in exchange for blood. [García 1683: 232]

One would have to be extremely naive to assume that the Chamorra girls and the Spanish, Mexican and Filipino boys of the Spanish Army had not been availing themselves of each other. But García discusses marriage for the first time a short time after this battle. He says that there were several weddings between Spaniards and the girls who had been educated in the girls' school.

One which took place in the village of Orote, was especially notable. A Chamorra girl, following the example of one of her friends, resolved to be married in the church.

Realizing that if her parents knew of her plan they would not give their consent because they wished to sell or rent her to the *urritaos*, she went secretly to the missionary and confided her secret to him. The village padre at that time was Padre Sebastian de Monroy. He offered the suggestion that if it were necessary she might even leave her parents and her village in order to live according to the law of God.

Just as the marriage ceremony was finished and while the people were yet in the church, the girl's father arrived to avenge the wrong which Padre Monroy had done him in marrying his daughter to a Spaniard.

The missionary knew that the father's anger was in reality caused by the fact that he wanted to rent the girl to the *urritaos*, according to the local custom,

which was the best source of income that parents could have. The priest told him he would lose nothing by the marriage, for he himself would pay more than the father could get from the *umitaos*.

The Chamorro, however, was by no means appeased, but tried to kill the padre and his companions, most of all the man who had married his daughter. To this end he gathered many Chamorros from the surrounding villages, with their lances and machetes. Then, feigning friendship, he approached our people, and was at the point of striking the bridegroom with his machete when the padre saw his intention and prevented the knife reaching its mark. Padre Monroy, realizing the grave danger that confronted them, sent the newly married pair to the *residencia* in Agaña for safety. [García 1683: 233]

As soon as they got to Agaña, they told the governor what had happened. He immediately marched on Orote. He put down the riot and arrested the two guiltiest Chamorros. They were both taken to Agaña. One was later freed, but the other, the girl's father, was publicly executed. He refused to be baptized. After he was executed:

The native children, angered with him for refusing baptism attacked his dead body; pelting it with stones and sticks. They dragged the body to the beach, shouting as they went, "Let the dog die who has not wanted to become a Christian." [García 1683: 234]

This incident sparked another revolt. This revolt was led by a *chamorri* of Agaña, named Aguarin. Aguarin went to all of the outlying villages, particularly those that harbored ill will toward the Spanish. García reports one of his speeches:

"What are you doing, oh brave islanders," said this Indio, eloquent in his barbarity, "that you go on carelessly, permitting this cruel enemy to live in our land, who has done you so much harm?

"Tell me all the harm that we have suffered since they came to our islands. They have killed our children with the water of God, and those of us who have been able to resist this mortal poison, the children have learned to hate with a deathlike hatred, as we saw in Agaña, when the children stoned and dragged one of our friends whom those tyrants had killed, calling him guilty for having defended his country and liberty.

"They take our daughters from us, to marry them, and we lose the price which the *umitaos* would have paid us. Many of our people have died, and soon they will kill us all, if we do not immediately apply a remedy. And even if they spare our lives, what death is worse than the life we are forced to live, without pleasure, without liberty, being forced, as if we were their slaves, to attend Mass and the doctrine, go to church instead of spending our time in fishing, weaving nets or building boats? Where is the courage of your lances and stones with

which you have so many times overcome the enemy? Do not fear these foreigners who are few while we are many, and who are brave only because of our fear. I shall go ahead of you with my lance, which has already killed many, and I shall finish them all to restore the liberty that our fathers and grandfathers enjoyed and which we, because of our cowardliness, have lost." [García 1683: 238]

Obviously Aguarin was an eloquent speaker. He persuaded many to join the revolt. The revolutionaries maintained strict secrecy. They permitted the padres and Spanish to go about their usual affairs without showing ill feeling. They awaited the time when they would have an opportunity to carry out their plan. On 29 August 1676, they decided the time was ripe. It was the eve of a fiesta at Tupungan, a village south of Agaña. The people of the various villages began to congregate in Tupungan as was customary in preparation for a fiesta. The other *residencias* also went to Tupungan to celebrate the fiesta. To the plotters, this seemed like a good time to wipe out all the foreigners.

They sent some men to burn the *residencia* at Ayraan. They believed that as the men of the presidio were hurrying to the fire, they could ambush them. They hoped at the Spanish would be unarmed so they could be easily defeated. Meanwhile the main force was to swarm over Tupungan,

They set fire to the church in Ayraan at 1 a.m. The entire structure was soon in flames, as were the adjacent buildings of the schools, and the house of the missionaries.

They did not engage anyone — they didn't want to give away the plan. They just set fire to the buildings and ran.

At this time, other plotters were to fall upon the church properties in Tupungan. They were in readiness, awaiting a signal to begin the assault. García continues the narrative:

They ran to the scene of action with lances and machetes, and the death of the missionaries and soldiers would have been a foregone conclusion had not the providence of the Lord intervened, for the natives could easily have killed them all, ignorant as the Spaniards were of the plot. The first sign of trouble was the firing of the church at Ayraan. The soldiers took their arms and joined the padres at the *residencia*. The latter were trying to quiet the Indios and were asking them the reason for their restlessness. The natives, however, denied the imminence of an uprising, but the Spaniards knew from their manner that they were dissimulating.

When the governor arrived at Ayraan and saw the conflagration, although he was then ignorant of its origin, he feared an insurrection, and set out for Tepungan, where he arrived to find the padres and soldiers in readiness for an attack by the Indios.

When the natives saw the arrival of the governor, they tried even more to appear to be gathering only to celebrate the fiesta; and they answered readily all questions put to them, for they feared the governor.

Both the governor and the padres were perplexed, and did not know what course to follow in the existing situation, for, in any case, it was a dangerous matter to have friends for enemies, and enemies as friends. They let matters rest for the time being, not wishing to make a difficult situation worse, and believing that later developments would point out to them the course they ought to follow. The only decision they made was that Padre Sebastian de Monroy should not return to his mission at Orote until all danger had passed.

When news of this decision reached the natives they began their pretenses again, saying that if Padre Sebastian would not return with them to their village it was only because he believed them to be enemies, which, in turn, would give them reason to fear the governor. They refused to go without the padre who, as they said, taught them the Christian doctrine.

The padres were moved by the pleas of the barbarians, and wishing not to fail in any duty that might bring about peace, they decided that Padre Sebastian should return to Orote, and the governor assigned eight soldiers as his bodyguard, among whom was the lieutenant governor, Nicolas Rodriguez, who had orders to return at once to the *residencia* in Agaña at the first sign of trouble among the Indios, disregarding all pleas, and paying no attention to any attempt to feign fear. [García 1683: 239]

The remaining ministers and soldiers retired to Agaña with the governor.

The Chamorros kept their plans hidden for eight days longer, hoping the delay would further their ultimate success, and that they would be able to kill all the Spaniards in Orote. They sent word out to all the allied settlements to gather on the morning of 6 September 1676, which was a Sunday. They planned to stab the padre that day while he was saying Mass. But the Spanish were still on the alert. The superior ordered Padre

Monroy to say the Mass very early that morning. After Mass the soldiers, armed and ready, awaited the arrival of the Chamorros.

Many more came that usual. And they came armed with lances and machetes. But they found the soldiers awaiting them. They went into the church and prayed and, afterwards retired. Some went to the woods, others to their homes. Some who had children in the school sent them to ask the padre to give them permission to go to the beach, as they did frequently. The padre granted their request and both boys and girls went out to amuse themselves, whereupon the Chamorros who were hidden took them to another village.

When Padre Monroy heard of this he complained to the Chamorros about the removal of the children. He told them that if they did not bring the children back promptly he and all his escort would leave the village of Orote never to return.

Monroy trusted a *chamorri* named Cheref. He told the padre that he would arrange for the return of the children. Cheref planned to delay the implementation of the plan to allow the residents of Orote, who lived in the hills rather than in the village proper to arrive and join the fun.

But Monroy, in obedience to orders from his superior, set out for Agaña with the eight soldiers. Cheref followed, begging them not to go. They arrived at Sumay where the padre hoped to embark for Agaña. But he could find neither boat nor boatman. All the Chamorros of that village were in on the conspiracy.

Soon the Spanish saw a number of Chamorros approaching. They were screaming and shouting as they always did in war but this time they were shouting in glee. They knew that the Spanish were in their clutches and that there was no escape.

The soldiers prepared themselves for battle. The padre gave absolution and prepared them for the death which seemed inevitable. One soldier, with a small Chamorro child, was sent to Agaña to get reinforcements.

He had just made his escape when the Chamorros attacked. The soldiers maintained good order and resisted the attack. Some Chamorros were wounded and as usual the rest were afraid to throw themselves into closer combat.

Cheref appeared among the Chamorros and began to berate them. He threw lances at them, saying that if they did not stop he, Cheref, would be their enemy. He immediately went to Monroy. He promised to give him a boat and take him safely Agaña. García continues the story:

**Padre Monroy trusted Cheref, who dissimulated so well that the missionary accepted his offer of a boat. He got into the small craft with his seven soldiers and with Cheref at the helm. But Cheref, as soon as he was well away from the shore, capsized the boat, a thing which these natives do very cleverly.**

**The eight men fell into the water which reached to their necks, wetting their powder and guns, the only things of which the barbarians were afraid. The latter, seeing this, plunged into the water, for they were nude and were excellent swimmers, and killed all the eight with stones, lances and clubs, the traitor Cheref using a piece of a broken harquebus which one of our soldiers had lost. The slaughter, however, was not accomplished without a struggle, for our soldiers, having lost their firearms, fought with machetes and sabers.**

**The last man to die was Padre Monroy, who with a small buckler, but without a weapon, defended himself against many stones and lances while exhorting his companions to die for Christ as they had fought for him. At last a stone which struck his arm caused him to drop the buckler, whereupon an Indio struck him on the neck with a lance. The padre asked him, "Why dost thou kill me?" and without awaiting a reply thanked the barbarian for the benefit he was conferring upon him, saying in the native language, "Si Dios Maasi," which means, God will repay you and may God have mercy on you. Then they killed him with their machetes and lances. [García 1683: 242]**

The Chamorros returned to Orote and burned the church, residence and colleges.

When the governor received Monroy's message in Agaña, he immediately set out for Sumay with his men. He arrived at midnight. He could hear the shouts of the Chamorros

who had taken possession of the settlement, and were celebrating their victory. The Spaniards thought it best not to disembark until daylight. They suspected the Chamorros were waiting in ambush.

Meanwhile, the affairs of the Spaniards in Agaña were in grave danger because the presidio was left almost unmanned. The governor had taken all available men to quell the revolt at Sumay. The Chamorros of Katan, which was in the center of the island and faced the east, joined with those of other settlements near Agaña and retired into the forest. They fell on Agaña at midnight. They intended to burn the buildings of the Spanish and, in the confusion, kill the Spaniards. But they were heard and a few shots were fired in their direction from a harquebus. They retreated.

At dawn 7 September 1676, the governor landed on the beach at Sumay and soon freed the surrounding country of Chamorros.

The soldiers found two graves, one of which was that of the lieutenant governor. His body was carried to the church in Tupungan for burial. The body of Padre Monroy was never found. Irrisarri ordered all the padres to return to Agaña until conditions improved.

At 1:00 p.m. that day the Spaniards in Agaña saw, approaching from the direction of Katan, a force of Chamorros armed with lances and machetes and carrying fish to offer to the padres. The padres and soldiers in Agaña were already beginning to suspect that some disaster had overtaken the governor because of his delay in returning with his men from Sumay. They feared that the Chamorros planned that, if the fish were accepted, they could enter the stockade and kill them all. So the Spanish sent them away.

When the Chamorros retired, the Spanish saw the governor coming with his men and the padres from Tupungan.

Tupungan was a victory for the Chamorros and they wanted to follow up on it.

The natives, encouraged by their recent victory, tried to finish that which they had begun, by exterminating all the *Guilagos*. Aguarin went from one village to another inciting them to continued rebellion, soliciting those who had not yet openly declared against the Spaniards, calling them his enemies; traitors likewise to their country if they refused to declare themselves enemies of the padres and Spaniards or to try to kill them. He assured his partisans of victory, and promised them all the possessions of the Spaniards, saying to them proudly, "What dost thou fear, relatives and friends of mine? Without coming to blows you can kill these enemies with hunger by not permitting anyone to bring them dago or nica ["Dago," is the winged yam, *Dioscorea alata*. "Nica" is the yam, *Dioscorea esculenta*.]. What shall they eat if we deny them sustenance. Let them die who came to kill us, and let no enemy of our country remain in the land to which they brought too many customs opposed to ours.

"Why do we need their laws here? Our fathers lived without them and we shall live without them. Let us enjoy the liberty they enjoyed. So many Spaniards have already died, and lately we have killed the bravest ones, now we shall kill them all, and I alone will kill them, for my own courage is enough for all, although I should like you to follow me in order that you may have a part in the victory, and in order that I may not have to call you my enemies, as I shall do so very soon if you do not attend what I say, who seek only your honor and advantage." [García 1683: 250]

All of September and half of October 1676, Aguarin spent in visiting the villages and rounding up allies and recruits. He gave a turtle shell to each village that joined him. Turtle shell, remember was specie of a very high order. It was given as tribute to the victor in war and to the family of a murder victim by the murder.

Some villages and individuals were loyal to the Spanish. One individual is specifically credited by García with loyalty. Don Antonio de Ayihi preserved peace in his village. Several times he prevented the entrance of the rebels. On occasion he even offered armed resistance when the guerrillas attempted to pass through his territory. By doing so, he risked his life, not only at the hands of the rebels, who looked upon him as a friend of the foreigners, but even more from the people of his own village because of the



difficult situation in which he placed them by defending the Spaniards. When the padres recognized the dangerous position in which Ayihi had placed himself, they persuaded him to leave the village, and urged him to tell the others to let the rebels pass through their land. The padres didn't want these people to antagonize the rebels. But they didn't want them to become rebels so they forbade the villagers from joining or supporting the rebellion. It would be interesting to know how effective these orders were.

The Spanish had a full-scale Chamorro rebellion on their hands. The Chamorros were fighting a guerrilla war of which the 20th century could have taken pride. Unfortunately they were led by *chamorri* who were of the caliber of Tecumseh and Crazy Horse. Who knows what history would have written if they had had a Mao Zedong, a Ho Chi Minh or a Fidel Castro. This is not to say that Tecumseh and Crazy Horse were not great leaders. They were but they were unable to bend their culture to adapt itself to a new reality. If the *Chamorris* had managed to convince their fighting men to adopt some of the martial attitudes of the invaders, it seems unlikely that they could not have overwhelmed the Spaniards on the island.

As in all partisan war, individuals and villages faced a dilemma. If they followed the advice of Ayihi, they angered Aguarin and his men. If they supported Aguarin or did not actively support the Spanish, they risked imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the Spanish who would regard them as traitors.

But still men like Ayihi helped the padres and Spaniards. They frequently advised the Spanish of the intentions of the rebels and they supplied them with food and other assistance.

Profiting by the information brought in by Ayihi, the Spaniards fortified the presidio, moved the church to another location and removed several houses which occupied the center of the enclosure and were in a place where, if the stockade were scaled and the houses occupied by the Chamorros during an assault, they would be in a position to do much harm to the presidio.

The stockade was renewed. The enclosure was cleared and several sentry boxes were placed at intervals along the sides. The fort could be defended from any direction. It could not suffer much damage from the Chamorros. When they received news of the preparations in the Spanish camp, the Chamorros were somewhat less interested in attempting the assault that they had planned to make at night with 500 men. The Spaniards, on the other hand, now hoped that the Chamorros would attack.

Aguarin appeared with his army on the afternoon of 15 October, from a point out of range of the Spanish guns. He started slinging stones.

When the governor saw that they did not mean to draw nearer, he decided to sortie out to meet them, to show that he did not fear the mob of more than 1,500, and to make the Chamorros abandon their position.

He went out with 18 harquebusiers and began to shoot. This caused the most of the Chamorros to run. Only a few of the leaders remained. When they were attacked they fled too.

This was not a tactical retreat. There was no reason for it. If those 1500 warriors had attacked the 18 harquebusiers they would have been victorious. But there would have been sacrifice and the Chamorro culture did not encourage the ultimate sacrifice.

The rebels returned on the following day and on this occasion the Spanish believed it would be better to remain within the stockade, until all the Chamorro army had come down from the mountain. When they were in the open they were better targets. On the previous day they had been able to escape into the dense forest. But the Chamorros were too cagey for that. They came down to the same area as before and when they saw no one and heard nothing, they suspected a trick and retired after tossing a few stones.

But that night, they destroyed a field of corn which was the primary food supply for the padres and soldiers. Some of the Chamorros became so bold that they entered the stockade, unseen by the Spaniards, and gained entry to a sentry box, from which they threw a few lances. They could easily have killed the five soldiers who were asleep within but apparently either they were not aware of the presence of the sentries or they concluded that sentries who slept on guard duty were not a serious objective. García, as a good Jesuit, attributes the good fortune of these men to divine intervention.

Aguarin decided that he did not have enough men to overcome Spanish forces. So he decided to assemble more Chamorros. He was gone for six days rounding them up. When he returned to his post on the hillside, he showered stones over the presidio. A few soldiers went out to meet them, and shot two harquebuses at the Chamorros, who fled in disorder.

Another day the governor went out from the east side to look for the rebels. He prepared an ambush, and went on toward a village with a few soldiers. More than 40 Chamorros came out, and the soldiers, feigning a retreat, drew the Chamorros into their ambush. Two who had been in the lead were killed. The others fled. The Spaniards

couldn't catch them, because it was already dark. They brought the head of one of the Chamorros to the presidio, where they put it on a pole as a warning and a trophy.

The Chamorros, who were as usual unduly upset by the loss of a few of their number, suspended hostilities for a few days. But they still maintained the siege — they prevented friendly Chamorros from bringing food to the Spaniards. The Spaniards grew their own.

Their staple was corn. But they didn't have enough land to grow a good supply. Just before the corn was ready to harvest they found themselves with no food except a small amount of "nica" and some purslane, a pot herb. Although the siege lasted six months, they managed to grow enough to eat. García attributes the Spanish survival of the siege to Divine intervention:

There is no other means, except the providence of the Lord, whereby so many people could have been subsisted during such a long time, accustomed as they were to other foods than purslane and "nica," for the latter has no flavor and less nutriment than the camotes of New Spain. Nor did anyone suffer the least illness. But at the end of October, a young man named Diego de Ayala, who had arrived during the year, died of tetanus, and his burial took place on the day of the previously mentioned skirmish in the hills. His death was felt here for the additional shortage of men which it caused. [García 1683: 254]

During lulls in the fighting, the padres worked on the construction of a church of stone and mud. Until that time, churches had been built of wood. The governor would not permit the padres to do the actual building or to transport the stone. He used soldiers for the labor. He also constructed a fort of the same material, with a wall to protect the mission.

On 18 December 1676 the Chamorros appeared from the west. The governor went out with 20 men and left the other 20, who were lame and wounded, within the presidio. He wounded five Chamorros and caused the rest to flee then he returned to the

presidio. He was unable to follow and overtake them nor rout them completely because they hid themselves in the forest the hills and in the sea.

García continues the narrative:

The barbarians, angry because in so many combats they had been defeated, with many of their number killed or wounded without having been able to injure even one of our men, while they were so numerous and we so few, at last took on new courage with the determination to win or die. They summoned more men, calling themselves and all the natives cowards, saying, "Is it possible that we have so little courage that the foreigners can cast us out of our own homes? Let us die or win, and we shall win if we are not afraid to die, for it is only our fear that makes them victorious. Let us not turn our backs to their arms, and thus we shall make them turn their backs to ours. Let us fight for our women, our children, our lands, our liberty, and let us finish at one blow those who wish to deprive us of these things and who are the cause of all our troubles." [García 1683: 256]

The Chamorros came into the town on 7 January 1677 and retired the same day without giving battle. They came four days later with two forces, one on the sea, with more than 100 boats, the other on land, occupying all the beach and the hills behind the town. The plan was that if the Spanish sallied out of the presidio as they had done previously, to meet the army in front, the others could fall upon them from the rear, attack the stockade and kill those who remained within. Then they would have the fort and the Spanish would be trapped in the open. The Chamorros had a well-conceived plan here. All they had to do was carry it out.

The Chamorros were able to carry out part of their plan but they could not carry it to fruition. The governor had already gone out with a squadron to a point opposite the Chamorro army on the beach. When the Chamorros from the hills were about to attack the stockade he opened fire. The Chamorros had developed such a terror of firearms that they withdrew. The governor knew he had to go out against the rebels and the danger in which the presidio would be left. He ordered some ballistas, or large crew served

crossbows, to be loaded with bolts, but not manned. They were set up at several points along the stockade, to frighten the Chamorros. The field was sown with sticks and sharp bits of bone over which the attackers had to walk if they were to enter the presidio.

The Chamorros on the beach and in boats began to throw stones and lances at the Spaniards. Spanish firearms were ineffective because the Chamorros had learned that when the Spanish fired, they could dive under water or use their boats as shields. They came hoping to induce the Spanish to attack. But the Spanish maintained their position. Finally the Spanish achieved victory by means of their small cannon loaded with musket balls. This damaged several boats. Their firearms managed to kill a couple of Chamorros and wounded several more. The Chamorros withdrew.

The two armies returned on 24 January 1677 with a greater number of men. This time they brought shields to protect themselves against the musket balls.

The governor had sharpened sticks and sharpened splinters of bone placed as obstacles on the side toward the mountain and in the water along the shore. He had a small flag placed midway between these two points. He believed that some of the Chamorros would want to capture this flag as a war souvenir and become heroes.

He ordered the soldiers not to go outside, and distributed them according to his plan. He put most of them on the side facing the flag.

García continues the story:

The countless multitude of barbarians approached, with twenty or thirty boats in the lead, whose occupants jumped into the water in their haste to obtain the flag. When they arrived at the place where it was secured and as one was about to pull it down, the Spaniards began firing, critically wounding many. At the same moment our men began to shout "Victory! Victory! Victory San Miguel! San Miguel, victor." The barbarians, hearing these cries, together with the noise of the firearms, and experiencing the discomfort of the splinters and arrows sown on the mountain side and on the beach, fled in terror as if a celestial army had

descended upon them. And without a doubt this fear was given them by the prince of the angels, to whom the soldiers accorded this victory, giving all the credit to the holy archangel, who protects Catholic arms when they are used in defense of the faith or to extend it in new worlds. [García 1683: 259]

This battle, as was always the case when the Chamorros lost men, was followed by a lull.

The Chamorros licked their wounds and the Spanish continued to work on their church. The church caused additional fear on the part of the Chamorros because it was built with an *azotea*, a flat roof, which could be fortified. They were still more afraid when they saw houses being constructed of mud and stone all around the church — these buildings would be safe from fire.

Those things which alarmed the natives gave the Spaniards a greater sense of security and the great hope of a brilliant future for Christianity which so many were trying to perpetuate in these islands, marrying here and building homes. [García 1683: 260]

The Chamorros sued for peace, but the governor was in no hurry. He knew that if he made them wait he could arrange peace on his own terms. He was convinced that fear would do more maintain control over the Chamorros than an agreement. And although García does not discuss it, it also gave the governor an opportunity to reduce the population of Chamorros to something more manageable.

So while the soldiers were engaged in genocide, the religious were gaining converts and performing ceremonies at an ever-increasing rate. These two processes served to separate those Chamorros who were willing to accept Spanish rule from those who weren't, and to exterminate those who weren't.

García says:

Among the continued risks that Christianity ran here of losing everything the missionaries had one consolation, and that was seeing greater respect on the part of the barbarians for the name of God than the latter had formerly shown; for

although they hated his law because it placed limitations on their vices, no blasphemies against God were heard in these wars, whereas in the earlier battles these blasphemies were the common weapon by which they wounded the zealous hearts of the padres. [Garcia 1683: 261]

On 18 June 1678, the galleon *San Telmo* arrived and anchored in the Port of Umatac. Don Juan de Vargas Hurtado came on that ship as the new governor of the Philippines. He went ashore with his pilot and took soundings in the port. He satisfied ~~himse~~lf that it was a safe anchorage for ships bound for the Philippines, as well as for the ~~tende~~r. He promised to send this small boat which had been delayed for so long by political opposition in the Philippines.

He also left a new governor, Capt. Don Juan Antonio de Salas, of Madrid. Salas brought considerable military experience. He also brought an additional 30 men.

The new governor of the Marianas, decided that his first order of business was to punish the Chamorros to smooth the way for the evangelization of the islands. So he set out on 29 June with his men for Tarague, one of the most rebellious villages. They started at 2 p.m. and walked nearly all night but could not get to Tarague because the trails were overgrown.

Before they arrived at the village of Tarague they were seen by a Chamorro who was on the beach. He gave the alarm. The soldiers ran into the village in order to take the Chamorros unawares. Or at least those Chamorros who hadn't already escaped. All escaped, except three. One who was killed by the governor himself was a companion of Aguarin. García is vague about the fate of the other two. He says that they were: badly wounded or killed by the soldiers. [García 1683: 265]

The Spaniards sacked the village, set fire to the houses and then returned to Agaña:

happy because they had given the new government such a splendid beginning. [García 1683: 265]



The destruction of this strategic village struck terror to the hearts of the Chamorros. Many villages came to ask for peace. They brought great quantities of rice with which to provision the royal storehouse. Their requests were granted with a warning of their obligation to attend Mass, and the doctrine, to be instructed in matters of faith — they were already Christians. They were warned not to harbor any murderers or enemies of the Spaniards, and to obey the governor in all that he ordered.

The governor made a second sortie against the rebels villages. He took as his guide a Chamorro. The guide tried to lead the patrol into areas where they could be easily wiped out by a few Chamorros. At least that was the excuse the Spanish gave for executing him.

The first rebels village they entered was Tupalao, at the end of the Sumay peninsula. They killed a Chamorro and took two children whom the parents had lost in the confusion of escape. The children were taken to Agaña to be educated. The Spanish set fire to the houses and then continued on to Fu'una.

A group of Chamorros came out to meet them. The Spanish engaged the Chamorros. Some Chamorros were killed, others wounded and the rest were routed. The Spanish entered the village which they sacked and burned. Returning by way of the villages of Orote and Sumay, they sacked and burned them.

Because of the shortage of Spanish soldiers who could be sent out from the presidio, the Chamorros had begun to rebuild the public houses in some villages. The padres complained to the governor. He took a detachment of soldiers that burned some of the houses and threatened the Chamorros with worse punishment if they rebuilt them.

At about this time there was a scandal caused by one of the converts. Remember Don Antonio de Ayihi who had supported the Spaniards during the siege?

García says:

The scandal caused by the true friend of the Spaniards and benefactor of Christianity, Don Antonio de Ayihi, was no small matter, for he, being married according to the Catholic rites, had abandoned his legitimate wife and was living with another, and no one was able to persuade him to leave her, either by pleas or threats. Nor was there less difficulty with the wife of Don Antonio, who, realizing that she was abandoned, felt that it would be a disgrace to return to her husband.

The matter was commended to God, and later, one of the padres spoke to Don Antonio with such force and efficacy, proposing reasons both divine and human to which at last he succumbed, divine grace intervening, and he announced that he was ready to return to his wife if the latter so desired.

The governor had her called in, and she agreed without serious objection, whereupon the two returned to their former life. In order to make certain, a house was built for them inside the presidio, where they now live, to the edification and good example of all. [García 1683: 267]

The Chamorros had had enough. They began migrating to the northern islands.

García says:

The boats were seen as they passed along the north sea, but because of the lack of boats our men have never been able to interfere with the sea commerce of the natives. Governor Don Juan de Salas was chagrined at seeing himself thus ridiculed. His zeal and courage were unable to suffer the insult.

He ordered a *banquilla* [*Banquilla* in this case refers to a native canoe; *banca*.] prepared and got into it with five harquebusiers and two friendly natives, and followed the enemy squadron. When the Indios saw that the governor was trying to overtake them, they lightened their own craft by throwing overboard some of their supplies. Only one boat was unable to keep up with the others. In this *banca* there were two native *principals* and three children, with a cargo of supplies. The governor overtook it and seized it, taking the children to Agaña where they were educated. The men were held as prisoners until such time as the villagers should consent to return to their abandoned homes and our friendship. This affair made such an impression on the people that for a long while no boats passed along that side of the island for fear of being seized by the governor. [García 1683: 270]

The Spanish strengthened the presidio. They were away so often perpetrating what is now euphemistically called ethnic cleansing against the Chamorros that they

For almost a year the island of Guam had been without war, although she had neither peace nor security.

When missionaries went to the field, they needed a military escort. Now that the main war was over, the Spanish began a pacification campaign in which they accompanied the missionaries to the Chamorro villages. While the missionaries preached and baptized, the escort searched for fugitives and arms. Sometimes the help of the soldiers was required to force parents to allow the baptism of children. Recalcitrant villages were burned, weapons and everything the Spanish took a liking to were confiscated. Those Chamorros who were reluctant to be Hispanicized were killed or harried to the northern islands. Of course, the main target of this “ethnic cleansing” was the *matua* particularly any recalcitrant *chamorris*.

The galleon *Santa Rosa* arrived on Guam on 5 June 1680.

Gen. Don Antonio Nieto, by order of the governor of the Philippines, left twenty Filipino soldiers, besides the number who were being sent from New Spain, in order that the presidio might be better supplied with soldiers. But they had no officer, because Don Antonio de Salas had left his post as governor. Gen. Antonio Nieto, on advice of the missionaries, assigned Don José de Quiroga to the post.

Quiroga was one of those weird and wondrous characters which the renaissance seemed to generate with abandon. He was a career military officer who distinguished himself in wars all over Europe but particularly in Flanders. But he got tired of fighting and returned to Spain where he set himself up as a quasi-religious hermit outside Salamanca, Spain. Padre Thyrsus González, who was later elected general of the Jesuits, was his friend. Gonzalez told Quiroga about the death of Sanvitores and suggested that

needed someplace safe to leave the padres and reserves. They renewed the stockade but instead of the palm trunks which they had used in the past, they used live banyan. So they had a stockade that would grow! As García says:

It was entirely renewed and was this time built of the kind of trees which, planted in the earth, put out roots and perpetuate themselves, thus saving the labor which formerly had been expended every year to renew it. Two new sentry boxes were erected and thus the camp was placed in good order. [García 1683: 270]

The attacks, plundering and burning continued. By the beginning of 1679 Chamorros no longer hesitated to declare themselves for the Spanish and bitter enemies of the rebels. They gave the governor information. And they killed and brought in the heads of “rebels.” For example:

On 6 January 1679, a *principal*, named Ignacio Inete, accompanied by a group of his friends, encountered in the mountains a troop of enemy natives from Tarrague. He fought bravely and left three in the field, stabbed to death. He immediately sent word to the governor in order that the latter might send for the heads of the slain enemy and have them impaled as a public warning. [García 1683: 273]

Eventually, the governor declared peace and made a tour of all the villages, to become acquainted with what was left of the people, to indoctrinate them, and to have the children baptized.

The more independence-minded Chamorros migrated to the northern Marianas while the ones that remained on Guam, with a few exceptions, concentrated on becoming “good little” Chamorro-Spaniards. The most respected were the wives of the Mexican-Spaniards and the Filipino-Spaniards. They lived in Agaña; went to Mass and doctrine daily and were held up as an example to all the other Chamorros. The husbands of these women were now the *chamorris*.

perhaps Quiroga could do something about it. Immediately after his arrival on Guam, Quiroga began to punish the Chamorros for all their “misdeeds.” He systematically attacked and burned villages. He made it a habit to punish whole villages for the “crime” of an individual.

Obviously, the Chamorros of the northern islands, both native and refugee watched what was happening on Guam with some trepidation. As García puts it:

The news of what had been done on the island of San Juan [Guam] alone, alarmed the other islands. Thus it was that the cadaver of Mata’pang, murderer of the venerable Padre San Vitores, was brought from Rota to Guam. They had placed him alive in the boat, but he died on the way from the wounds he had suffered from the lances of the men who seized him. This example was followed by the people of Taragui who brought in the two killers of the venerable Padre Antonio Maria de San Basilio, one alive, the other dead. The former was soon executed, after having prepared himself for death in a Christian manner.

But the governor believed that the island of Guam could never enjoy complete peace if he did not also visit Rota, whither, as we have said, many of the wrongdoers from Guam had fled. He notified the people of that island not to admit anyone from Guam, and informed them that those who were already there were to be treated as enemies. He paid a visit to Rota when the islanders least expected it, for the wind was unsuitable for sailing and it would have appeared impossible to accomplish the voyage. He seized Aguarin, a prime mover in past wars, as well as three other murderers of padres or soldiers, all of whom paid for their transgressions with their lives.

He burned some villages in which the malefactors had been received and ordered more than one hundred and fifty fugitives returned to Guam, promising them complete security. And having reconnoitered and subdued all the island, accompanied by two padres who baptized all the children who had been born since the beginning of the wars, he returned victorious to Agaña where he immediately arranged for a fiesta of thanks to the queen of the angels for the happy outcome of his journey. [García 1683: 295]

So Guam was cleared of all disturbing elements and was pacified by slaughter and fear. The Spanish were masters at keeping subject peoples in check. They immediately began a campaign of road building. The dangerous passes and trails over steep cliffs were improved and made safer. Not only the Chamorros but the soldiers were employed in this *repartimiento* — or corvee labor.

After the roads were built, the Spanish began to concentrate the Chamorros into manageable villages.

The most convenient locations were selected in which to assemble the natives in larger settlements. They were heretofore scattered in small settlements or *rancherías*, some inaccessible, others too far from the center of administration. This plan was intended to facilitate the work of the padres, of whom a smaller number could serve the island if the people were not too widely scattered.

In the eastern part of the island of Guam, on the shore facing the north, the governor selected a location which is called Inapsam, and which is spacious, pleasant, and abundant in trees for building uses. It was surrounded by many *rancherías*, the inhabitants of which were made to move to the new town and build their houses there. And because the river which runs through it did not have a good sand bar from which the men could launch their boats into the sea, a matter which would retard their fishing industry, a suitable channel was made by breaking through the coral reef, the men struggling to accomplish this task which the natives had believed impossible because of the breakers. But the undertaking was successful because of the constancy of the workers and their zeal for the divine glory. A large settlement was established, separated into two barrios which were about a quarter league apart, for in this division there was much advantage to their fishing and in planting their crops.

At the same time all the settlements in the vicinity of Pago, which is two leagues distant from Agaña, were made to move in and establish homes in Inapsan village, which is in the part of the island which looks toward the south. Here they established a large settlement, no less agreeable than the other, for it is served by a large river which cuts the village in two, and which has a mouth suitable for launching boats. There are fields suitable for planting rice and vegetables, as well as an abundance of wood for the construction of houses, boats and other things. [Because of certain inaccuracies in Padre López' map it is impossible to identify the village to which the author refers as Inapsan and which he says is on the eastern part of Guam. The historic era village of Inapsan is on the north-west coast, and has no river.]

When the establishment of these villages was undertaken padres were sent to each to administer the sacraments and sustain the people with the bread of the holy doctrine. And the Indios, pleased to have the padres in their midst, built a house for them in each place, and a capacious church of three naves. The one in Paign was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, in honor of the immaculate conception. The church in Inapsan was dedicated to San Miguel and all the heavenly militia.

The missionaries wished to establish another village on the south-west side of the island, near the port of Umatac, where the ships anchor which come from the Philippines. Their plan was at once put into execution by the governor and the soldiers, and in a short time a church was erected which they dedicated to San Dionisio Areopagita, a favorite devotion of the *Excelentísima Señora*

Duquesa de Aveyro to whose incomparable zeal and solicitude these islands owe not only their salvation, but all their growth in matters both spiritual and temporal. [García states elsewhere that the Duquesa did as much for the mission in the Marianas as Padre San Vitores himself. She seems to have had considerable influence in the Spanish Court which she did not hesitate to use on behalf of this mission. She contributed funds from her private fortune, sent clothing, church ornaments and supplies to the missionaries. García's book is dedicated to her.] There was constructed also a house for the padres. And because the location of the village was not spacious enough to admit all the people of the surrounding country it was separated into two distinct parts one of which was a quarter league distant from the other. [García 1683: 297-298]

On 11 November 1680, a typhoon ravaged the island. It served the divine purpose, in the view of the padres, of destroying the houses of the Chamorros. This facilitated gathering them into the new villages.

On 8 December 1680, the church at Pago was dedicated. On 11 December 1680, the church at Agat was begun, many of the people from the north and west were assigned there.

A church at Inarajan was built, many from the southern part of the island, as well as people from the settlements in the hills and on the beaches were assigned there. This church was dedicated to the *Patriarca San José*, Joseph, the husband of Mary.

Church and State jointly ruled these villages. As García says:

The governor assigned a captain to each village, with authority to rule in his name. The padres designated individuals to act as *fiscales* in each church. This term is used in the missions of the Indies to designate those whom Saint Francis Xavier called *Canacapoles*, or majordomos of the church, whose duty is to call the people to the Mass and the doctrine; inform the padres when people are ill in order that they may administer the sacraments; keep an account of births and see that newborn infants are baptized. They also observe public morals in order that remedies may be applied when necessary, and in short they keep the missionaries informed about all that goes on for the benefit of Christians and the welfare of Christianity. The *fiscales* perform their duties with great care. [García 1683: 300]

These "captains" and *fiscales* supplanted the *chamorris* and provided another layer of new *chamorris*. The other social classes fell into their places.

García says that temporal progress is as important as spiritual advancement. He cites progress in a number of areas. The people were taught to cultivate rice, corn and tubers to feed themselves and the Spanish ships that stopped for resupply. And they were taught to cultivate cotton so they could keep themselves “decently covered.”

But all of the Chamorros’ spirit had not been crushed. In early February 1681, the church of San Miguel, in Inapsam, was burned by arsonists. The Chamorros were distraught not for loss of the church but for fear of Spanish retribution. García says:

The natives felt this loss keenly, partly because their labor of many days was destroyed in an hour, and partly because they feared that the padre might suspect some treachery and that he might not only abandon them but might even cause the governor to punish them. They begged the padre not to leave them for he knew them to be innocent, and the padre promised to remain with them, sending a companion, who was a Brother Coadjutor, [Jesuit Brother] to Agaña to inform the superior of what had taken place. [García 1683: 301]

Even this was not enough to reassure the Chamorros of Inapsam. They crossed to Rota, leaving the padre alone with his house servants. To avoid similar mishaps, the other villagers began putting guards around their churches.

Messengers were sent to Rota to ask the Chamorros of Inapsam to return to their homes. They told the first messenger that they would. The second messenger, who was sent to ascertain the reason for delay, was answered equivocally, and later they showed plainly that they had no intention of returning. Finally they joined with the Rotans to resist the Spaniards if they decided to come to that island to subdue it.

The governor felt challenged. Guam had become so depopulated that there were not enough people to grow the food and other necessities with which to supply the garrison and the visiting galleons. According to Charles Le Gobien, the author of *Histoire des isles Marianes, nouvelement converties à la religion Chretienne, et de la mort glorieuse des premiers missionnaires qui y ont prêché la foy*, during the first two



years of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars the population of the Marianas was reduced from an estimated 40,000 to around 5,000.

Quiroga set out on 24 April 1681 with a group of soldiers. They were met by the armed Chamorros of Inapsam and Rota. In the first skirmishes with the Spaniards the Chamorros fled. The Spaniards burned the village in which the Chamorros of Inapsam had lived, and burned their boats. Then they went back to Guam. They brought with them all the Chamorros they could catch.

The conquest of Rota and the rest of the Marianas had begun.

In his conclusion, García presents quite accurately the philosophical justification for the use of force of arms for conversion. He says:

The faith was first planted in the Mariana islands without the use of arms, in order that the people might know that it was a law of peace, and its founder, the venerable Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores and his fervent companions, traveling over the island without escort, harvested the first fruits of a flourishing crop. But as the Devil, enemy of the happiness of the soul, began to arm the barbarians against the evangelical ministers, it was necessary in order to continue the work once begun to resort to the assistance of arms. It has been necessary in this spiritual conquest, as experience has shown us that it is always necessary among barbarians, that our Spanish zeal carry in its right hand (the ecclesiastic hand) a plow and the evangelical seed; and in its left hand (the secular hand) the sword, with which to prevent embarrassment to the religious labor, until that time shall come of which the prophet Isaiah spoke, when swords shall be beaten into plowshares. We have already seen this occur among certain of our soldiers in the presidio, who have converted their lances into plows with which they have cultivated, through their teaching, many of the hard hearts of the islanders.

Seeing the need of soldiers, the venerable padre Diego Luis de San Vitores begged his majesty in the beginning that two hundred Pampangans be sent here for the defense of the ministers for although the latter were willing and hopeful of giving their lives for Christ, the crown of martyrdom was very costly, because for every padre who lost his life, many souls were lost who could have gained life of grace if he had been spared. For this reason the venerable padre warned his companions to protect their own lives insofar as they were able, and told them that God would concede them the crown of martyrdom at the appropriate time; and that although he himself greatly desired that palm, he had no intention of seeking it at the risk of losing so many; that it was necessary for

this land to be showered with the blood of martyrs in order that the church might reap her just harvest, but that it was not suitable that they should all die in that manner, for while some were needed to fertilize the soil, others would have to live to cultivate it and sow the seed. [García 1683: 304-305]

García then explains all this in terms of the White Legend:

Nevertheless, the work accomplished in twelve years has been worthy of a century, for, not to speak of the fifty thousand Christians and many thousands of catechumens which were left by the first apostle and founder, Padre San Vitores, nor of the many hundreds of babies that heaven has taken away immediately after they have been baptized, nor of the missionaries of the Company of Jesus who have gained the crown of martyrdom, or the soldiers who died for Christ; even in times of war and persecution, the results have always been worthy of the labor, even though less than the zeal of the padres themselves. Many old superstitions have been uprooted; many thousands of baptisms accomplished; the frequent attendance of the sacraments established; public houses destroyed; and marriages have been performed according to the rites of the church; and finally there have been many examples of all the virtues, as I have previously stated in this book and which I now review briefly, to form them into a bouquet of beautiful flowers which, with the fragrance of Christ, will edify all the church.

The veneration of the natives for the padres has increased notably, as their regard for the *makahnas* has lessened, which fact contributed not a little to the following occurrence: A certain *makahna* who had near his house a large stone, tried to persuade some Indios to respect it in every way and especially not to spit upon it, for if they did so, he told them they would become insane. A missionary, who was passing that way, called a large number of the natives as witnesses, whereupon he spat upon the stone and ordered the soldiers who accompanied him to do likewise. Showing the Indios that they remained as before and had not become insane, he ordered them also to spit upon the stone and in so doing they showed their scorn of the *makahna*, and even admitted that they might formerly have been simple enough to have believed in him.

This also effected an inquisition in which the skulls which the *makahnas* invoked, and many other items of their use were reduced to ashes, as were many lances tipped with human bones, to cure the natives of their impious practice of disinterring their dead in order to use their bones, and of the cruel custom of using mortal weapons for whose poison there is no cure, if the bone remains in the flesh of the victim.

Among all the people are visible signs of piety and devotion, especially in boys and girls of all ages. They have built a chapel which they call Children's Chapel, to which nearly two hundred came daily to hear the doctrine. And it is a matter of great consolation that among these boys and girls there are many who are so capable that they are able to explain the essentials of the doctrine to others. [García 1683: 305-306]

It seems strange that a people could so embrace a religion that had destroyed their culture. But when major elements of one's culture are taken from him he will replace them with whatever is available. The priests had supplanted the *makahnas*. Rogers blames the ease with which this was done in the Marianas on the cult of the Virgin Mary: The matrilineal core of their culture may also be a reason why the Chamorros — once they had been militarily defeated — so thoroughly embraced Spanish Catholicism with its focus on the cult of Mary. [Rogers 1995: 37]

This is probably an oversimplification but remember the male part of the Chamorro culture was rapidly being destroyed and the cult of Mary may well have been the only substitute the people could find.

From the beginning of the Quiroga administration, reports of excesses began to filter into the Spanish court. Queen Mariana's son Charles II was upset not only by these reports but by the expense of Quiroga's slaughter. Remember, Spain by this time was a bankrupt superpower. He appointed a governor-general independent of both the governor of the Philippines and the Viceroy of New Spain. He instructed the governor-general to bring peace to the islands by whatever means necessary.

Fortunately for the remaining Chamorro population, the man chosen for the job was Don Antonio de Saravia. Saravia did not set out to punish the Chamorros. He invited all the *chamorris* to a peace conference. When they had gathered, he proposed that they take an oath of allegiance to the king. The Chamorros had had enough of Spanish military instruction — they agreed to take the oath.

On 8 September 1681, they swore to the following:

We, the governors and other chiefs of places and towns of this island of St. John, called Guahan, the capital and principal of these Marianas Islands, gathered in this church of the Society of Jesus, called the Most Holy Name of Mary, in the hands of the Reverend Emmanuel Solorzano, promise before the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost and before the Most Blessed

Virgin Mary and swear with all possible solemnity upon the four Gospels to remain faithful subjects of our King and legitimate ruler, Don Carlos the Second, Monarch of Spain and of the Indies, and to obey the laws to which his Majesty decides to oblige us. [Carano 1966: 79-80]

As was common on Spanish colonies, the Spanish used the traditional leaders of control the people. The governor had a feast, and distributed gifts to seal the bargain. Saravia then set out to institute other reforms. He put the *chamorris* in the villages in charge of their own police. He even appointed Don Antonio Ayihi, a *Chamorris*, to be his lieutenant-governor. The Chamorros began to become good Chamorro-Spaniards. They adopted Spanish manners and customs. But they maintained their precontact social structure in a modified form. Saravia sent craftsmen to all the villages to teach the adults handicrafts and useful arts; and to teach the children to read and write. During this administration, there were extraordinary changes throughout the islands.

The Chamorros seemed a whipped people. They became docile and received religious instruction with a willingness not seen since they had received it voluntarily. While Saravia was governor, things went pretty well for the defeated Chamorros. Unfortunately, after an administration of a little over two years Saravia died. The post of governor-general fell to now Maj. Damián de Esplaña. Capt. Quiroga was his second in command.

Esplaña decided to subdue the northern islands. He sent Quiroga in command of a frigate and 20 proas to attack Tinian. Quiroga took the Chamorros of Tinian by surprise and forced a quick surrender. Those who offered even the slightest opposition were killed. Continuing his campaign of death and pillage, Quiroga conquered the rest of the northern islands and returned to Saipan to build a fort.

Meanwhile back on Guam, the Chamorros had been awaiting an opportunity to free themselves of the yoke of Christianity and Esplaña. When Esplaña sent most of his force north, they had that opportunity — Guam was weak and insecure.

There was a *chamorri* named Don Antonio Yura who decided to exploit this situation.

On 23 July 1684, Yura and a force of 30 attacked the Spaniards as they were returning from Mass. Esplaña was wounded and left for dead in the plaza.

Simultaneously another group of Chamorros attacked the fort and *residencia*. While the fighting was in progress, the Chamorros sent a proa from Ritidian to Rota for reinforcements. More than 70 proas of men were sent from Rota to help. In the fight, Yura was killed. The Chamorros fell back and besieged the fort. The Spanish had lost two priests, several assistants and more than 50 soldiers. But Esplaña was only slightly wounded. When the other islands got word of the revolt, they rose up against the Spanish. The fort in Saipan was attacked. Quiroga managed to beat off the assault and fight his way back to Guam. He was just in time to reinforce the garrison there. Both sides were too badly mauled to continue fighting, so a stalemate developed.

At about this time, a British buccaneer named John Eaton sailed into Guam's waters. Aboard his ship was William Cowley who later wrote an account of the voyage. About their visit to Guam he says:

**Sunday the 15th [March 1685]. We, lying at anchor at Guam, went on shore and got some coconuts and had a free trade with the Indians, till the morning of the 17th, when our men going to the low island which lies on the west side of Guahan, the Indians fell upon our boat with stones and lances. Upon which we made some shots at them and killed and wounded some; but our men got no harm. Two days after, the governor [Esplaña] of the island being a Spaniard came down to a point of land not far from the ship, and sent his boat with a letter written in Spanish, French and Dutch, demanding what we were and**

whence we came. Our answer was written in French, that we were employed by some gentlemen of France upon discovery of the unknown parts of the world. The messenger was sent on board again immediately to desire our captain to come to the shore side, which our commander did. We quickly came to a right understanding with one another and satisfied the governor that we had killed some of the Indians in our own defense; and he gave us toleration to kill them all if we would. These Indians, before we came, revolted from the Spaniards, and seeing us at first did take us for the great ship from Acapulco, which ship in her outward-bound voyage seldom carried less than 1500 souls, her sailing crew being 400 and strikes a great dread upon these Indians. We took four of these infidels prisoner and brought them on board, binding their hands behind them. But they had not been long there, when three of them leaped overboard into the sea, swimming away from the ship with their hands tied behind them. However, we sent the boat after them, and the carpenter, being a strong man, thought with his sword to cut off the head of one of them; but he struck two blows before he could fetch blood; one of them had received in my judgment 40 shots in his body before he died; and the last of the three that was killed had swam a good English mile first, not only with his arms behind him, as before, but also, with his arms pinioned. [Burney 1813: 30]

About a year later, William Dampier, a seaman aboard a British privateer under the command of a Capt. Swan stopped at Guam. They reprovisioned and Dampier reported that the population of Guam before the latest insurrection had been 400 but had been reduced to 100. A hot historical debate rages as to whether through problems of typesetting or translation Dampier meant 4,000 and 1,000 or whether all but 100 of the Chamorros of Guam had been killed or migrated to the other islands. Those who stayed were not all loyal Chamorro-Spaniards. Dampier reports offers by the Chamorros to help Swan take the island for England. Swan wasn't interested.

Esplaña was not a well man. Perhaps he had never recovered from his wound. In 1688 he returned to the Philippines — Quiroga was again in command.

Quiroga had problems. The long period of apparent peace had demoralized the soldiers. They were not a military force. They had reverted to rabble doing pretty much whatever they pleased. Quiroga attempted to establish control, was captured and imprisoned by his own soldiers. The priests talked the men into releasing him. He

immediately reestablished his authority. He punished some soldiers and sent others to prison in the Philippines.

In June 1690, Esplaña, now a lieutenant general, returned to Guam. He died on Guam in 1694.

Again Quiroga was governor. He decided to complete the conquest of the Marianas. He led a force to Rota where the Chamorros submitted immediately. He continued on to Tinian where he discovered that most of the rebellious natives had retired to Aguigan for a last stand. After a sharp little battle, the Chamorros surrendered and agreed to return to Guam and again become good Chamorro-Spaniards. Thus ended the Spanish-Chamorro Wars. Of the final result of the Spanish-Chamorro wars, Historian Paul Carano and educator Pedro Sanchez, in *A Complete History of Guam*, say:

**The most obvious result of the Spanish-Chamorro wars was the decimation [they mean destruction] of the native population. From an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 [this is probably an inflated number based on San Vitores' desire to impress the king and queen of Spain] before conquest, they were now reduced to less than 3,000. While the reduction of the population was due primarily to the intermittent warfare that continued for a period of 25 years, typhoons in 1671 and 1693 and smallpox epidemics, especially that of 1688, contributed to the tragic loss of life.**

**At the end of the period of conquest, Christianity, which was to play a major role in the history of Guam, was firmly established as the religion of the people.**

**As a result of the policies of the various commanders and governors, who administered the affairs of the island during the wars, Spanish law and the Spanish pattern of government became an integral part of the life of Guam. Such influences were to prevail until 1898 and even after. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 86]**

**The Spanish-Chamorro Wars had offered the Spanish the opportunity to perpetrate genocide against the Chamorros— not only on Guam but throughout the Marianas. The result of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars was predictable. Despite their physical superiority, their numerical superiority and their knowledge of the terrain, they**

were no match for the Spanish. The Spanish controlled frightening new weaponry and, even more telling, a social organization in which war was a deadly serious project. War was conducted by the Spanish with well-disciplined professional soldiers.

Before the Spanish-Chamorro Wars, the population of the Marianas was estimated variously at from 40,000 to 100,000. After these wars, it was estimated at between 1,500 and 5,000. According to some reports there were no adult males remaining in the Chamorro population.

Many of the women aborted pregnancies and even killed infants rather than have them grow up to be slaves. But some of the widows and daughters of the Chamorros married the Spanish, Filipino, Amerindian and Mexican men of Spain. They adapted their precontact social structure to fit the new reality.

This was the normal process of colonization within the Spanish empire. In *Filipino Reaction to American Rule 1901-1902*, Bonifacio S. Salamanca discusses the adaptation of pre-Spanish social structure to Spanish colonial rule. He says:

**Pre-Spanish Philippine society was structured into a small upper and governing class of nobles, a larger class of freemen, and a still larger "servile, dependent class whom the Spaniards misleadingly called slaves." In common with some other societies of pre-European Asia, the class structure was based on land-ownership and birth, although in the Philippines the social strata were not as rigid as the castes of India.**

**Three centuries of Spanish rule naturally modified, but did not totally alter, the basis of the social system. To the traditional basis of class structure were now added occupation and education. In the colonial Philippine society racial origins were a determining factor in locating one's social position.**

**If one excludes the Chinese, who really formed a special group, Philippine society during the Spanish regime actually consisted of two different societies: the Filipino and the Spanish. In the Spanish society were the *Peninsulares*, or European-born Spaniards, the *Insulares* or Philippine-born Spaniards, and the Spanish *mestizos* (born to Spanish-Filipino parents, as well as high government officials, Church prelates, and officers of the military establishment. Rich merchants and plantation managers formed a small middle class, and lower-ranking government officials, clerics, and non-commissioned officers of the army,**



most of whom were provably not well educated, constituted a lower class among the Spaniards. But regardless of their place of birth and social origin, occupation and education, the Spaniards and Spanish *mestizos* belonged to the upper stratum of Philippine society as a whole. They were, after all the colonial masters and enjoyed vast economic and political power.

The Filipino society had its own aristocracy, made up of the *caciques* and the more opulent and highly educated *ilustrados*. The term *cacique* was applied to a local chief in Haiti at the time the Spaniards arrived there, and they also used the term to denote the *datus* of the various *barangays* in the Philippines. The *caciques* were the tax-gatherers, administrators of justice in their localities, and the intermediaries between their people and the Spanish authorities. They were the *Principalia* or prominent residents at the local level, and during the Spanish regime were in a position to increase their wealth. [Salamanca 1968: 11-12]

A bit later Salamanca explains the term *ilustrados*:

In Spanish times, the term *ilustrados* applied to the highly educated and professional Filipinos, although technically speaking anyone who had an education, high or low, was an *ilustrado*. In a way the *ilustrado* formed a distinct class: since education was the distinguishing mark, this class cut across economic lines. We may, however, consider the *ilustrados* as belonging to the Filipino upper class, since most of them must have come from well-to-do families to be able to afford a university education in Manila, and, in some cases, even in Europe. Many, if not all, of the *ilustrados* were probably *mestizos*. [Salamanca 1968: 13]

On Guam, the pre-contact social structure remained, but in a modified form.

“Spaniards” and their families, as well as some loyal Chamorros, formed a class which was analogous to the *matua* and the *acha’ot*. As with the pre-contact social structure this class was divided into two subclasses. Some of them, the *peninsulars* and *criollos* and those loyal influential Chamorros of the *matua* class and their families became the equivalent of the *matua* from this group all of the *chamorris* now called *principia* were chosen. The Filipinos and the Mexicans and loyal Chamorros of the *acha’ot* class and their families formed a class called the *manak’kilo* “high people” who were analogous to the *acha’ot*. And at the very bottom were the *manak’papa*, “low people” analogous to the *manachang*. It seems unlikely that the Spanish had the ability or will to eliminate the Chamorro male population as has been claimed by some, primarily French and English

reporters. But apparently they reduced it tremendously. Ironically, the Chamorro men that did survive would have been largely from the class that was not permitted to make war — the *manachang*. It is likely then that the *manak'papa* would be, not only the social but biological descendants of the *manachang*.

At some time during Spanish rule, the belief in the “*taotao mona*” grew up. The *taotao mona* are supernatural entities that have some of the characteristics of the Chamorro-Guamanian’s conception of the “before time ancestors.” Interestingly the Chamorro word for the pre-contact people is “*taotaomona*” — one word. The *taotao mona* is a giant who cares for those of Chamorro descent, He also took on some of the characteristics of the *aniti* in that he lives in the banyan tree. Or, according to some, in the ifil tree. The *taotao mona* is extremely ugly. In her *Chamorro Legends on the island of Guam*, Mavis Warner Van Peenen says that the ugliness of the *taotao mona* is an expression of the self-depreciation that was required of the Chamorro-Guamanian under Spanish rule. Like the *aniti*, the *taotao mona* has power for good or evil. Also like the *aniti*, the *taotao mona* seems to be more feared than venerated. Although *taotao mona* are usually feared, some Chamorro-Guamanians are believed to have a friendly *taotao mona* who helps them with their work — particularly hunting, fishing and crabbing. When the friend dies, the *taotao mona* attempts to attach himself to someone else — usually a member of the deceased’s family.

These beliefs, which are taken entirely seriously by a surprising number of Chamorro-Guamanians, could be based on historical truth. Some *taotao mona* are seen as **frightening** — they are used by parents to frighten children. Some of the behaviors of

*taotao monas* are reminiscent of the *manachang*. They fish at night by torch light. They serve other Chamorros. And they are self-effacing.

It seems likely that that the *taotao mona* are based on stories that sprung up about the *manachang* during pre-contact times. Perhaps the sort of “bogeyman” stories that have been used by some parents in America from colonial times to frighten children and which served, in some cases, to instill fear and hatred of blacks.

An additional source of these stories could be that those Chamorro men who survived the Spanish-Chamorro Wars, could have remained hidden in the jungles much as several Japanese Army holdouts did about 300 years later. They might well have aided people who helped them and killed those whom they perceived to be a threat. Rumors of preternatural power would have served to insulate them from the inquisitive.

The Chamorros who remained were, according to some reports, exclusively women and children. Although this is unlikely, the Spanish did manage to eradicate the male-centered cultural contributions — lost were canoe building, deep sea fishing, open sea navigation, and the ancient male ceremonies. The racial Chamorro died with his culture; giving rise to the Chamorro-Guamanian.

For a while it seemed that the Chamorros would go extinct as did several ethnic groups in America and Oceania after contact with Europeans. By 1742, Lord Anson estimated that the population of the archipelago had been reduced to 4,000. But it continued to decline. By 1783, it had fallen to 1,500. The women either refused to have children because they feared that they would be treated as slaves or were so discouraged and downtrodden that they became infertile as happened in Tasmania. According the

Abbé Guillaume Raynal the population decreased to such a point that it had to be consolidated on Guam.

In his unpublished manuscript *History of Guam (1521-1925)*, historian Paul J.

Searles says:

According to a census taken at this time the Chamorro population numbered 1654, a pitiful remnant of the many thousands of a century before. In 1790, a census of Guam and Rota (the only inhabited islands), gave a total of but 1639 Chamorros, which was still further reduced to approximately 600 aborigines in 1825. By the latter part of the 19th century no full-blood Chamorros were left; once again Spain had wiped out a race. Coincident with the decrease in pure Chamorros, there was an increase in the half-castes, descendants of Spanish, Filipino or Mexican fathers and native mothers. Japanese, Chinese, British, and American blood came later still further to change racial characteristics. [Searles 1925: 308]

As serious as the loss of the Chamorro race was the loss of large parts of the Chamorro culture. Gone was the blue water sailing and navigation along with most of the male cultural attributes.

It has been variously claimed that the Spanish killed all of the Chamorro males. This is not the case. The Spanish were never that efficient. Throughout the Chamorro wars were some Chamorros who remained faithful to the church and loyal to Spain. Some of them joined the new overlords as the *matua* now called *manak'kilo*, or "high people" in Chamorro. Some of these became *chamorris* now called *principales* or dons.

Ironically, because the Catholic religion holds its greatest appeal to the downtrodden and the social outcast, and because war was a privileged occupation in which the *manachangs* were not permitted to participate, most of the surviving Chamorro males would have come from this class!

Although the players changed, the basic class system remained more or less intact.

# Paradise Lost — The Spanish Colony.

Spanish colonial rule can be dated from the appointment of the second official governor, Capt. Francisco de Irrisarri y Viñar, who took office on 10 June 1676. Guam variously benefited from — or suffered under — the rule of 57 Spanish governors until her American acquisition in 1898. It is doubtful that anyone considered the Marianas a plum assignment. It was a place where a soldier of modest background could come and make some money. Rogers says:

**The early Spanish governors in the Marianas, all army officers of modest background and stuck for years in boring but potentially profitable colonial service, apparently formed an “old boy” network of mutual support. Argüelles, for example, was Pimentel’s son-in-law. Pimentel was a friend of his fellow Peruvian *criollo* Damián de Esplaña and like him would enrich himself as governor. [Rogers 1995: 77]**

The governor had, at least during the early years of the Spanish administration, a monopoly on trade with the outside. There was an annual *Situado*, a cash subsidy to defray the cost of government a good part of which a governor could pocket. Then there was an annual *socorro* that was a shipment of essential supplies — uniforms, cloth, sugar, tobacco, chocolate, wine and so forth — that went directly into the government store to be marked up as much as 500 percent and sold. The governor owned the store as a concession. Most items sold to visiting ships went through the governor.

Carano and Sanchez say:

**Money paid to the soldiers was the only cash in circulation on the island. Once a month, they received their pay from the governor’s secretary. As soon as they had been paid, they spent most of the money at the island’s only store, owned by the governor. In this way, the money never really left the governor’s**

hands. Some governors, upon retiring, left the island with eighty or ninety thousand dollars. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 124-125]

The governor and those *principals* who had cash loaned it out at usurious rates.

All in all, in a few years as governor of the Marianas, a man could do all right for himself. Fortunately, virtually all of them were inept businessmen.

At the end of their tenure as governor they had to face an investigation by the *residencia* in Manila. Called a "*residencia*," this investigation would look into the conduct and performance of the outgoing governor and punish him, usually with a fine, for any malfeasance. Governors bought their positions and were expected to be corrupt. The *residencia* was the empire's way of pulling the governor's fingers out of the pie a little. Good connections with the administration were invaluable. There was no attempt on the part of most Spanish governors to develop "enlightened self-interest," self-interest was their only motivation. But what effect did this have on the Chamorro people?

Rogers says:

While the colonial Spanish authorities bumbled along in comic-opera fashion on Guam, the number of pure-blooded Chamorros continued to decline. *Indios*, as they were still called, fell from 3,539 people in 1710 (the year of the first official Spanish census) to only 1,576 in 1742, according to Jesuit records. By 1742, Rota had only 248 Chamorros, whose main job was to cultivate rice for Guam. [Rogers 1995: 79]

By the mid 18th century, Portugal and her empire had become a part of the Spanish Empire and the Dutch had declined as a world power. So there was nothing preventing Spanish ships from sailing directly from Spain to the Philippines. From 1765 Spanish ships could sail from Spain around the Cape of Good Hope, across the Indian Ocean to Manila. With no need for an Acapulco-Manila galleon, there was no need for Guam. Guam became almost totally isolated.

The Mariana Islands became a forgotten presidio. Until 1771, the islands were allowed to deteriorate. The monotony was broken occasionally by a visiting ship of exploration as well as the occasional visits of pirates, privateers and adventurers.

By the 18th century, the shock troops of militant Catholicism, the Jesuit order, had become extremely rich and powerful. They were relatively immune from governmental interference but they were politically influential throughout the Catholic world. This did not make them popular with secular powers. In 1759, the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal. In 1764 they were suppressed in France and in 1767 Charles III issued a *cédula* that confiscated all Jesuit property and expelled them from the Spanish empire. To ensure that the Jesuits did not get advance warning the package was not to be opened before 2 April 1767 on pain of death.

As one would expect, it didn't reach Guam until 25 August 1769. But by June 1767, Guam had heard of the expulsion. The Jesuits were shipped off to Spain and the Society's property was turned over the Augustinians. By all reports the Augustinians were much more casual in their enforcement of Catholic rules of behavior.

As we have seen, virtually all of the Spanish governors were corrupt — many were despots. But some were worse than others and there was one who was quite good.

Definitely the most enlightened Spanish governor and perhaps the best governor of all time was Gov. Don Mariano Tobías, who took office on 15 September 1771.

By 1771, the islanders had fallen to such a state of indolence that they raised almost nothing. As Carano and Sanchez say:

**For a period of many years before his [Tobías'] arrival on Guam, the islanders had ceased to occupy themselves with any sort of cultivation on a large scale. The galleons brought food and supplies for the missionaries and garrison, and the islanders lived on fish, breadfruit and other native foods. Because there was**



no need for them to work too hard, life for the islanders had become lazy and indolent. Governor Tobías, because of his philosophy of work and his vigorous actions, quickly changed the situation. His reforms applied not only to the natives but to the Spaniards as well. Fortunately, his program met with the wholehearted approval and support of the church fathers. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 106-107]

Tobías was convinced that the only way to turn the island around was to create some measure of economic stability. He wanted to make the island a self-sufficient agricultural entity.

He first divided land among the residents of the islands for agricultural purposes. Many agricultural products had previously been introduced by the Jesuits. Tobías introduced more. He set the example. He laid out extensive gardens for himself. This was not a man who was afraid to get his hands dirty — when duties permitted, he could be found working in his fields or helping someone else in his.

Cattle, chickens and hogs that had been previously imported had been left to run wild. These were rounded up and domesticated. Gangs were sent out to clear land to be used as pasture. In all of these enterprises, Tobías did not spare his troops, or even himself. Soldiers had plots of land that they were expected to work when they were off duty.

Tobías established cotton mills and salt pans on the island. He brought in craftsmen to teach the people various western industrial crafts like carpentry and blacksmithing. He established a militia made up of men who were well paid and well treated. He also established free public schools. A.M. de Rochon, reporting for Crozet's Voyage, a French expedition of exploration, wrote:

**These good monks thoroughly second the views of M. Tobías for the welfare of his beloved Indians. I cannot repeat too often, in praise of this excellent man, that he has no other ambition than that of making his islanders**

happy: and that he is happy himself because he succeeds in all his views. The Indians look upon him and love him as a father. [Rochon 1772: 98]

When Crozet returned to France, he shared his note with antimonarchist philosopher Abbé Guillaume Raynal whose writings were well circulated in Spain. The laudatory praise heaped upon him by such men as Crozet and Raynal, caused Tobías to be removed from office after only three years — a victim of court jealousy and intrigue. Unfortunately, most of his innovative programs were allowed to deteriorate.

In 1808, Napoleon's armies defeated Spain. Almost immediately Spain's American colonies rose in revolt. By the end of 1824 all of the rebellious colonies had won independence. Control of the Marianas was shifted from Mexico City to Manila. Even more devastating, the annual grant to support the government was cut from 20,000 to 8,000 pesos. Guam was populated at this time by a governor/*sargento mayor*, a treasurer, some minor officials and their families and about 6,000 Guamanians of various ethnic mix.

The population lived primarily in six villages — Agaña, Umatac, Agat, Inarajan, Merizo and Pago. Each of these villages supported a church. All of the Guamanians supported themselves through agriculture and inshore fishing. Many of the government officials and soldiers farmed small plots and fished too. There was no industry and very little commerce.

When administrative control of Guam shifted to the Philippines, the Spanish government decided to reorganize the government of Guam. On 17 December 1828, an organic statute, called the *Bando de Ricafort*, was put into effect. Under this law, most power was removed from the hands of the governor and put into the hands of the treasurer. He collected and distributed funds, hired and fired government employees,

distributed land, controlled government projects and controlled public works. Royal estates were divided among the Chamorro-Guamanians. The Spanish crown did not give this land. It loaned it to the farmer and required him to pay tax on it. To encourage the growth of commerce, governors were forbidden to engage in trade. Commerce was declared open to Chamorro-Guamanians and Guam was made a free port.

It all sounded very nice but Spain and the Philippines were both very far away and nothing changed much. According to historian and governor of the Marianas Felipe Maria de la Corte y Ruano Calderón:

After the Americas were lost for Spain, the source supplying the islands' allowance was stopped with their means of communication. Consequently it was decided to cut their expenses and take further steps toward preserving this colony. Accordingly an organic regulation was drawn up for these islands on the 17th of December 1828 a copy of which is enclosed marked number five, which, as can be seen, does not present any path for these islands to prosper, since by maintaining the allowance, the resource that all the natives lived off continued, although on a smaller scale, and as there were few, they did not have to make any effort to improve their standing. [Corte 1870a: 66]

Carano and Sanchez provide an analysis of the changes wrought by this decree:

After 1828 commerce in the Marianas was, in theory at least, free and uncontrolled. In reality, however control merely passed from the governor to the treasurer. The two officials then worked together to maintain the government monopoly. Since a vessel had to be chartered each year to bring funds from Manila, it was thought advisable to bring in goods and supplies at the same time. These goods, bought by the treasurer with government funds, were sold to the people through the government store. In this way the treasurer became a business agent for the governor. Since all goods brought to the island came on government-chartered ships, no private individuals could secure goods with which to compete with the government store. Thus the development of trade and industry was retarded and the government monopoly was maintained. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 145]

Despite the organic decree and the best efforts of several hard-working governors, the Marianas became more and more a stagnant backwater of a dying empire. The people

eked out a hand-to-mouth existence. They grew most of their own food, made their own manufactured items and got imported items by barter with the occasional visiting ship.

It was a precarious existence. In times of plenty, there was plenty but a typhoon could destroy half of a year's production and there would be famine. Most labor, both skilled and unskilled, was performed by convicts and ex-convicts from the Philippines. In 1851, the first attempt to make Guam a penal colony failed when the prisoners tried to overwhelm the small garrison and take over the island. Later efforts to convert Guam to a penal colony were more successful.

In good years and bad there was hunger although there is no record of anyone actually dying of starvation. One governor, de la Corte, tried to establish granaries. In an analysis of the war provisioning capabilities of Guam, K.C. McIntosh wrote of de la Corte:

*His ideas and methods, would have raised a community of his native Argonese to comfort and even wealth — but the Chamorro stolidly planted enough to eat for one year, and if that crop failed he did not eat until next seed-time. He saw no reason for working hard merely to fill the governor's granaries. If the government paid him for his crop, he might be induced to grow as much as five bushels extra for cigar money, but the community-storage idea passed over his head. [McIntosh 1916: 471-472]*

In 1855, Spain decided that since she had lost most of her colonies, she could not afford to support those that remained. De la Corte was asked to prepare a report on conditions in the Marianas. He wrote:

**Thus the Marianas are in a state which could be called a true mercantile and social vacuum because if we analyze the inhabitants, we could almost say that they do not form a real society, but a heterogeneous unit of men who mostly work in isolation for and on behalf of themselves.**

**The state employees in all the branches can scarcely live off their salaries, lacking the most common things of any average civilized country, and spending double what most civilized countries spend.**

**There is not a single shop in the Marianas, not one carpenter, not one blacksmith, no tailor, cobbler, domestic servant who is exclusively so, and**

obtains a living from it. They are all everything and nobody is anything. The natives who constitute the mass of the population live in isolation within their own families. Each sows what he needs to eat, brings what he wants from the field, makes his house, his cloths, rears his animals or hunts or fishes them and nobody does anything as a trade. If any of them needs something from his relative or neighbor he asks for it, he requests it as a favor and pays more dearly for it then if it were bought, although it is his father or brother.

It is not a real society or a civilized people, where the farmers grow crops for the craftsmen, and the latter work in their trades for the farmers. No. Here each person generally speaking merely counts on what he can do for himself, and they do everything imaginable to avoid buying anything that they can obtain in their own home, or on the island, although the hard work costs more than the money. This is such a widespread practice effected by both the highest and the poorest, for they all believe that money is merely for cloths or mass, and the person who spends it on foodstuffs is reputed lazy, even though he is out working all day to earn a wage.

Hence comes the fact that nobody opts for a wage or any remunerative work as it takes his liberty away to provide for himself and his family what his strength manages to produce; for they consider it nonsense to waste money buying what they can do for themselves without considering that to do so they have to spend time which could well be used for better ends.

These habits have created a kind of savage independence full of whims. Nobody is content with a moderate wage, if bound to constant work and food. They say they tire of the continuous succession of one and another and thus do not prosper in anything because they venture upon everything and do not carry on with anything. They are like capricious children, without any present need, without any accumulated wealth for they scarcely have animals, furniture or house of value. And in the midst of this apparent poverty, they pay with the greatest indifference: 100 pesos for a burial; 50 for an ox, which they do not use; eight for a hat or tunic; 30 for a saint or poor rosary or for any other whim; such that amid poverty in the community individual wealth is found and an apparently social man is found almost in his primitive savage isolation. [Corte 1875a: 70-71]

The Mariana Islands never became what historian Charles Gibson calls an established colony. They were a backwater of the Spanish colonial empire. They were ruled by an ethnic Spaniard. Some of the Augustinian monks were ethnic Spaniards. But the middle and lower ranks of the bureaucracy was made up almost exclusively of Filipinos, Mexicans or Amerindians. Usually, the governor was the *sargento mayor*, but if he wasn't, *sargento mayor* was sometimes an ethnic Spaniard but the soldiers were Amerindians, Mexicans and Filipinos.

In 1817, Otto von Kotzebue a lieutenant in the Russian navy visited Guam as the commander of the *Rurik*. He wrote of the ethnic mix on the island:

The inhabitants of Guam are called by the Spaniards *los Indios*. They are all Christians; and are partly descended from the natives; but most of them from people brought hither by the Spaniards from Mexico and the Philippines after the original race was extirpated. [Kotzebue 1817: 237]

A bit later he continues:

The governor is, in fact, the only real Spaniard; the other officers, and even the priests, are natives either of Manila or Mexico. [Kotzebue 1817: 237]

So Guam was run by a Spaniard who was assisted by Amerindians, Mexicans and Filipinos. According to Rogers, the unmixed Chamorro race was nonexistent at the latest by the end of the 19th century.

If one were to judge by the census statistics in the mid 19th century, one would have to conclude that the Chamorro race was thriving. There developed a sudden increase in the number of Chamorros. By the 1830s most people were registering their children as Chamorro because Chamorros did not have to pay taxes. Rogers says:

The reduction of the island's subsidy in consequence of the Ricafort reforms had an impact on demographics in the Marianas. As the *situado* shrunk, any payments that had to be made in cash became a burden to the increasingly cashless residents. Spaniards, Mestizos and foreigners still had to pay taxes (such as a 10 percent tax called *diezmos prediales* on all farm produce) and license fees in cash as in the past. Equally burdensome, they had to pay cash for the obligatory church tithes and other ecclesiastical charges for marriages, baptisms, and so forth.

Payment of these charges, except for some church fees, applied to everyone except Chamorros. Therefore, Mestizos, Filipinos, and others in Guam's multiethnic community began to list their newborn children, and themselves where possible, as *Indios* in church and official records to avoid payment of cash charges. One unintended outcome of these claims to be *Indios* (a categorization previously despised by non-Chamorros) was to resurrect the long dormant issue of Chamorro identity, that is, the idea of a distinctive Chamorro grassroots presence as something of value. This dangerous idea would return to haunt governmental authorities. (Rogers 1995: 97-98)

The defenses of the island depended in large part upon the perceived threat. In the early 19th century Guam was reasonably well defended. As Carano and Sanchez report:

In 1802, Guam's defenses were quite extensive. Several good batteries were strategically placed so as to defend the island against attackers, especially the English. Two batteries were located in Agaña. One, at the landing place on the shore, consisted of four guns. The other, on the cliff above the town, consisted of seven guns. Apra Harbor was defended by two forts; Santa Cruz, with six guns; and the Fortress of Orotá, on Orote Peninsula, with four guns. Umatac Bay was defended by the Castle of San Angelo, a fort with six guns. Besides these, two guns were placed to defend a pass in the mountains.

Troops under arms numbered 93 men. About half of them were Filipinos; the rest were Guamanians. They were nicely uniformed and presented a good appearance. They had well-oiled arms and a good military band. There was also a native militia of about one thousand men. They carried old guns that were so rusty they could not be fired. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 124-125]

As Guam slid more and more into a backwater of the dying Spanish empire her defenses sometimes deteriorated to a point where the cannon were unserviceable and the forts and lookouts unmanned.

There are numerous descriptions of Guam during her time as a Spanish outpost. One of the best is that of Jacques Etienne Victor Arago. Arago was the illustrator with the Freycinet expedition. He wrote a report of the voyage in the form of a series of letters to a friend. These were collected and some of his personal illustrations were included in a book with the wordy title *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, Commanded by Captain Freycinet, During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820; on a Scientific Expedition Undertaken by Order of the French Government. In a Series of Letters to a Friend, by J. Arago, Draftsman to the Expedition. With Twenty-Six Engravings to which is Prefixed, the Report Made to the Academy of Sciences, on the General Results of the Expedition.* Arago was unimpressed with the Spanish administration of the island.

He says:

At the back of the palace is a pretty large piece of ground, which is called the garden, but in which probably nothing was ever sown. How then can the inhabitants be expected to cultivate their possessions, while their chiefs set the example of neglect. [Arago 1823: 246]

There is a certain anti-Spanish prejudice to Arago's writing so some of his reports are obviously biased:

The country round the town is not more cultivated than that at a distance from it. You may see, indeed, humble huts, round which a few yards of rice, Indian corn and tobacco are cultivated; but too much ground is lost! what culpable indolence prevails! I should have guessed that the country belonged to the Spaniards, from the sacrilegious state of neglect in which it is left. . [Arago 1823: 247]

Arago deplored the morals of the Chamorro-Guamanians and their Augustinian spiritual leaders.

Nowhere, perhaps, is there so much and so little religion as on Guam. The women bestow their favors for a rosary. The men do not blush to offer you a sister, or some other of their relations, and will immediately after prostrate themselves at the foot of the altar. In the churches the two sexes are separate; and if you see few girls without a veil, you also see few men gaze at them. In church the people behave like Christians; in the city, and in the country, like savages.

Here, as in Spain, the husbands are very jealous of their wives; lovers of their mistresses. But, these excepted, you may pay your court, if you please, to their sisters and friends; what is it to them? What is not appropriated to themselves is no concern of theirs. And you will find men shameless enough to offer you, as soon as you enter their houses, one of their relations, for fear you should cast an eye on their wives. At the same time, you may be assured, that if you please the wife you will not long sigh in vain. [Arago 1823: 248]

Although Arago deplored the morals of the people of Guam, he appreciated at least one — he fell in love. In order to see his lady one last time, he very nearly missed his sailing.

By the end of the Spanish era, the Chamorro race and culture were gone. Both had been replaced by a blend of the races and cultures of virtually everyone who had visited the island. This wonderful mixture will henceforth be referred to here as



Chamorro-Guamanian. The best estimate of the population at the end of the Spanish era is probably the American census of 1900. It identified a population on Guam of about 4,000.

Like most ethnic groups that are held under physical domination by another group, the Chamorro-Guamanians of the Spanish period used symbolic resistance. They created imaginary heroes — heroes, who like the legendary heroes of the American slaves, were more likely to win out over their oppressors with guile than with force. One of the most beloved of these Chamorro-Guamanian heroes is Juan Malo. There are countless stories in which he outwits the *maga'lahi* or Spanish governor.

#### **Juan Malo and the Governor's Three Little Pigs**

One time after the time of our Before Time Ancestors, which was really in the time of the Spaniards, Juan Malo mounted his carabao and went to the palace of the *Maga'lahi* to ask for work. He rode along very slowly for Juan Malo was very lazy; the carabao was also very lazy, and in this matter Juan Malo and his carabao were very much in accord. As a result of their combined laziness, they did not arrive at the palace until very late in the night, and the *Maga'lahi* was very angry to be awakened by them:

"Go away, Juan Malo! Don't disturb me!" shouted the *Maga'lahi* from his bedroom window, then he went back to bed and to sleep.

But Juan Malo had no intention of departing. He lay down on the bottom step of the palace and went to sleep; the carabao sauntered over to the *Maga'lahi's* favorite lily pool and he, too, went to sleep. Animal and master were very content with their respective spots.

In the morning when the *Maga'lahi* awoke and saw the carabao in his favorite lily pool, he became very angry indeed and called to, Juan Malo:

"Juan Malo, get your carabao out of my pool, and go on away from here!"

Juan Malo got to his feet, yawned, and called back impudently:

"That I cannot do, *Maga'lahi*. Both my carabao and I need work. In fact, I'm afraid that if we do not obtain it, my carabao won't budge an inch and will die amongst the lilies of your lily pool. Your Grace knows how stubborn carabao are!"

The carabao cast a slow glance in Juan Malo's direction which signified that he would be very content to live in the favorite lily pool of the *Maga'lahi*, but that he had no intention at all of either working or dying. Juan Malo, in his turn, winked at his carabao, a signal indicating that he had received his carabao's message and was very much in accord.

“ — But, if Your Grace would give us work —?” he continued to wheedle the *Maga'lahi*.

As far as the *Maga'lahi* was concerned, the most urgent matter right then was to get the carabao out of his lily pool. The carabao was churning up the mud so that the pool resembled a mud bath rather than the abode of that flower which is the emblem of purity. The *Maga'lahi* thought fast and finally he said pleasantly:

“Very good. You and your carabao can watch my three little pigs for me. You will find them in the rear grounds of the palace. Take them to pasture, and return them at twilight.”

With bad grace, the carabao left the lily pool. Juan Malo mounted, and the two went back of the palace where they rounded up the three little pigs and then took the route for the pasture.

Along the road, Juan Malo began to talk to the carabao as was his custom.

“How do these three little pigs look to you, Friend? Aren't they pretty, pink and plump? Above all, plump? With a little bit of fire, a little bit of salt, how tasty they would be! But the truth of the matter is that the *Maga'lahi* is very fond of these three little pigs. What are we going to do about that, Friend?”

They arrived at the pasture where there was plenty of mud, because it was now the rainy season. The little pigs began to root, the carabao happily immersed himself in the mud, and Juan Malo sat down on the grass and, chin in hand, pondered upon the fine appearance of the three little pigs. Finally, he got up and went to a *niyok* tree to communicate with his *Taotao mona* which was the spiritual advisor of his Before Time Ancestors. (A good Chamorro can find the *Taotao mona* in any *niyok* tree.)

“Hey, Old Man! Old Coward! You, Old *Taotao mona*,” he began in the affable manner with which the Chamorro invoke their *Taotao mona*. “Doesn't it seem to you that these pretty little pigs are too pretty and too innocent to live in this evil world? Don't you think it would be kinder if I helped them to leave it?” [In a footnote here, Van Peenen explains that the Chamorro always invokes his *taotao mona* in a loud, arrogant and disrespectful voice. He believes that quarrelsome and boastful “conversation” pleases the *taotao mona* because the Before Time Ancestors, of the time of Malaguana, were strong and arrogant. Wouldn't it make them unhappy to see their descendants weak and fearful? So, the Chamorro talking to his *taotao mona*, is very virile, or, in Spanish, *muy macho*.]

Juan Malo stopped speaking and listened carefully with his ear to the trunk of the *niyok* tree, and the answer he heard must have been in the affirmative because he ran toward the little pigs and, as he passed his carabao, he explained rapidly:

“It seems best to me, Friend, that I must help these innocent little pigs out of this unhappy world.”

The carabao thrust himself further down in the mud until Juan Malo could see no more of him than the top of his nose, his great contemplative eyes and his hard horns. He blinked his great eyes which meant that he was very content with

his position in the mud, and that he was in complete accord with whatever project Juan Malo had in mind for himself. He closed his eyes and took his siesta.

Juan Malo caught the three little pigs. He killed them and he ate them all — all except their legs. The legs he put to one side, all the time with a contemplative eye upon his carabao. Then, satiated, he lay down very contentedly and took his siesta since there was no need to watch anything — and certainly not three little pigs!

At twilight, Juan Malo woke up, yawned, and stood up. The carabao opened his great eyes and observed his master without interest.

"Ay, Friend," remarked Juan Malo, "How angry the *Maga'lahi* is going to be when we arrive at the palace without those three little pigs! He will call out his soldiers and put me in jail — what do you think? But you, Friend, always manage to save me. You don't say anything. You don't do anything. All you do is to stay in the mud — how nice to stay in the mud — but, somehow, somehow, you always manage to give me an idea." While he was speaking, Juan Malo was busy planting all the pig legs, feet upward, in the mud. He did it very systematically, in groups — four legs here, four legs there, four legs over there.

Then Juan Malo led his carabao out of the mud, mounted him and rode off toward the palace. The carabao broke into a slow trot. He was thinking about the fine quality of the mud in the *Maga'lahi's* lily pond, and he was anxious to get there.

The *Maga'lahi*, having eaten a very good supper himself, was contentedly smoking a large black cigar in the garden when the two pastors arrived, minus their charges.

"Oh, You, Juan Malo! Where are my three little pigs?" he demanded.

Juan Malo put on a very sad face and answered:

"Alas, *Maga'lahi*! Those bad little animals got stuck in the mud and I could not pull them out. I have come for help."

"Lies. All lies, Juan Malo! You have been careless and you have lost my little pigs!" shouted the *Maga'lahi* angrily.

"Then let us go and see if I have lied", retorted Juan Malo imperturbably.

The *Maga'lahi* hurriedly mounted his horse and accompanied Juan Malo and his carabao. As they approached the pasture, they could see the legs of the three little pigs sticking out of the mud.

"We must get them out before they die " exclaimed the *Maga'lahi*, and he immediately wheeled his horse about and started back toward the palace at a full gallop to get the tools necessary. Juan Malo and his carabao followed more slowly.

"Alas," murmured Juan Malo to his carabao, "if the *Maga'lahi* discovers that there is nothing under those legs but mud, he will have me killed. We must think further, Friend Carabao."

When Juan Malo arrived in the garden, the *Maga'lahi* was already shouting down from his upstairs window:

"Hurry, Fool! Get the spade, the sickle, and the pickax from the gardener, and hurry back to help my three little pigs."

"All three tools, *Maga'lahi*?"

"Yes! All three!"

"Won't the spade suffice, *Maga'lahi*? The sickle and the pickax are very heavy.."

"ALL THREE."

But Juan Malo had no intention of going to the rescue of the three little pigs. His plan was to escape from the whole situation. He could do this by taking a narrow path through the garden which led to a back gate, but blocking the path was a bench, and on the bench sat the *Maga'lahi*'s three pretty daughters, embroidering. If Juan Malo was to escape, he must find some pretext to force the girls to leave the garden.

"Young Ladies," he said in a low voice, "your father wants you in the palace."

"What do you mean?" asked the eldest daughter suspiciously. "Papa is upstairs and he can call us from the window any time he wants us — as is his custom."

For a moment Juan Malo was disconcerted, but then an idea came to him and he smiled. He raised his voice and called toward the window:

"Your Grace said 'all three', didn't you?"

The *Maga'lahi*, now more than ever angered by what he thought was Juan Malo's stupidity, thrust his head out of the window and shouted:

"ALL THREE!" so loudly and angrily that the three young girls gathered up their skirts in their hands and ran toward the house as fast as they could.

Juan Malo had only to wait until the *Maga'lahi* withdrew his red face from the window. Then, unobserved, he went through the gate to the street. But, in the street, he made his carabao walk backward so that the prints left by his carabao's feet appeared to be walking toward the palace instead away from it and into the country. Juan Malo's ruse was so successful that the soldiers are still searching for Juan Malo and his carabao, right up until this very day. [Van Peenen 1945: 25-28]

The next meeting of the governor and Juan occasioned the story of:

### Juan Malo and his Magic Wand

One day Juan Malo stopped his carabao at a banyan tree and cut a branch from it. As he continued on his way down the Sumay-Piti road in the hot noon-day sun, he pondered aloud:

"What I have here in my hand is nothing more nor less than a stick cut from a banyan tree. But if I were smart, I could gain a fortune from it. Isn't it a fact that when a branch of the banyan tree is put in the earth another banyan tree grows from it?" Listen, Friend Carabao, isn't that the truth?" he asked his carabao giving the latter a little hit on the rump with the branch. But, the carabao, who found any journey along the Sumay-Piti road very boring, did not answer and did not accelerate his slow pace.

Juan Malo's only apparel was a pair of pants, in the waistband of which he had tucked all his worldly wealth tied up in a rag — two *reales*. Juan Malo thought about these two *reales*. He drew out the rag from his waistband, untied it, took out the two *reales*, and began tossing them from hand to hand

thoughtfully (he could do this for the carabao needed no guiding from him; the carabao knew the island and his master's intentions equally well).

"Yes, Friend," Juan Malo continued, "isn't it true that all things multiply? And, if I had not cut this branch from the banyan tree, but had stuck it in the earth instead, would it not have produced another banyan tree? In the same manner, the *reales* in the *Maga'lahi*'s purse multiply, and to such an extent that his purse can no longer contain them, and he must transfer his *reales* to a chest. Then why should the two *reales* of Juan Malo always remain just two *reales*? I don't have a purse in which to plant them, but why can't I plant my two *reales* in the earth so that they can produce other *reales* just as the banyan branch, when planted, produces other branches?" And, feeling himself as weary from his own chattering as he was from the heat of the sun, he dismounted from his carabao and lay down on the beach to take a siesta. The carabao, after the custom of carabaos, ambled over to the water and waded in. His left hind footprint left a deep hole in the wet sand; Juan Malo casually dropped one of his *reales* in the hole. Then covered the hole with sand and stuck his banyan branch on top of it. He was about to fall asleep when he heard the sound of hooves. He opened his eyes and perceived the *Maga'lahi* coming toward him on horseback. Without his soldiers, the *Maga'lahi* did not impress Juan Malo at all, so the latter did not even change his position.

The *Maga'lahi* reined in his horse and addressed Juan Malo ironically:

"Ah, there you are, Juan Malo!" and, glancing at the branch planted in the sand, "Always planting something, eh? Even the feet of my little pigs! What are you planting there? The chickens from my chicken coop?"

"You malign me, Your Grace. This rod you see is magic. It sows *reales*."

"Don't lie to me! So, you are expecting to grow *reales*, are you?"

"Precisely, Your Grace."

The *Maga'lahi* leaped down from his horse, pulled out the branch and stopped in surprise to see that in the bottom of the hole there was indeed a *real*. Juan Malo looked on with a bored expression.

"Certainly, this is very unusual," said the *Maga'lahi* glancing suspiciously at Juan Malo, "but I doubt ..."

"Put the rod in another spot then," Juan Malo suggested indifferently, making a slight motion in the direction of another footprint made by the carabao. The *Maga'lahi*, thinking that he himself had chosen the spot, put the branch exactly in the suggested hole, without realizing that Juan Malo had distracted his attention sufficiently to drop his other *real* into that very hole.

"Now, pull out the rod," ordered Juan Malo. The *Maga'lahi* did so and was astounded to see a second *real*.

"This is marvelous," he said, picking up the *real* and staring at it.

"And now give me back my magic rod, Your Grace, because I am poor, and in this manner I obtain *reales*."

But the *Maga'lahi* did not wish to relinquish the magic wand.

"Surely," he said "this is something most unusual and should be placed in the hands of savants for study. It should not be left in the hands of an ignorant young country boy."

"In which case, you'd be taking my livelihood from me," protested Juan Malo. "But, since you are the *Maga'lahi*, I will sell you the rod cheaply, for only twenty *reales*, which I assure you is a bargain."

The *Maga'lahi* did not hesitate to give Juan Malo the twenty *reales*.

Juan Malo pulled his carabao out of the water, mounted him, and, from this position, he advised the *Maga'lahi*:

"You should understand, Your Grace, that you can only gather the *reales* at this hour of the day, when the sun shines directly on that niyok tree in which my *Taotao mona* lives; So, let us meet tomorrow here at this time, and maybe, in your benevolence, you will make me a gift of a *real*."

So Juan Malo, on his carabao, set off for the country. He did not return the next day, nor the days following. The *Maga'lahi* experimented with "the magic rod" daily for a week before he realized that he had been deceived. Then, he was so ashamed of having been tricked in such a manner that he did not mention the matter to his soldiers at all. So, though the latter are still looking for Juan Malo and his carabao, they are doing so only because Juan Malo ate the *Maga'lahi's* three little pigs. [Van Peenen 1945: 28-32]

Most historians and observers of the Guam scene decry the loss of the "pure Chamorro." But who is "pure" anything? In the last 2,000 years we have each had on the order of 16 trillion ancestors. This makes it statistically necessary that we are all descended numerous times from nearly everybody who left offspring 2,000 years ago. The politically correct physical anthropological view is that there are no races within *Homo sapiens*. Such a view seems to throw the baby out with the bath water. But there can be no doubt that there is no such thing as racial purity. Whatever race we classify ourselves as, or our society classifies us as is really, at best, an expression of the preponderance of our ethnic heritage.

The Chamorro gene pool was not lost. Every gene that was represented in the pre-contact Chamorro population is still represented in the descendants of that population.

What is sad is the loss of the cultural legacy, particularly the male-centered cultural endowments like the flying proa. During the Spanish period, the boating, fishing and navigating skills of the Chamorro were apparently totally lost. Sailing had been a

major occupation of the Chamorro upper classes. This activity, like the classes had been largely usurped by the Spanish.

Even the athletic skills of the Chamorros were lost. The *Infante Don Carlos* ran aground on some coral heads at the entrance to Apra harbor on 19 February 1814, giving them their name “Spanish Rocks.” She sank with 500,000 Mexican pesos aboard. So degraded were the swimming and diving skills of the Chamorro-Guamanians that the government had to employ Carolinians and Hawaiians to salvage the silver.

Soon after that wreck the Kotzebue expedition visited Guam. The naturalist aboard that expedition, Adelbert von Chamisso says:

It is now quite altered since the time of Anson (1742) and Duclesmeur (1772). The present inhabitants no longer know the sea, are no mariners, no swimmer; they have ceased to build boats. They now scarcely hollow out, without skill, the trunks of trees to fish within the breakers [reefs]. [Chamisso 1821: 83]

But these male cultural artifacts are not irredeemably lost. Some modern Chamorro-Guamanians are excellent swimmers — among the best in the world. There are sufficient descriptions of the proa to allow one to be constructed today. No doubt there were skills which the pre-contact Chamorro had that the modern Chamorro-Guamanian does not, but how many *Haoles* could knap an arrowhead from flint?

An important part of the pre-contact Chamorro culture was maintained deliberately by the Spanish. As Rogers says:

The traditional Chamorro social rankings would initially be respected, and exploited, by the Spaniards, but eventually they would be replaced by rankings determined by race. [Rogers 1995: 36]

The reason this could be done so easily was that this was not really a replacement but gradual adaptation — the pre-contact system remained but in an altered form.

Because of the strength of the female element of Chamorro-Guamanian society, other major parts of the Chamorro-Guamanian culture was preserved in an adapted form.

Rogers says:

The Chamorro language was maintained through maternal control of family life (*si nana*, meaning Chamorro motherhood in local terms), an arrangement with pre-contact roots compatible with Catholicism's veneration of Mary as the mediatrix of all graces. Most racial admixtures of outsiders with Chamorros originated by foreign men fathering children with local women of Chamorro ancestry. In a process of religious genius the Catholic Church transformed the Chamorros from children of women used by aliens to children of the Christian Virgin. This powerful integrative religious impulse served not only to reconcile Chamorros with the outsiders, it also helped to preserve the Chamorro identity. Even though fathers were the heads of families and bilingualism was often practiced, the Mariano mothers invariably raised the children to speak Chamorro in the home, regardless of the father's language, and thereby passed on the Chamorro heritage by word of mouth.

The family in Chamorro society under the Spaniards was strengthened by local acceptance of Spanish Catholic marriage rites and godparent observances (in Chamorro *compare*, or *Kumpail*, for godfather and *comare/kumail* for godmother). By the nineteenth century, a church marriage was an indissoluble bond quite unlike the pre-contact marriage practices. The roles and obligations of godparents were also formalized as kinship ties, through the rite of baptism, thereby extending families and making them and the church the centers of social loyalty rather than the civic attachment to a distant and alien Spain. This *pare* system based on strong familial ties would be carried into politics after World War II, resulting often in factionalism and rivalries between families in electoral politics.

The absorption of introduced customs shows that Chamorros were not just passive victims of foreigners, as many European visitors thought, but agents of their own purposes, adopting new concepts and practices to meet local needs while stubbornly holding to the core of their language and control of family. Largely by means of this language-family linkage and because Guam was a poor and isolated island, the Chamorros were neither totally Hispanicized nor replaced by a hybrid nonindigenous population, as occurred in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Instead, the Chamorros absorbed immigrants into a neoChamorro society with new attributes but still permeated by distinctive univocal Chamorro consciousness at the grass-roots level. [Rogers 1995: 103-104]

The pre-contact social stratification was largely preserved with one addition. At the very top was the governor. It is very likely that, although the Chamorros did not have a king or paramount chief for all of the Marianas or even for all of Guam, there was one



*chamorri* who was more highly regarded than the rest. So perhaps the governor was analogous to that *chamorri*. But it is probably more helpful to consider the governor a foreign overlay — a totally foreign introduced concept. The other imported the Spanish officials — the secretary, the *sergente mayor*, some of the Spanish and well-born Mexican and Filipino N.C.O.s, as well as a few *peninsulars* and *criollos*, who began to show up on Guam with the breakup of the Spanish empire were equivalent to the *chamorris*. They were called *principales*. Although most of these people were imported, as soon as they came on island, they immediately became *principales*. The *principales* and their families formed a class equivalent to the *matua*. High government officials as well as other socially prominent men were analogous to the *chamorris*. If they were not imported they were, like the *chamorris* of old, chosen from the class of the *principales*.

Just below the *principales* was a class of people whose foreign heritage was perhaps a little older and thinner. They were called *manak'kilo*, or “high people.” They equate to the *acha'ot*. Just as there was social mobility between the *matua* and the *acha'ot* there was social mobility between the *principales* and the *manak'kilo*. If one considers the *matua* and the *acha'ot* as different classes of the same caste, the same can be said for the *principales* and the *manak'kilo*. Spiritual life was controlled by a new class of *makahnas* — the Catholic priesthood. It was almost exclusively to the *principales* and the Catholic Church that land grants were given.

The vast majority of Chamorro-Guamanians were considered *manak'papa*, or “low people.” These people were analogous to the *manachang*. They lived in the outer barrios and on the land and were largely held in debt peonage — the Spanish administration did not give land to *Indos*.

Under the Spanish, most labor was performed under the system of debt peonage. Peonage is a system of forced labor based on the debt of the laborer — particularly a farm laborer. The loan can be of money or goods.

For example, a landlord can offer a farmer land usually under a sharecropping agreement in which the owner and the farmer get a certain percentage of the harvested crop. The landowner then rents the farmer tools, equipment, seed, and enough money to get through until the harvest. They sell the crop, the landlord gets his share and the farmer has to pay what he owes the landlord out of his share. If the farmer can pay he will probably be offered a similar contract for the next growing season. Sooner or later, the crop will fail; but the farmer still owes the landlord. The farmer then has no choice but to accept a similar contract to pay off his debt. At some point the farmer will be hopelessly in debt. From that point forward, he works for the landlord and gets nothing in return except enough food and clothing to keep himself alive and decent — he is essentially a serf. These debt peons were the *neo-manachang* under the Spanish.

The Spanish did introduce some very limited democratic reforms. Since the end of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars, *alcaldes mayores* and other local officials had been appointed by the governor. By a royal order of 29 May 1885, *gobernadorcillos* and other local officials were elected at the village level from among the *principalía*. They were *neo-Chamorris*. Rogers says of this group:

The *gobernadorcillos* and other officials were paid small salaries and formed the *patrónes*, or bosses, of the villages or *barrios*, dispensing patronage among their families and friends. Further limited democratization at the local level in the Philippine provinces was ordered by a royal decree in May 1893, but by then dissatisfaction with Spanish rule was too widespread to halt. [Rogers 1995: 105]

There is little good one can say about the Spanish colonial handling of Micronesia except, perhaps, that they largely ignored those areas outside the Mariannas. But the people and culture of the Mariannas, they largely destroyed.

# YANKEES IN PARADISE — THE COMING OF THE AMERICANS

American “Maritime Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places” were the next major influence on Guam.

No doubt the first American to visit to Guam was an Amerindian sailing from New Spain with the Spanish. The first visitor from the United States may well have been an American crewman on a European, most likely a British, ship. But the first instances of consequence were the crews of American ships — primarily whalers.

To understand the American colonization of Guam, it is necessary to step back in history.

Since its discovery, America was a product of Europe’s attempt to get at China. As Robert A. Divine says in his introduction to Warren I. Cohen’s *America’s Response to China: An interpretative History of Sino-American Relations*:

**Ever since Columbus sailed westward searching for a shortcut to Cathay, China has loomed large in the American experience. Canton became the first foreign market Americans sought to develop after winning independence from Britain and, in the nineteenth century, the lure of silk, tea, and spices drew a stream of New Englanders across the Pacific. But we soon developed an ambivalent attitude toward China. On the one hand, missionaries and merchants saw the American role as redemptive, remaking the ancient civilization along modern lines, but in the United States Chinese immigrants met with ridicule and hatred, culminating in their exclusion in 1882. [Divine 1980: vi]**

It is well-known that the American Revolution was fought largely to eradicate British restrictions on American trade. One of the first things that the new nation did was establish trade with China. Cohen says:

**The Americans had wasted little time in reaching China after winning their independence from Great Britain. Almost as soon as word of the peace**

settlement concluded at Paris reached the victors, the *Empress of China* was outfitted and dispatched to partake of the China trade. No longer blocked from participation in this trade by the British East Indian Company's monopoly within the empire, commercial interests on the eastern seaboard anticipated great profits and conjured up a vast vision for fortunes to be made through trade with Cathay. [Cohen 1980: 2]

What made these upstarts think they could compete with Britain in the China trade?

The Puritans had built their "City upon a Hill" next to the sea. It prospered because it was on the sea. They discovered that the sea leads everywhere and that commerce provided economic opportunities that were almost unlimited. In a rather surprising metamorphosis, these opportunities turned the Puritans into merchants. In *The Americans: The National Experience* Daniel J. Boorstin says:

Who could have predicted that Puritans would become Yankees? That a people noted in the old world for stiff-necked dogmatism would on this side become exemplars of ingenuity? That an old English sect notoriously single of purpose would become New England paragons of versatility? That Englishmen famous for keeping their eye on the path to heaven would develop an uncanny vision for new markets and a facility for shifting investments? [Boorstin 1965: 3]

Perhaps because of their "peculiarity," the Puritans could range the world without being uprooted. They demonstrated the ability to travel the world without ever really leaving New England. They went to sea in tight little communities aboard tight little ships.

New England's cosmopolitanism kept her the most colonial part of the new nation. The same characteristics that protected the Puritans from utopianism helped them come to grips with their shifting problems. As Boorstin says

New Englanders were the Transplanters in the first epoch of national life. What the Virginia country gentleman had been to the English squire, what Thomas Jefferson was to Squire Western, that is what the Boston entrepreneur was to his Manchester counterpart. The contribution of New England — a stronghold of conservatism and radicalism, of genteel Brahmins and of

unwashed immigrants — to the new nation was far out of proportion of her numbers or her extent. Geography, population and ideas made her a cultural limbo between an old world that refused to die and a new world not quite born. [Boorstin 1965: 4]

The sea was impartial. It carried anyone and anything anywhere — *Bibles* and Puritans to the New World, whiskey to the West Indies to trade for rum, rum to West Africa to trade for slaves, slaves to the West Indies to trade for rum and rum and slaves to Boston to trade for whiskey. This, the versatility of the sea, was the versatility of the Yankee.

The sea had no culture of its own. The culture of these seafarers was the culture of home — they sailed the world without ever really leaving Boston. The ships that carried the Yankees to the far ends of the Earth kept them together, made them more compact, insular and united. Although he learned to deal with the banian in Calcutta and the mandarin in China he never lost his nostalgia for a farm in the land of his childhood. The farther the Yankee ventured from his native land the more he yearned for it.

From the beginning the wealth of the sea had offset the poverty of the land. By the end of the 17th century, fishing was the main industry of the Massachusetts Bay. Codfish was to Massachusetts what tobacco was the colonial Virginia. While tobacco and then cotton forced southern roots deeper into the land, the fisheries forced the Yankee out into the world.

Nothing did more to make New Englanders independent than the Revolutionary War. As Boorstin puts it:

The Revolution itself was, in a sense, a by product of the New England fisheries. For it was to serve her fisherman that New England colonists had built their own ships and so had begun to justify English jealousy of a colonial merchant marine. The gathering place of Massachusetts rebels, Faneuil Hall, which Daniel Webster called "the cradle of American liberty," was the gift of Peter Faneuil, a Boston

merchant who had prospered by carrying New England codfish to distant markets. [Boorstin 1965: 7]

With the war, seamen turned from fishing to privateering. Privateers had to sell their booty and prizes. In the process they developed markets and merchant skills. The peace treaty included provisions for fishermen to fish in Canadian waters and dry their fish in Canadian inlets. But after the war, although the fishing industry revived, it was the discovery of new markets for old products and new products for old markets that most stirred the imagination of the New Englander. The seaman had to be versatile. The captain had total discretion to go where he wished, invest in whatever cargo seemed most likely and jettison that cargo in favor of another whenever he chose. He could stay at sea or return home at will.

Consider, for example, the experience of Maj. Samuel Shaw.

Shaw was a veteran of the Revolutionary War. He had fought at Trenton and Brandywine. He had suffered at Valley Forge. In 1784, he reentered civilian life propertyless and in debt. Some businessmen purchased the *Empress of China* and appointed Shaw the supercargo. The purpose of the venture was to export ginseng to China. Ginseng is a rare herb found in China and Korea but it is a plentiful weed in North America.

Ginseng is used in Chinese herbal medicine to grow hair, prolong life and restore sexual potency. Some fools had estimated that the total annual demand of ginseng would be not more than four tons. Only four tons for a root that grows hair and hard-ons? The *Empress of China* carried 10 times that amount and sold it all! Within a year American export of ginseng more than doubled. Demand continued to grow and the price remained

strong. The Yankee traders bought tea and other marketable products in China so they made good profits both ways.

Nothing was too small, too big, or too commonplace for the Yankee trader. Salem became the world headquarters for trade in the peppercorn. Of course, New Bedford and Nantucket were the headquarters for the whaling industry.

Like Holland, a province of the Netherlands that represents the entire country to Americans, in many parts of the world, New England was thought of as synonymous with the United States. In the 1830s, merchants in the South Seas thought Salem was one of the richest and most powerful nations on earth.

The Yankee merchantmen revolutionized the social structure of the sea. In Europe, officers at sea were gentlemen. It was rare for a seaman to become an officer and almost unheard of for him to ever become a captain or even a mate. But New England seaman commonly rose from common seamen to command their own ships.

Boorstin says:

**A Beverly sea captain who had begun as a foremast hand on a ship out of Salem could recall that every one of that ship's crew of thirteen had risen to become master of a vessel. Since New England had no ancient trading companies or any rigid tradition of adventure her enterprise was controlled by upstart Cabots, Jacksons, Lees, Higginsons, and Perkinses, ingenious at finding their own markets and making their own ways. She inherited no established aristocracy from which officers were drawn nor a deep-sea proletariat from which came the "old salts" of English fiction and folklore. [Boorstin 1965: 9]**

New England produced neither whales, nor pepper, nor coffee, nor tea nor sugar. The greatest resource of New England was the resourcefulness of the Yankee trader. The Yankee could even do well with the two commodities that New England did have in abundance — ice and rocks. It used to be said that "New England produces nothing but ice and rocks." The Yankees managed to conduct a brisk trade in both.



Their trade in ice was particularly interesting.

In the summers of the 18th century, ice was a rare treat. Some aristocratic homes had ice houses but, in general ice was the bane of winter. In the half century before the civil war, the “ice box” became common. The man who more than any other was responsible for the icing of the world was the “Ice King” Frederick Tudor of Boston.

In the winter of 1805, when Tudor was barely 21, his brother William at a gay Boston party whimsically asked why the ice on nearby ponds was not harvested and then sold at ports in the Caribbean. Frederick took up the suggestion, as if to prove that no enterprise was too outlandish, no commodity too commonplace, for New England commerce. He purchased a notebook, calling it his “Ice House Diary,” and made his first entry on August 1, 1805 in what was to be a classic record of New England business enterprise. On the leather cover he printed the motto: “He who gives back at the first repulse and without striking the second blow despairs of success, has never been, is not and never will be a hero in war, love or business.” [Boorstin 1967: 12]

Repulse began within the year when he invested \$10,000 in shipping a load of ice to Martinique. There was no ice house on Martinique! He personally sailed to Martinique to show prospective customers how to preserve and use ice. But within six weeks all of the ice had melted. Tudor lost \$4,000.

It was 15 years before he established the ice trade as a paying business. During that period he met Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth who collaborated with him for a time, competed with him for a time, invented a method of cutting symmetrical chunks of ice of the same size to put in the holds of ships and discovered that sawdust would prevent the blocks from freezing together in transit.

In 1833, Tudor shipped a load of ice halfway around the world to Calcutta. The first shipment sold profitably. Soon ice was being shipped from Boston to ports all over the world. Ice became a major commodity and the subject of some of Henry David

Thoreau's more metaphysical contemplations at Walden Pond. First Thoreau described the activities of an ice harvesting crew on the pond. Then he began to wax philosophical:

Thus for sixteen days I saw from my window a hundred men at work like busy husbandmen, with teams and horses and apparently all the implements of farming, such a picture as we see on the first page of the almanac; and as often as I looked out I was reminded of the fable of the lark and the reapers, or the parable of the sower, and the like; and now they are all gone, and in thirty days more, probably, I shall look from the same window on the pure sea-green Walden water there, reflecting the clouds and the trees, and sending up its evaporations in solitude, and no traces will appear that a man has ever stood there. Perhaps I shall hear a solitary loon laugh as he dives and plumes himself, or shall see a lonely fisher in his boat, like a floating leaf, beholding his form reflected in the waves, where lately a hundred men securely labored.

Thus it appears that the sweltering inhabitants of Charleston and New Orleans, of Madras and Bombay and Calcutta, drink at my well. In the morning I bathe my intellect in the stupendous and cosmological philosophy of the Bhagavad-Gita, since whose composition years of the gods have elapsed, and in comparison with which our modern world and its literature seem puny and trivial; and I doubt if that philosophy is not to be referred to a previous state of existence, so remote is its sublimity from our conceptions. I lay down the book and go to my well for water, and lo! there I meet the servant of the Brahmin, priest of Brahma and Vishnu and Indra, who still sits in his temple on the Ganges reading the Vedas, or dwells at the root of a tree with his crust and water jug. I meet his servant come to draw water for his master, and our buckets as it were grate together in the same well. The pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred water of the Ganges. With favoring winds it is wafted past the site of the fabulous islands of Atlantis and the Hesperides, makes the periplus of Hanno, and, floating by Ternate and Tidore and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, melts in the tropic gales of the Indian seas, and is landed in ports of which Alexander only heard the names. [Thoreau 1854: 198-199]

Yankee traders and whalers were the cutting edge of American imperialism in the Pacific and Asia. Many of the greatest voyages of discovery were actually whaling voyages. As Herman Melville says in *Moby Dick*:

I freely assert, that the cosmopolite philosopher cannot, for his life, point out one single peaceful influence, which within the last sixty years has operated more potentially upon the whole broad world, taken in one aggregate, than the high and mighty business of whaling. One way and another, it has begotten events so remarkable in themselves, and so continuously momentous in their sequential issues, that whaling may well be regarded as that Egyptian mother, who bore offspring themselves pregnant from her womb. It would be a hopeless, endless task to catalogue all these things. Let a handful suffice. For many years past the

whale-ship has been the pioneer in ferreting out the remotest and least known parts of the earth. She has explored seas and archipelagoes which had no chart, where no Cook or Vancouver had ever sailed. If American and European men-of-war now peacefully ride in once savage harbors, let them fire salutes to the honor and glory of the whale-ship, which originally showed them the way, and first interpreted between them and the savages. They may celebrate as they will the heroes of Exploring Expeditions, your Cooks, your Krusensterns; but I say that scores of anonymous Captains have sailed out of Nantucket, that were as great, and greater than your Cook and your Krusenstern. For in their succorless empty-handedness, they, in the heathenish sharked waters, and by the beaches of unrecorded, javelin islands, battled with virgin wonders and terrors that Cook with all his marines and muskets would not willingly have dared. All that is made such a flourish of in the old South Sea Voyages, those things were but the lifetime commonplaces of our heroic Nantucketers. Often, adventures which Vancouver dedicates three chapters to, these men accounted unworthy of being set down in the ship's common log. Ah, the world!

Oh, the world! Until the whale fishery rounded Cape Horn, no commerce but colonial, scarcely any intercourse but colonial, was carried on between Europe and the long line of the opulent Spanish provinces on the Pacific coast. It was the whaler who first broke through the jealous policy of the Spanish crown, touching those colonies; and, if space permitted, it might be distinctly shown how from those whalers at last eventuated the liberation of Peru, Chili, and Bolivia from the yoke of Old Spain, and the establishment of the eternal democracy in those parts.

That great America on the other side of the sphere, Australia, was given to the enlightened world by the whaler. After its first blunder-born discovery by a Dutchman, all other ships long shunned those shores as pestiferously barbarous; but the whale-ship touched there. The whale-ship is the true mother of that now mighty colony. Moreover, in the infancy of the first Australian settlement, the emigrants were several times saved from starvation by the benevolent biscuit of the whale-ship luckily dropping an anchor in their waters. The uncounted isles of all Polynesia confess the same truth, and do commercial homage to the whale-ship, that cleared the way for the missionary and the merchant, and in many cases carried the primitive missionaries to their first destinations. If that double-bolted land, Japan, is ever to become hospitable, it is the whale-ship alone to whom the credit will be due; for already she is on the threshold.

But if, in the face of all this, you still declare that whaling has no aesthetically noble associations connected with it, then am I ready to shiver fifty lances with you there, and unhorse you with a split helmet every time. [Melville 1851: 117-119]

The first long-cruise whalers were British. They arrived in the Pacific by making the voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. The first port east of the Philippines was Guam. The ships would anchor in Umatac Bay to load fresh water. They would then sail

around to Apra harbor, which was safer in the event of a typhoon, to complete their provisioning. While this went on, most of the men would be taking liberty on and with the island. American whalers soon entered the Pacific to compete with the British.

Because the Hawaiian Islands are closer to the North American mainland than Guam and farther from the intertropical convergence zone, or hurricane belt, the Americans diverted a large part of the trade there. The British went along because the Hawaiian Islands were, at the time, dominated by them.

Another reason for the change was, perhaps, the more free and easy sexuality of Hawaiian women. When Magellan first discovered the Marianas, the women would have rivaled any in the world when it came to their lack of inhibition. But more than 100 years of Spanish and Catholic rule, and nearly 300 years of Spanish influence had changed all that.

The uninhibited sexuality of island women has shocked and amused Westerners since the age of discovery. These naive girls have largely been dismissed as hedonistic sluts. But one might speculate that the sexual permissiveness of most island societies performs an inadvertant yet advantageous biological function.

Like all small insular communities, Pacific islands suffer from a serious problem — a problem that can be alleviated by sexual promiscuity. They have a very small gene pool. Small gene pools cause rapid genetic drift — hence the almost universal incest taboo. When visitors from a faraway place visit one of these islands, it is in the best interest of the island society to persuade the visitors to leave their genetic endowment with the islanders. So those beautiful island girls who swam out to the whaling ships to

have their way with the mariners were in a real sense pirates bent on stealing the seamen's genetic endowment. Would any red-blooded sailor object?

What kind of men were these whalers? Their crews were not made up of professional seamen. For the most part, the ships were manned by adventurers, the victims of press gangs and social misfits — men on the run from the law, creditors, cuckolded husbands or furious fathers. The experience of the life and death struggle with the elements created men whose independence was tantamount to anarchy. They submitted to the captain largely because he could marshal sufficient force to impose his will on them.

And these Yankee captains were not lily-livered gentlemen either. They worked for a sizable share of the profits. Most of them were opportunists who were willing to force their crew to make any sacrifice to obtain a good cargo of spermaceti, ivory, baleen and oil. Such a cargo could be worth a quarter million dollars or more. And that was when a dollar was a preinflation ounce of silver.

As a reward to the crew for a job well-done, when the men went ashore, the captain usually viewed their activities with closed eyes. Take, for example, this 1852 incident from the *Log of the Emily Morgan* commanded by a Capt. Ewer out of New Bedford, Mass. The *Emily Morgan* cruised from October 1849 to April 1854. She stopped at Guam for reprovisioning, rest and recreation. When she was about to depart Apra Harbor for the next leg of her cruise, some of her crew went to the local brothel (called a boarding house in the log) to have a party. They hired some local musicians and began their party.

At 8 o'clock, the constable came by and ordered the whalers to stop the party. One of the sailors very earnestly began to tell the constable, in English, what he thought of the local curfew. The owner of the establishment "interpreted" for the sailor. The proprietor was no fool. He told the officer that the sailor was praising the wisdom of these regulations. The constable was willing to accept this interpretation because the sailor seemed so earnest. The sailor would also buy the cop a drink from time to time. As their conversation continued, the drinks began to have an effect. Finally, the cop got drunk and wandered away. The party continued.

Soon a squad of soldiers came by and their sergeant told the landlord that the party would have to stop or the place would be closed. The landlord and the whalers set themselves to the bribery-by-bottle routine that had worked so well on the police officer. Soon the men of the patrol were as drunk as the sailors. While this was going on, one of the whalers went around and gathered up all of the soldiers' muskets and hid them.

When midnight was tolled, the soldiers sobered up knowing that they had to get back to headquarters to report. Their muskets were nowhere to be found. Everyone, of course, denied knowledge of the missing muskets. At the sound of the relief bell, they rushed back to their headquarters. Unfortunately, we have no record of their fate.

The leader of the whalers gathered up the muskets, carried them out to the deepest part of the river, and dropped them in.

In addition to the financial rewards, the whaling captains had another powerful motive — they had almost absolute control over their lives and their ships. At the height of the whaling industry they were the scourge of the Pacific islands — virtually a law unto themselves. The discipline they imposed on their crew would have shocked a

Prussian drill sergeant. Their actions on some of the islands they visited were in the worst tradition of the buccaneers. Consider the report by Paul Searles, *History of Guam (1521-1925)*., taken from the *Log of the Emily Morgan*, of one whaling captain's behavior on Guam in 1850:

The master of an American whaler which had called for water, wood and provisions, being ready for sea and some of his men being imprisoned in the calaboose at Agaña for some trifling breach of the laws, went to the governor and demanded his men by stating that he was ready for sea and should sail at 4:00 p.m. His Excellency replied that he could not have them unless he paid the fines imposed, which was a very large amount. The captain thinking, from the large amount imposed for so slight a breach committed, it a mere plan to extort money from him, replied that he would pay no money to the governor. Whereupon the latter replied that he could not have his men.

The captain took his leave, saying that if the men were not on board at 4:00 p.m. he, the governor, must suffer the consequences. He proceeded to his ship, weighed anchor, left the harbor at 4:00 p.m. and when opposite Agaña and within a quarter of a mile of the shore and directly opposite the palace, he hauled back his main yard, ran up the Stars and Stripes, and commenced to bombard the palace with one six-pounder, which was all the cannon he had on board. Almost within range of the palace, and situated at water's edge was a stone fort with several guns mounted. The governor did not see fit to return the fire when he might have blown the ship to atoms. [More likely, the fort had no guns or they were inoperable.] After half a dozen shots had been fired, the flag of truce was hoisted on the fort. The whaler ceased firing and a boat was soon seen approaching the ship with the sailors and some soldiers. The officer-in-charge of the detail presented the governor's compliments and said:

"The governor has sent your men and requests that the firing cease as one of the shots has taken effect in the palace and actually lodged in his private room." The captain of the whaler received his men and departed. The governor, two years later, still preserved the cannon ball that had entered his room, and frequently exhibited it to visitors as the one the Yankee skipper had fired at him. [Searles 1925: 362-364]

This was not the last Guam was to see of American high-handedness.

At the end of the 19th century, Guam, as we have seen, was a stagnant backwater of the crumbled Spanish empire. No doubt, she looked at events in the rest of the world with undisguised disinterest. Guam had had some dealings with Americans, but most of her people had a pretty superficial view of America.

America at the end of the century was a growing young industrial power, totally self-absorbed. Don Farrell puts it well in his *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Americanization 1898-1918*. He says:

The political and economic attitude of the United States of 1898 was a reflection of those times. America was a growing, proud and dynamic country. It had survived a horrendous civil war that had nearly fractured the country but had then spurred on an industrial revolution. Backed by America's seemingly inexhaustible supply of natural resources, this economic growth seemed to hold out the promise of prosperity for all. But a lingering depression stirred social unrest, driving political leaders to search for new outlets for the country's energies. [Farrell 1986: 4]

Americans were full of themselves. They were self-assured and convinced their country was as good as; no, better than, any of the great powers of Europe. They were absolutely certain that hard work would lead to success and they were certain that they were the hardest working people on Earth — they were inordinately smug. America had adopted the cry of "Manifest Destiny" which postulated that the United States had a God-given right to the North American continent from the North Pole to the Colombian border. They had conquered and, in their opinion, improved much of their continent. To conquer the rest would require diplomacy and patience in the south and another war with England in the north but the Americans were convinced that God would make these things happen in due course. So now it was time to take on the world. Some of the "Great Powers" had empires. America didn't, so she began to consider getting one.

There was considerable disquiet within the conscience of the American government over the taking of overseas possessions. Nowhere in the constitution is there guidance about external possessions or colonies. America embarked on this course with some trepidation. In the 1880s there was a shift in the American consciousness regarding



colonies. In *American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay*, Ernest R. May, discusses this transition:

In the early 1880s, when the British moved into Egypt, William Jennings Bryan was a student at Illinois College in Rockford. He wrote his bride-to-be "However much we may admire England's power in war or her eminence in peace I can not but feel that her foreign policy is mercenary, tyrannical and iniquitous in the extreme and a disgrace to her boasted civilization"

Not long afterward young Theodore Roosevelt published a hastily written biography of Thomas Hart Benton. In it he commented on prospects for annexing Canada and contrasted European and American styles of expansion. Referring to Canada's western provinces, Roosevelt wrote, "Of course no one would wish to see these, or any other settled communities, now added to our domain by force; we want no unwilling citizens to enter our Union." He continued, "European nations war for the possession of thickly settled districts which, if conquered, will for centuries remain alien and hostile to the conquerors; we, wiser in our generation, have seized the waste solitudes that lay near us."

That Bryan and Roosevelt, in so many respects opposites, held such similar views on colonies illustrates the extent of consensus. As of the early 1880s educated Americans nearly all doubted the value of colonies and regarded efforts to conquer other populations as morally wrong. By the mid-1880s their unanimity had begun to break down. [May 1991a: 165-166]

Many saw international trade as necessary to American survival. Trade in the 19th century was colonial in nature. Without colonies, America was handicapped.

Milton Plesur discusses the transition in *America's Outward Thrust: Approaches to foreign Affairs, 1865-1890*:

Secretaries Frederick Frelinghuysen [President Chester Arthur's secretary of state] and Thomas Bayard [President Grover Cleveland's secretary of state] were cautious but nevertheless zealous watchdogs of America's rights. Frelinghuysen emphasized a vigorous commercial foreign policy, especially in the negotiation of reciprocity treaties. In this way, he reasoned, the United States might exert a beneficial economic influence without burdening herself with the political problems arising from outright imperialism. Frelinghuysen's vigorous canal diplomacy (including his violation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty) and interest in the Congo placed him in the camp of the commercial imperialists. Although President Cleveland and Secretary Bayard terminated our earlier involvements in Africa and Latin America, they were expansionists in their own way. The renewal of Hawaiian reciprocity, Bayard realized meant that American primacy in the islands would be ensured, that foreign powers could never acquire the dominant interest. The same thinking resulted in the cooperation of the great powers in the disposition of Samoa, reflecting our increased emphasis on Pacific affairs.

Bayard also felt that the islands were needed as stepping stones to American influence in Asia proper. [Plesur 1971: 235]

America's first colonial toehold in Oceania were claims to sovereignty over several unclaimed, unpopulated islands — Jarvis, Baker and Howland in 1856, and Midway in 1867. But, with the exception of the Sandwich Islands, this far into the Age of Discovery most of the colonies anyone would want already belonged to one of the Great Powers. To get them America would have to either buy them or fight for them.

The first to fall were the Sandwich Islands.

The Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands were settled about 1,000 years ago by the Polynesians. Little is known of their arrival except through old Hawaiian legends.

The island chain first became known to the Western world on 20 January 1778 when Capt. James Cook came upon them during one of his voyages. He named them the Sandwich Islands, after the Earl of Sandwich, one of his benefactors. The islands then consisted of individual kingdoms ruled by local chiefs. By 1810 one ruler — Kamehameha I — had conquered the others. He formed a dynasty that ruled the islands for almost 100 years.

The second step in the colonization of Hawaii was in 1820 when the first American missionaries arrived from New England on the *Thaddeus*. Other missionaries followed, from both Europe and America. They became advisers to the rulers and were influential in westernizing the government and in advancing education. Christianity became the national religion.

For a time, Britain and America were fierce competitors for control of the Hawaiian Islands. After the War of 1812, British influence in Oceania began to wane. American influence waxed. As early as 1826 the United States negotiated the first

commercial treaty with Hawaii. Whaling ships from New England and fur-trading ships from Russian America used Hawaii as a supply point. The British attempted to exploit American racism to discredit the Yankees. In *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History*, Merze Tate says:

This was not difficult. En route to London in 1849-50 the two impressionable teen-age royal princes had been subjected to offensive racial prejudice when they visited the United States with Dr. [Gerrit P.] Judd. In contrast, on the Continent and in England they were accorded the courtesies and honors benefiting royal visitors. The reactions of the youths to their English welcome were reflected in subsequent events in the islands. [Tate 1965: 19]

During the next decades trade increased tremendously. Despite British attempts to discredit America, this increase was particularly impressive regarding trade with America. American institutions and influences spread throughout the islands, and the economy made rapid progress.

The American takeover of the Hawaiian Islands followed the pattern of the taking of Texas. Like the taking of Texas and California, the rhetorical justifications ranged from democratic aspirations to moral indignation, but the underlying reasons were economic. Tate says:

This particular survey might appropriately bear the subtitle "An Economic Interpretation of the Hawaiian Revolution," for it shows that the underlying cause of the *coup d' état* was the determination of the propertied class — to a large extent American and Hawaiian-born American — to direct or control government policy. The misjoinder of the producing with the spending power, a natural concomitant of the rise and expansion of the plantation sugar industry, and related commercial activities incident to reciprocity caused the dissatisfaction, among the white residents of substance, with the constitutional arrangements. [Tate 1965: 308]

King David Kalakaua opposed the domination of the islands' economy by foreigners. A group of foreigners led by Sanford Ballard Dole usurped much of his power.

In 1884 and 1886 Dole was elected to the Hawaiian national Legislature. In 1887, he and other legislators of New England descent forced Kalakaua to accept a new constitution dubbed the “bayonet constitution.” It gave the vote to all American and European residents regardless of citizenship. Instead of being appointed for life, members of the upper house, the House of Nobles, were elected for six years. They had to own \$3,000 in unencumbered taxable property or have an income of \$600 per year. Electors of the House of Nobles had the same requirement. Members of the lower house, the House of Representatives had to own at least \$500 free and clear or have an income of \$250. While there was no property requirement for electors to the lower house, they had to be of Hawaiian, American or European descent, and they must be able to read either Hawaiian or a European language.

Most legislators and voters were of American or European descent. This assured foreign control of the government — or more correctly American and European control.

As Tate says:

**Americans, Englishmen, Germans, Norwegians, Portuguese, and Frenchmen were thus able to retain their original citizenship and at the same time enjoy all the privileges and immunities of Hawaiians, but Chinese and Japanese, working alongside the Portuguese, were effectively excluded from the benefits of the same. [Tate 1965: 91-92]**

In 1858 the Kingdom of Hawaii had applied to the United States for annexation. She was refused. In 1887, a treaty turned Pearl Harbor over to the United States as a ship coaling and repair station; and Dole was appointed an associate justice of the Hawaiian Supreme Court.

The next monarch, Queen Lydia Kamakaeha Lili’uokalani was to be the last reigning monarch of Hawaii.

Her reign of four years was unhappy. In trying to strengthen the monarchy and loosen ties with the United States, she alienated a large community of foreign businessmen in Hawaii — the Americans and Europeans felt threatened. This led to a revolt. A group of residents, mostly Americans who had become prominent in Hawaii's economy led again by Dole, plotted the overthrow of the monarchy. In 1893, under the watchful eyes of United States Marines, Dole and his cabal overthrew Lili'uokalani. They established a provisional government and called for the queen's abdication.

Lili'uokalani stepped down, but in letters forwarded on the *Claudine*, she appealed to President Benjamin Harrison and President-elect Grover Cleveland. She was unceremoniously dumped by the provisional government. Tate says:

On the day before the departure of the *Claudine*, the provisional government adopted an order to disband the Household Guards and paid the members until February 1. Lili'uokalani, who was provided with an honorary guard of sixteen men, hoisted her royal standard the following morning but she was notified to pull it down, she did so herself, weeping bitterly. Stanford Dole regretted the whole affair and the path that the nation had taken. If his views had prevailed, he would have employed far more tactful ways than the treatment rendered. But he trusted "that history will bear with us and not be critical for we have done what we know to be right and we are but men and I but one, and just an opinion, against the destiny of a nation." [Tate 1965: 193]

President Grover Cleveland ordered Lili'uokalani restored. But the businessmen ignored him and, in 1895, suppressed an insurrection by Liliuokalani's supporters. She was finally forced to abdicate on 24 January 1895. After trying, with only partial success, to regain some of her crown lands and gain a subsidy from the United States, she withdrew from public life. She died in Honolulu on 11 November 1917. "Aloha Oe" a song written by Lili'uokalani is more widely known and better remembered than she or her reign as queen.

Dole and his cabal wanted the annexation of Hawaii by the United States for a number of reasons but the price of sugar was probably paramount. Because of series of actions by Congress, Hawaii was put on an equal footing with other producers and at a disadvantage when compared to American producers. If Hawaii were to be annexed by the U.S., her advantage would be renewed.

The new government applied for annexation by the United States. When this request was again refused, the rulers established a republic, in 1894, with Dole as president. Finally, in 1898, a treaty of annexation was concluded. In 1900 the Territory of Hawaii was established. The Organic Act gave the people greater political power than they had possessed under their kings.

Great Britain complained hardly at all of this severe twist to the lion's tail. Internationally, only Japan complained mildly but in those pre Russo-Japanese war days, no one listened to Japan much.

Significantly, Japan and America were becoming colonial powers almost simultaneously. In *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations*, Akira Iriye says:

The simultaneous emergence of Japan and the United States as colonial powers in the Pacific added a new dimension to the relations between the two countries. From the official Japanese point of view, this was on the whole a situation to be welcomed, but not without some cause for concern. The Japanese at first refused to recognize that the United States had a prior sovereign right over the Hawaiian Islands. Because the Japanese immigrants there outnumbered those from other countries, and because the islands could be held as an outpost of Japanese overseas expansion, the Tokyo government took the view that the United States had no right to annex the islands. In 1897 a warship was dispatched to demonstrate against American annexation. [Iriye 1992: 74]

In America the debate was partisan and bitter. For example, Frederick Douglass, in a letter compared the annexation of Hawaii with both the annexation of Texas and California and the Israelite conquest of Canaan:

It is my opinion that but for the unwarrantable intermeddling of our citizens Queen Lili'uokalani would now be on the throne. The stories afloat intended to blacken the character of the Queen do not deceive me. The device is an old one, and has been used with skill and effect ever since Caleb and Joshua saw the grapes of Canaan. We are the Jews of modern times, and when we want the lands of other people, such people are guilty of every species of abomination and are not fit to live. In our conduct today we are but repeating our treatment towards Mexico in the case of Texas. Our citizens settled in Texas under promise of obedience to the laws of Mexico, but as soon as they were strong enough they revolted and set up a government for themselves to be ultimately added to the United States. [Douglass 1895: 95]

Although the debate was partisan it was philosophically significant. Tate says:

The Hawaiian controversy was more than a partisan issue; it actually initiated the great debate in American history over the merits of imperialism. [Tate 1965: 315]

Had it not been for a "Splendid Little War" this debate might well have gone on until it petered out. Tate says:

Simultaneously with the growth of the annexationist movement in Hawaii, in which economic motives, revolving around sugar and large shipping and mercantile interests, were the strongest elements, there emerged an influential group in the United States advocating the acquisition of outlying possessions, Thomas F. Bayard, in a conversation with H.A.P. Carter, four years before the revolution and almost a decade prior to annexation, mentioned that there was "evidently in the United States a growing consciousness of the possession of large material resources — superabundant population, a great deal of money, and a disposition to extend themselves beyond their present boundaries." The Secretary referred to the interest in a Panama canal, the Nicaraguan treaty, and Senator Edmund's pet idea of acquiring political control of Central America, and thought all these things should be considered in respect to the conduct of affairs in the Sandwich Islands. Thus the annexation of Hawaii fitted in with that "large policy" of a big navy, an isthmian canal, a two-ocean fleet, with appropriate bases for it espoused by Americanists and others in the United States at the close of the nineteenth century. The strategic or defense argument for the annexation of Hawaii perhaps received more attention than any other, but prior to the Spanish-American war, it carried little weight with the American public. Perhaps if that war had not come when it did, Hawaii might not have been annexed for years. [Tate 1965: 310-311]

Further imperial expansion on the part of the United States was certain to put her into conflict with other colonial powers. This meant war. Probably the only significant colonial power that the United States was capable of defeating was Spain. Spain still held remnants of her crumbling empire. Conveniently enough two of these, Cuba and Puerto Rico, were included in the area of Manifest Destiny.

Farrell says:

Eager to drive America into imperialism was a small cadre of ambitious Americans who held influential positions in politics, education, business, and the mass media. They felt America should become a world power, and that the only way to have an empire was to have a strong merchant marine. That merchant marine, the lifeline of American capitalism, would need a strong navy to protect it. And the only way to get a strong navy out of Congress was to have a war. Close at hand was the barbaric rule of Spain over Cuba. And eager to put his hand into American history was a young man of great aggressiveness: Theodore Roosevelt. [Farrell 1986: 9]

As early as 1873, a motley crew of Americans and Cuban expatriates had attempted to intervene in Cuba. Cuba was in an almost constant state of revolution. Officially, America was neutral although her sympathies always lay with American rebels. In *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power*, May discusses the attitude of Americans toward the Cuban revolt:

In most American eyes, the rebels were fighting for an independent republic and for such American-patent blessings as free enterprise, free schools, and free churches. Even the most isolationist American newspapers, such as the *New York Evening Post*, the *Springfield Republican*, and the *Boston Transcript*, expressed hope that the Cubans would succeed. The *Boston Herald* said on July 4, 1895, that if the rebels proved themselves in battle, it might become the duty of the United States to step in with good offices and secure for Cuba either independence or home rule. [May 1991b: 69]

The war originated in the Cuban struggle for independence from Spain that began in 1895. The extraordinary brutality of the Spanish forces on the island was played up in American newspapers and aroused sympathy across the United States. In addition the



United States had a genuine economic interest in seeing Cuba become independent.

Business investments on the island were estimated at \$50 million, and trade with Cuban ports was valued at \$100 million a year.

Particularly appalling to most Americans were the policies of the Spanish general Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, nicknamed “Butcher.” He rounded up Cubans who were considered disloyal to Spain and put them in concentration areas near the cities. There they were exposed to the ravages of hunger, disease, and poor sanitation. In *America’s Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion*, H. Wayne Morgan says:

What threats, bribery, and war could not accomplish, fire and the machete might. On February 16, 1896, the new Captain-General, Valeriano Weyler, proclaimed the policy of reconcentration. If the rebels would not fight in the open field, he would herd their women, children, and old people into cities and towns, construct elaborate defenses, and systematically reduce the countryside until it would not support the insurrection. It was a brutal method that inflamed American public opinion, the press, pulpit, and government. A later generation inured to the prospect of total annihilation may find this hard to believe; but the era’s concept of war did not encompass the destruction of nonmilitary property, ravagement of whole provinces, and murder of noncombatants. New York newspapers titled Weyler “Butcher” and said succinctly: “Weyler has turned the island into a prison.” So pacific and patient a man as President McKinley said tersely in his annual message of December 6, 1897: “It [reconcentration] has utterly failed as a war measure. It was not civilized warfare. It was extermination.” [Morgan 1965: 7-8]

These facts were graphically depicted in the newspapers owned by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer — both of whom were eager for war with Spain.

By 1896 there were demands by the American public and Congress for intervention in the war between Spain and Cuba. President Grover Cleveland and his successor, William McKinley, however, were both opposed to taking part in the conflict. In the autumn of 1897, Spain offered concessions to the Cuban rebels. It recalled Gen. Weyler and promised Cuba its own parliament. The insurgents responded by declaring they wanted full independence.

All attempts to end the struggle and reach an accommodation with Spain proved futile. When riots broke out in Havana in December, the United States sent the battleship *Maine* to Cuba to protect American interests. On the night of 15 February 1898, a huge explosion destroyed the *Maine*. Two hundred sixty-six American lives were lost. A court of inquiry reported to President William McKinley that the ship was destroyed by a mine. Later investigators have concluded that the explosion was internal. Whether the explosion was internal or external, there has never been any evidence that Spain had anything whatsoever to do with the sinking. But the sinking of the *Maine* served as a pretext. As Morgan says:

**“It was manifest that the loss of the *Maine* would lead to war, even if it were shown that Spain was innocent of her destruction,’ Secretary Long remembered.” [Morgan 1965:52]**

The outcry “Remember the Maine, and to hell with Spain” arose immediately across the United States and was strongly supported by the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers. Hearst was so confident in the power of the press that he wired his homesick correspondent in Cuba, Frederic Remington, “Please remain. You furnish the pictures, and I’ll furnish the war.”

Some have incorrectly blamed or credited the press with the Spanish-American war. This myth is pervasive but it is outside the scope of this study so back to our “splendid little war.”

Some have looked upon the Spanish-American war as a Joke. Others like Morgan claim that it is one of the most significant events in American history. He says:

John Hay called it “The Splendid Little War. Theodore Roosevelt thought that it wasn’t much of a war but it was the only one we had. The generation of Americans that fought it often thought it was a lark. It lasted a mere three months and was relatively cheap in human life. But it made legends in American military history and had profound diplomatic, economic, and political

repercussions around the world. It dated American entry into the arena of world affairs. It was of course, the Spanish-American War of 1898. [Morgan 1965: ix]

On 27 March President McKinley sent an ultimatum to Spain and offered American mediation. Secretly he sent another note declaring that nothing less than Cuban independence would be satisfactory.

All peace efforts failed. President McKinley sent Congress his war message on 11 April, asking for the authority to use the armed forces, “to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba.” Congress passed resolutions calling for war. Included was the Teller Amendment, which declared that the United States had no intention of exercising sovereignty over Cuba. When the resolutions were passed, Spain broke off diplomatic relations and declared war on 24 April.

The war was fought on two fronts — in the Caribbean and in the Pacific. Spain was in no way prepared to conduct a major naval conflict against the United States. The United States had four new battleships, the *Indiana*, *Iowa*, *Massachusetts*, and *Oregon*, in its North Atlantic squadron. Commodore George Dewey’s Asian squadron was far more powerful than the antiquated Spanish ships at Manila. Had the war been fought mainly on land, the outcome might well have been different. The United States Army was ill-prepared to fight a major land war. Fortunately for the United States, the quick work of its Navy on two fronts made land combat largely unnecessary.

In the Caribbean the Spanish ships under Adm. Pascual Cervera y Topete, which were anchored in Santiago harbor, were blockaded by the North Atlantic squadron. An army of regulars and volunteers, including Theodore Roosevelt’s Rough Riders, left Tampa, Fl. and arrived in Cuba east of Santiago under the command of Col. Leonard

Wood and Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt. On 1 July, the outer defenses of Santiago were penetrated in the battles of El Caney and San Juan Hill. On 3 July Adm. Cervera y Topete led his ships from the harbor, and they were destroyed or beached by American gunfire. American losses were negligible.

But there was another theatre of this war. Cohen says:

Incidental to the operations against Spain was an order sent on April 24 to George Dewey, in command of the American Asiatic Fleet: proceed to the Philippines and destroy the Spanish fleet there." [Cohen 1980: 44]

For 300 years, the Philippines had been little more than a crossroads on the galleon route from Acapulco to Madrid. Remember that during those years, the traditional Philippine social structure had adapted itself to Spanish colonialism. In the Marianas, the Chamorro-Guamanian social structure had made almost an identical accommodation.

Well before the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, the Philippines had begun to establish relationships with other nations.

The galleon trade ended when Spain lost her Latin American empire in the early 19th century. The Philippines then established direct trade links with Spain, Great Britain and the United States. The need for export crops hastened the development of plantation agriculture, which had been under way since the late 18th century. Tobacco, copra, indigo, and especially sugar became the leading exports. Many mestizos became wealthy sugar planters. With their new wealth, they had their children educated abroad. The educated mestizo youths, who were known as *ilustrados* (enlightened ones), demanded greater power in governing the colony. They became the nucleus of a growing nationalism in the Philippines.

This nationalist sentiment burst forth in 1872, when three Filipino priests who had been charged with leading a military mutiny at an arsenal in Cavite were executed by the Spaniards. This enraged the *ilustrados*. They protested, and many were imprisoned or exiled.

Led by Jose Rizal, Filipino intellectuals and students met in Europe and founded the “Propaganda Movement” to promote the Philippine cause. Their aim at that time was to get such reforms as legal equality for Filipinos and Filipino representation in the Spanish government in Madrid — not to win independence from Spain. By the mid-1890’s, however, Rizal and his colleagues were becoming increasingly disillusioned, and some participants in the Propaganda Movement had abandoned any hope of peaceful change. They had come to feel that revolution was the only salvation for their country.

At this time Andres Bonifacio, a young clerk in Manila, was building a secret paramilitary revolutionary organization, the *Katipunan*. Its goal was an independent Philippines. Although he lacked the support of the *ilustrados*, Bonifacio launched an armed rebellion in San Juan del Monte in August 1896. Meanwhile, Rizal had returned to the Philippines and had been jailed and then released. When the *Katipunan* revolt broke out, he was again arrested. Although he had refused to support Bonifacio, Rizal was executed on 30 December 1896. Rizal’s martyrdom brought the *ilustrado* and *Katipunan* forces together.

During the subsequent conflict between the Filipino and the Spanish forces, Emilio Aguinaldo, a young member of the provincial elite, emerged as the best of the Filipino generals. A leadership struggle erupted between him and Bonifacio, and Bonifacio was eventually killed. This badly weakened Filipino unity, but the Spanish

were also enmeshed in a revolt in Cuba. They were eager to end the fighting. They offered Aguinaldo and his supporters amnesty and an indemnity payment if Aguinaldo would go into exile. Aguinaldo agreed and in December 1897 left the Philippines.

Spain's reprieve was brief, however. The first blow fell in Manila Bay on 1 May 1898. Dewey destroyed the anchored Spanish ships in an early morning attack in which not one American sailor was lost. Aguinaldo then returned from exile and, expecting United States support, re-established his forces.

There was a curious little "battle" and "invasion" that took place as a sidelight to the Pacific theater of the war.

On 4 June, Capt. Henry Glass commanded a convoy led by the U.S.S. *Charleston* out of Hawaii under sealed orders to capture Guam, deal with the fighting population and then proceed to Manila.

On 20 June, this convoy arrived at Guam. Neither the government nor the people of the Marianas knew that a state of war existed, so it was with curiosity rather than apprehension that the Spanish watched the American warship arrive in the harbor. The *Charleston* fired 10 shots that scared the hell out of a couple of fishermen. The Spanish thought this was a salute so they sent a delegation under the captain of the port, Lt. Cmdr. Don Francisco García Gutierrez to meet them. Glass told the delegation, that the United States and Spain were at war and that they were prisoners of war. He then paroled them with a letter demanding that the governor come to the ship. The governor, Lt. Col. Juan Mariana, informed the Americans that Spanish military law forbade him from boarding a foreign vessel and, in turn, invited the captain to visit his palace. The following morning Glass sent a shore party with a letter demanding the surrender of the Spanish government

and garrison. The Spanish, faced with superior forces and with very little in the way of defenses, surrendered. The governor and Spanish military personnel were taken to the Philippines. No American government official was left behind.

According to the American reports of the capture of Guam, the Spaniards and Guamanians were treated with kindness and respect. The Americans claimed that the Chamorro-Guamanians were overjoyed at being released from the Spanish yoke.

According to the Spanish priests, however, it was done with cruelty. They described the treatment of the Spanish soldiers and their families as barbaric because the Spanish officials were not permitted to visit their families before departure.

They were, however, permitted to write letters to their families — letters that the American lieutenant in charge did not open, because he considered them private correspondence.

Let's return to the Philippine campaign of "The Splendid Little War."

By the end of July, 11,000 American troops under the command of Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt had arrived in the Philippines. On 13 August they occupied Manila.

Of the Pacific front of this war, Cohen says:

Dewey carried out his assignment and approximately three months later, Spain was prepared to accept the defeat in battle it had fully anticipated, but which the Court had believed preferable to ignoble surrender. The Philippines had fallen to rebel and American arms and the painful decision of determining the future of these islands rested with President McKinley. After several months, the President yielded to the impulse to imperialism. The United States acquired a distant colony. America had an empire. [Cohen 1980: 44-45]

On 18 July 1898, Spain asked France to help arrange an end to hostilities. The fighting was over in about 10 weeks.

While the victorious Americans were preparing to negotiate the peace, Japan and Germany began to move into the Pacific islands as the Spanish left. Germany wanted a

division of the Philippines — a suggestion that the Americans rebuffed. Germany then negotiated a secret agreement with Spain to purchase the Marshalls, the Carolines and all the Marianas except Guam. For some inexplicable reason, the United States allowed this to happen.

The formal peace negotiations took place in Paris, beginning on 1 October . The American representatives had committed themselves to an expansive imperialistic policy for the United States. Spain granted Cuba her independence, and the United States purchased Puerto Rico and Guam for \$20 million.

The difficult issue was the Philippines. McKinley was undecided on what to do about the 7,000-island former Spanish colony. Soon, however, he was caught up in the fervor of imperialism that was sweeping the United States. He finally concluded that:

**The march of events rules and overrules human action.**

At the outbreak of war, it was not America's intention to take colonies. As Richard W. Leopold says in *The Growth of American Foreign Policy: a History*:

**Before May 1, 1898, few, if any, Americans expected that armed intervention in Cuba would require a decision on colonies. The clash with Spain was humanitarian in origin, not imperialistic. The orders to Dewey spoke of destroying a fleet, not of capturing an archipelago. The Teller resolution intended to liberate Cuba, not annex it. The expansionist of the [1890's] had not sought any part of the Spanish Empire. In retrospect, to be sure, it seems incredible that the administration did not foresee the territorial temptation a successful war would bring or the strategic dilemma a victory at Manila would pose. In light of the subsequent peace, McKinley's earlier talk of forcible [annexation] being criminal aggression rings hollow, and it is not easy to dismiss the President as a fool or a knave — a fool for not anticipating the consequences of a Spanish defeat, a knave for misleading the people about his true aims. But a sounder explanation of this controversial episode is that, like most of his countrymen, he was swept along by the logic of events, by a vague sense of duty and destiny, and by the belated realization that it was simpler to retain, at least temporarily, the lands that fell to American arms than to give them up immediately. [Leopold 1965: 180]**



The Philippines would be annexed, and, in the words of New York *Tribune* editor Whitelaw Reid, the Philippines would convert the Pacific Ocean into an American lake.

Spain parted with the Philippines in exchange for another of \$20 million from the United States. In so doing Spain lost the last remnants of her world empire and for the first time in centuries she could concentrate on internal problems and development.

A number of reasons have been offered for the decision of McKinley to become an imperialistic power. All of them are correct, none of them is complete. Cohen says:

The roots of American imperialism were varied and only a fool or an ideologue would insist on one cause for the decision to take the Philippines. But it must be remembered that American businessmen, hitherto opposed to the acquisition of colonies, convinced that superiority in production and marketing techniques would guarantee the commercial hegemony of the United States, now had reason to change their minds. While some worried about economic stagnation at home and others worried about threatened European reprisals against the Dingley tariff, still others warned that European and Japanese imperialists were in the process of closing the door to American commerce in China. Now Dewey's victory at Manila provided an opportunity for the United States to establish a foothold in the Far East, to be in a position to compete with the other powers for the treasures and markets of the Orient. As Richard Leopold has written, "the desire for the Philippines and a concern for China became mutually supporting" — and there was no shortage of men to call this to the President's attention. Theirs were not the only voices McKinley heard urging him on, nor is there any evidence to suggest that he listened to these with particular care. But if, as is generally accepted, the opposition of business interests to war with Spain had reinforced McKinley's own reluctance, then the absence of business opposition to imperialism in the fall of 1898 made McKinley's decision to follow the will of the public that much easier. The United States became an Asiatic power. [Cohen 1980:45]

Once the United States had sacrificed her virginity on the alter of imperialism, she apparently asked herself, "what harm will one or two more do?" and she formally annexed the Kingdom of Hawaii, American Samoa and American Virgin Islands. This signaled a turnabout for McKinley. As May says in *Imperial Democracy*:

The war appeared to change McKinley. He came out for Hawaiian annexation. He resolved to keep some foothold in the Philippines. Eventually he

decided to take the whole archipelago, Guam, and Puerto Rico. He seemed to become an imperialist. [May 1991b: 243]

The reaction of the emerging power Japan to the American annexation of the Hawaiian Islands was discussed above. Her reaction to the annexation of the Philippines is interesting. Iriye says:

Similarly, though there were some within the government who wanted to expand in the Philippines, the official policy in 1898 was to welcome American annexation. The main concern of the Japanese government was to prevent a potentially hostile power from getting hold of the islands. For this reason American or British control of the Philippines was considered a desirable outcome. Emilio Aguinaldo and other insurgents turned to Japan for help against the American colonial administration, but the Tokyo government was in no mood to champion their cause and invite friction with the United States. Rather, it was considered best to acquiesce in the American rule of the islands as a contributory factor to the balance of power in the Far East. [Iriye 1992: 74]

In America, the flush of victory was soon dissipated and the nation became fiercely divided over the matter of imperialism. The Filipinos rallied to Aguinaldo, and on 23 January 1899, at the city of Malolos, a Philippine constitution was put into effect. Aguinaldo was elected president of a new Philippine Republic. He soon realized that the United States, which had acquired the Philippines from Spain in December 1898, would not give the Philippines her independence. The war for independence was resumed, this time against the United States.

To keep the Philippines the United States fought a bloody three-year guerrilla war. She found herself doing in the Philippines precisely what she had condemned Spain for doing in Cuba. It has been estimated that more than 600,000 Filipinos were killed in the insurrection. The actual number is probably much higher, though exact figures have never been released by the Department of the Army. In February of 1899, the Army captured Aguinaldo and several other principal insurrectionists. Aguinaldo swore

allegiance to the United States. Other Filipino prisoners, however, refused to take the oath.

Maj. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, Jr., the father of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, sent these *irreconcilables* to Guam. On 25 January 1901, 34 insurgents and 14 servants arrived on Guam. A week later 11 more prisoners arrived.

Hostilities ended in the Philippines in March 1901.

Although public opinion was generally favorable or at least apathetic to the “liberation” and occupation of the Philippines, numerous opinion leaders and influential people were appalled. Mark Twain protested the conflict in a column for the *North American Review* in 1901. In one of his bitterest pieces of writing, “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” he said,

Everything is prosperous now; everything is just as we should wish it. We have got the Archipelago, [Philippines] and we shall never give it up. Also, we have every reason to hope that we shall have an opportunity before very long to slip out of our congressional contract with Cuba and give her something better in the place of it. It is a rich country, and many of us are already beginning to see that the contract was a sentimental mistake. But now — right now — is the best time to do some profitable rehabilitating work — work that will set us up and make us comfortable, and discourage gossip. We cannot conceal from ourselves that, privately, we are a little troubled about our uniform. It is one of our prides: it is acquainted with honor; it is familiar with great deeds and noble; we love it, we revere it; and so this errand it is on makes us uneasy. And our flag — another pride of ours, our chiefest! We have worshiped it so; and when we have seen it in far lands — glimpsing it unexpectedly in that strange sky, waving its welcome and benediction to us — we have caught our breaths, and uncovered our heads and couldn't speak, for a moment, for the thought of what it was to us and the great ideals it stood for. Indeed, we *must* do something about these things; it is easily managed. We can have a special one — our states do it: we can have just our usual flag, with the white stripes painted black and the stars replaced by the skull and crossbones. [Twain 1901:1398]

In the notes of *The Rhetoric of Empire: American China Policy, 1895-1901*,

Marylyn Blatt Young discussed the Henry Adams' ambivalent attitude toward the suppression of the Philippine insurgency:

As [John] Hay's closest friend, Henry Adams, put it "I turn green in bed at midnight if I think of the horror of a year's warfare in the Philippines;...we must slaughter a million or two foolish Malays in order to give them the comforts of flannel petticoats and electric railways ...I am certain that every member of the administration thinks as I do. We all dread and abominate the war, but cannot escape it. We must protect Manila and the foreign interests, which in trying to protect the natives from Spain, we are obliged to assume responsibility for." [Young 1968: 270]

William Howard Taft was appointed the first civil governor of the Philippines. In order to meet the embarrassing domestic and foreign criticism of its acquisition of the Philippines, the United States worked out a plan for eventual withdrawal. The "little brown brother," as the Philippines was called, would be granted independence when he had grown up and was ready for it.

In the meantime the United States was forced to accept the existing structure of Philippine society. The *ilustrados* were given positions that had been opened up by the departure of the Spanish friars and civilian officials. Salamanca says:

The Taft Regime was the first phase of the encounter between Philippine and American civilizations. In that confrontation, the Filipino elite — the traditional *caciques* and *ilustrados* on the eve of the American Occupation — were the most important single factor and emerged as the immediate beneficiaries. Their reaction limited the United States in its choice of a Philippine policy. They determined the range of institutional change; unavoidable, their attitudes tempered the reception of many an American institution which was introduced in the Philippines.

These developments took place because the cooperation of the Filipino elite meant the difference between the success or failure of the American program for the political, social, and economic reconstruction of the Philippines. If the Filipino elite did not in fact determine American actions, they nevertheless made it impossible for the United States to have a free hand with any important undertaking which did not have their endorsement or, at the very least, their tacit approval. The Filipino reaction to American rule, therefore, was essentially the reaction of the Filipino elite. [Salamanca 1968: 184]

As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States became a world power that controlled an empire stretching from the Caribbean Sea to the Far East. The war assured that the Panama Canal would be built, because the United States now needed

a two-ocean navy and thus that commerce would flow to both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The war also advanced the career of the assistant secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt, who won the vice presidency in 1900 and became president in 1901, when McKinley was assassinated.

The reaction of America to her new status was interesting. In *Racism in U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893-1946*, Rubin F. Weston claims that the reaction basically fell into two categories determined by the flavor of racism of the advocate. Both camps were populated by racists. The imperialists and the anti-imperialists believed that people of other races were unable to fully benefit from the *U.S. Constitution*. The anti-imperialists felt that if America annexed lands heavily populated by other races, these races would unfairly be given the advantages of American law — advantages that they would use because of their superior populations to rule Anglo-Saxons! Of the imperialists, he says:

Convinced that people who were not capable of self-government should not participate in the governing of Anglo-Saxons, the nineteenth-century imperialists used racism to compromise the American constitutional principle that all citizens of a republic ought to enjoy an equality of rights. The imperialist compromise was to allow the flag to advance *but to deny that the Constitution followed the flag*.

The anti-imperialist and the imperialists argued from the same premise. Both sides believing that the people of the newly acquired insular possessions were not capable of self-government. In the expansion which took place between 1898 and 1916, all of the noncontiguous territory acquired was inhabited by races considered by Americans to be inferior. [Weston 1972:258]

The Glass convoy sailed away to complete the second half of its mission. A naturalized American citizen, Francisco Portusach, claimed that Glass had named him temporary governor but since his commission was not in writing, his claim was disputed by José Sixto, the Filipino treasurer. A bitter struggle for power ensued between the supporters of the two men. The factions were ethnic. Sixto was a Filipino so all the

Filipinos and Filipino-Guamanians sided with him. There were three classes of Filipino-Guamanians on Guam: those who had immigrated voluntarily, and their offspring; convicts and ex-convicts; and political prisoners from the insurrection of 1896. Portusach was not a Filipino so the Chamorro-Guamanians, including the only Chamorro-Guamanian priest Padre José Palomo, sided with him.

Having a government is a necessary evil. Having two governments is chaos. “Governor” Portusach, for example ordered a road to be built between Agaña and Piti. “Governor” Sixto said he would not pay for it. “Governor” Portusach paid the workers by giving them tax credit in lieu of payment — they could take their pay out of future taxes they owed. “Governor” Sixto divided the treasury among himself and his cronies. Then he threw the lepers out of the leper colony. These actions brought the conflict to a head. Before it could erupt into violence, however, an American ship, the U.S.S. *Brutus*, arrived at the island. The commander of the *Brutus*, Lt. Vincendon L. Cottman, decided that Sixto was the legitimate temporary governor until the United States could officially take ownership and appoint one.

Fortunately, Cottman remained in port until a gunboat, the U.S.S. *Bennington*, arrived at the end of January 1899. She was commanded by Cmdr. Edward D. Taussig. Cottman briefed Taussig on the situation on the island. On 1 February 1899, Taussig officially took possession of Guam and all property owned by Spain.

The people of Guam had no political status whatsoever — they were not Spaniards, Americans or Filipinos. So began Guam’s long quest for political status.

Why did America want Guam?

According to Farrell:

The decision to take the Philippines was economic; the decision to keep Guam was logistic. Lobbyists in Washington wanted the cheap natural resources that could be imported from Southeast Asia and a ready market for American manufactured exports. America bought sugar from Filipinos and sold it back to them as candy at several times the cost.

The development of economic enterprise in the Philippines was, however, secondary to America's desire to share in the wealth that would result from commercial relations with China. Both reasons, though, made it desirable to have Guam for use as a coaling station, cable station and naval base. Ships of that day could not steam the 7,000 miles from San Francisco to Asia without stopping along the way for coal. Honolulu and Guam provided docking space for colliers, from which the steamers could reload their bins and continue on their voyage across the Pacific. [Farrell 1986: 14]

This was the first time America had acquired territory which she had no intention of incorporating into the United States. The debate in Congress was furious. Some claimed that the U.S. Constitution did not provide for acquiring colonial territory. Others claimed that it was America's obligation to bring other territories into the benevolent realm of democracy. The argument that was probably most telling, however, was that if the U.S. did not take and hold these areas someone else certainly would. Besides, "The American Empire" had a certain ring to it!

Taussig was not a wimp like the other American naval officers who had visited Guam. He had no doubts about his authority to occupy and govern the island — so he overstepped it. He saw the state of the current administration and set out to reorganize it — thus taking the first steps toward the Americanization of Guam.

Again the reports of the American officers are in stark contrast to the reports of the Spanish priests. Taussig had the books inspected and immediately set out to collect the money that Sixto had paid himself and his friends. He managed to accumulate a sum of nearly \$3,000 — everyone except Sixto settled up. This was called the treasury by the Americans. The priests referred to it as "stolen money."

Taussig ordered that all of the laws of the Spanish administration remain in effect until changed by competent authority. This included the tax structure. It is worth noting the tax structure that the Americans inherited. Farrell says:

Village-level revenues were generated in several ways. There was a head tax of \$1.50 per year upon each male between the ages of eighteen and sixty. There was also taxes on the slaughtering of cattle, branding of livestock, and cockfighting. Funds for the general treasury came from taxes on real estate, industry, and exemptions from forced labor. The real estate tax was 5 percent on revenues produced. Total revenues for the local government were \$600 per month, while expenses averaged \$725.

This tax structure maintained the superiority of the landholding class. The Spanish residents owned large land grants, gifts from the Spanish Crown for loyalty. They kept Chamorro and Filipino servants in a system of feudal peonage. Those able to buy their way out of labor held those who could not in bondage. Taxes favored the rich and put a heavy burden on the poor, who constituted the majority of the population. The tax system would remain in force for the time being, however, in accordance with Tuassig's first official order. [Farrell 1986: 62]

On 20 February the *Bennington* sailed for the Philippines, so the new American colony of Guam had again been left with no American governor. Before he left, Taussig had appointed a local resident, Joaquin Perez (note that in keeping with Americanization diacritical marks are no longer used because most American typewriters and printing press fonts did not come with them) to be the acting commissioner. Apparently Perez had been a part of a committee of influential residents that had helped the two naval officers rule.

On 24 March 1899, the collier U.S.S. *Nanshan* arrived under the command of Lt. Louis A. Kaiser. Kaiser had no intention of actively governing the island so he pretty much let the status quo continue. On 9 May 1899, the mailboat arrived from the Philippines and took those who did not want to be American subjects to Saipan. Sixto who had managed to square his 1,875 Mexican peso debt boarded and went back to the



Philippines. Kaiser removed Perez from the position of commissioner and replaced him with William Coe.

Coe's personal history is shrouded in mystery. He was the part American brother of the venerable Queen Emma of Samoa. He was accused of shady dealings throughout the Pacific. He was an associate of the infamous pirate William "Bully" Hayes.

In mid-1899, Guam first attempted to give herself political status. Several prominent citizens got themselves elected senators and had six others form a lower house. As soon as he heard of it, Kaiser put an immediate stop to it. He nipped Guamanian political aspirations in the bud. Farrell continues:

The stronger of the Chamorro leaders, encouraged by American, Filipino and Spanish residents had attempted to establish local autonomy. But their first faltering efforts toward self-government were dealt the coup de grace by the arrival, on August 7, 1899 of the U.S.S. *Yosemite*. When it steamed into Apra Harbor, it brought with it a sudden conclusion to all the free-lance political machinations on the island, for on board was the first American naval governor of Guam, Captain Richard Phillips Leary. [Farrell 1986: 73]

For more than a year after her capture no governor had been appointed for Guam — chaos ruled. Because of her distance from the United States and her value as a coaling station, President McKinley placed her under the control of the Navy — Guam became a military dictatorship!

At 7:30 a.m. on 7 August 1899, the U.S.S. *Yosemite* dropped anchor in San Luis de Apra harbor. She fired a 21 gun salute to announce the arrival of the new governor.

Leary's instructions read in part:

In performing his duty, the military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to its inhabitants of the Island of Guam, that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the security of the persons and property of the people of the island and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the military commander to announce and proclaim

in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, cooperate with the government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes, will receive the reward of his support and protection. All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed, with firmness if need be, but without severity as far as it may be possible. [Farrell 1986: 75]

Many Americans who had thought they were acquiring an island populated by savages were surprised to find that the Guamanians had a long established Spanish-Catholic tradition. The Guamanians had been led to believe that the Americans were barbarians and heretics. They discovered that, for the most part, the newcomers sought to help and befriend them. A certain amount of distrust prevailed for some time, however.

So Leary took over as governor.

In his first *Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Guam and to Whom it May Concern*, he announced that all property, authority and privileges which had belonged to Spain now belonged to America, that all political rights previously exercised by the clergy were abolished and that all Spanish laws would remain in effect until changed.

On 13 August 1899 Lt. William Edwin Safford arrived to take up duties as Leary's aide-de-camp. The first governor refused to live on Guam until the palace had been repaired. For nearly three months he lived on the U.S.S. *Yosemite*. He appointed Safford to administer the island. Leary seems to have preferred not to dirty his hands on America's newest possession. He is a difficult person to like. He does not come off as evil, just distant and cold.

But he is not nearly as difficult to like as Safford is to dislike. Anyone who reads Safford's writings and writings about him has to conclude that, whatever else he was, he was a very nice young man. Safford was instructed to do whatever he thought necessary

to administer Guam and not to bother the governor except in emergencies. He was, then, the de facto governor of Guam.

Carano and Sanchez provide a little background on Safford:

During the time that the governor remained on the *Yosemite*, government affairs in Agana were handled by this aide, Lieutenant William Edwin Safford. Safford was thirty-nine years old, a graduate of the Naval Academy, and a native of Chillicothe, Ohio. He was a studious man who had spent a great deal of time studying the plants and peoples of the tropics. Moreover, he spoke Spanish with ease. After his arrival on August 13, Safford moved into quarters over the public treasury. Among his possessions was a library of more than 200 valuable books. Two days after his arrival, Safford relieved the acting governor, William Coe. From Governor Leary he received instructions to do whatever he thought was necessary and to call on the governor only in emergencies. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 188-189]

Safford was an entirely different kind of executive than the people of Guam had ever experienced. Henry P. Beers was on Leary's staff. He wrote *American Naval Occupation and Government of Guam 1898-1902*, in 1903. It was not published however until 1944. Henry P. Beers says:

Lieutenant Safford assumed his official duties at Agana on August 15, relieving the acting governor William Coe. The governor directed him to use his own discretion and call on him only in emergencies; complaints were to be disposed of by him unless of an unusual character. All sorts of people soon began to bring their troubles to him in his office on the second floor of the Palace or to his home in the evening, and he received them with an unfailing courtesy and understanding that won him the regard of the people of the island. The lieutenant regarded his position as an opportunity to do something for the inhabitants and to ameliorate the conditions under which they lived, and in his dealings with them he asked them to treat him as if he were one of them and not to grant him favors because he was an official. He made an altogether different type of official from the ordinary Spaniard who had come to profit and depart. He formed a close friendship with Padre Palomo, the refined, intelligent and well-educated native priest, who was the most influential man on the island, and who became the lieutenant's advisor. [Beer's 1944: 24]

Guam was governed by decree. Farrell says:

Because the United States Navy, like its sister services, is a creature of regulations, and because regulations are generally based on precedent, the first

naval administration of Guam is significant. It set the precedents for fifty years of naval government on the island. [Farrell 1986: 82]

One can, with some certainty, determine which of Leary's orders were generated on his own and which were generated at the recommendation of Safford.

Leary's first two General Orders were, no doubt, his own. They dealt with the sale of alcoholic beverages. *General Order Number One* outlawed the sale of alcoholic beverages to people who were not residents of Guam before 7 August 1899. This order was intended to keep the Naval and Marine personnel sober. *General Order Number Two* forbade the importation of spirituous liquor. Its intent was to keep alcoholic beverages from being imported. On 1 November, Leary issued *General Order Number Eight* which forbade transfer or possession of any intoxicating stimulant. It concluded:

**Drunkenness, the chief source of crime and trouble on this island, must and shall cease.** [Farrell 1986: 137]

Of course, it didn't.

Several of Leary's actions were aimed at the Catholic Church. *General Order Number Four*, obviously his own, forbade the celebration of any religious feast day in public. While this appears to be an attack on the Catholic Church, Leary justified it as an attempt to halt unnecessary work disruptions.

Most of the early reporters who wrote about America's Guam wrote from such a charmingly ethnocentric position that it is sometimes simultaneously humorous and embarrassing to quote. Some historians delete these portions to save the feelings of the Chamorro-Guamanians. But the artless ethnocentrism is a part of the island's historiography and it reflects more on the writers than the subjects. With an ethnocentrism that is embarrassing today, Beers reports:

**Feast days, usually accompanied by spectacular processions, which delighted the simple natives, were the occasion for debauches lasting several days.**  
**[Beers 1944: 27]**

During this first month, Leary sent most of the priests on the Island to Saipan. He offered the three Spanish missionary priests passage to Manila. They were given to understand that if they did not accept this offer they would be expelled. Leary, like Cottman, felt that the Spanish priests were a disruptive influence on the process of Americanization. So this was a security move for the peoples "own good."

All children between the ages of eight and 14 were required to attend school. The public schools were forbidden from providing any religious instruction and from displaying crosses or pictures of saints in the classroom.

Leary's attempts to separate church and state got the attention of the archbishop of New Orleans. He decided to visit. After getting an official invitation, he went first to the Philippines. There he conferred with the expelled priests. He then wrote an angry letter to Leary. Leary replied by withdrawing the invitation to visit Guam and directing that the archbishop send all further correspondence to Washington, D.C.

It seems that there was something of an anti-Catholic bias to the Leary administration. Leary forbade the Chamorro-Guamanian priest, the only one he could not justifiably expel, Padre Palomo, from ringing the Church bells at 4 a.m. Because, he said, they disturbed the patients in the hospital.

The day began at 4 a.m. on Guam. The bells were the town alarm clock. They were the only way the populace knew the time. Without the bells, they did not know when to go for early Mass. Palomo started ringing the bells at irregular times. This so confused the population that Leary ordered that no bells be rung before the military band

finished playing the salute to the colors. Palomo began ringing them at 4 a.m. again.

Leary apparently decided to let well enough alone.

Fortunately for the people of Guam, Safford was interested in them. He obviously liked Guam and her people. He invited the people to bring their problems to him in his office or in his quarters and did everything in his power to solve them. To illustrate this, take the case of Benigno Acosta, who had borrowed 16 pesos to bury his mother. He had agreed to pay off the debt with labor, but his debt continued to grow. Acosta considered himself a slave. He appealed to Safford. Safford employed the man at 6 pesos per month and arranged for the repayment of the debt.

On 12 May 1900, no doubt at Safford's instigation, Gov. Leary issued *General Order Number 18*. It officially abolished the practice of providing money, goods or services in advance for future labor.

Safford began teaching English after work. In his personal journal, dated 2 October 1859, he says:

I myself have started a night school for English three nights a week. I have about fifty pupils, ranging from the age of five to fifty years. Among them, besides the natives, are a number of bandsmen (Italian) and Chinese servants of the officers' mess. I usually begin by pointing to various objects and pronounce the corresponding English names. My pupils repeat the words after me; then I teach them a few adjectives, such as long, short, thin, thick, hard, soft, illustrating the meaning by objects having these attributes; then a few verbs such as walk, sit, stand, fall, catch see, hear, speak. Most of my pupils do pretty well but the youngest do the best. [Albert 1931: 373]

The island's economy was in sorry shape, as was the government's treasury. The United States paid the salaries of Navy personnel and provided medical supplies. She made no regular contribution to the maintenance of the island's government. The island's central government was already collecting land taxes and a fee for exemption from corvée labor. Safford proposed a tariff on imports particularly those things that

could be produced and manufactured locally. This would increase government revenues and stimulate local production. Goods from the U.S. were not exempt. Leary signed the tax schedule but Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage modified the plan to prevent the taxation of American imports.

There were huge tracts of land in the hands of private individuals that were left fallow. Safford, as registrar of lands, made a study in the fall of 1899 of the land ownership patterns of the island. He felt that food production on the island would be improved if large tracts of unused land were distributed to those that would farm it. He drew up a land taxation plan that was intended to break up large tracts of unproductive land. The rates of this tax varied. Taxes were highest on land that was in town, lower if the land was suitable for farming, lower still if it was forested and lowest if it was suitable only for grazing. The rates also declined depending on how far the land was from Agana.

One of the largest landowners was Don Vicente Herrero. He owned a vast tract of land on the east coast south of Yigo and another between the Talofoto and Ylig rivers that was 16 square miles in area. The tax went into effect immediately and had to be paid at the end of December and the end of June. Not long after the tax came into effect, Herrero gave most of his land to the government. Most of the other large landowners did the same. The land was leased or given to people who if they farmed it could take title after a certain number of years, depending upon the type of agricultural enterprise in which they were engaged. As a method of stimulating food production, Safford's land reform was ineffective. Chamorro-Guamanians still retained the precontact cultural artifact of growing only the food that they needed.

Despite these new sources of income for the government, there was usually a deficit. It was made up by borrowing from the governor's \$10,000 emergency fund. Of \$5,632 borrowed only \$186.91 was ever repaid.

Leary's administration established a pattern of government on Guam that was to remain in effect, with the exception of the period of Japanese occupation, for half a century. Specific functions were assigned to various departments created by the governor. Each department was headed by a military man appointed by the governor who was directly responsible to the governor. Theoretically, the governor was responsible to the Secretary of the Navy, but because of the distances involved, and the limited communication facilities, the government of Guam was really a matter of one-man rule. Despite this, the naval governors of Guam were less corrupt than had been most of the Spanish governors.

Naval government introduced many necessary changes and improvements on the island. There were a number of civil positions that were carried over from Spanish rule like the *gobernadorcillo* or district governor. One of the first tasks Leary and Safford took on was the eradication of corruption. Safford had a *gobernadorcillo* removed from office for changing land records to benefit a friend. Leary had the *gobernadorcillo* of Agaña tried as an example to others. This *gobernadorcillo* had continued the Spanish practice of having government workers work on his personal "ranch," as farms are called on Guam, on government time.

As we have seen, some of the American regulations were capricious and arbitrary. They were, of course, intended "for the people's own good."



On 19 July 1900, Cmdr. Seaton Schroeder relieved Capt. Leary as governor of Guam. Schroeder was a Naval Academy graduate and was fluent in both French and Spanish. He had traveled the Pacific on a solar eclipse expedition. He had supervised the movement of an obelisk from Egypt to New York City. He also invented a rapid fire weapon that became known as the Driggs-Schroeder gun.

He also brought his wife Maria and their children. This was the first American military family on Guam. They were soon joined by others who formed a small social circle that included a few members of the neo-*matua*.

What happened to Lt. Safford?

Safford resigned his commission in 1902. He became assistant curator of the Office of Tropical Agriculture in the United States Department of Agriculture. While stationed on Guam, he had diligently collected plants and studied the Chamorro-Guamanian language and culture. In 1905, he published a valuable work entitled *The Useful Plants of the Island of Guam*. The book deals not only with plants but with the island's history and culture as well. This work is still one of the most valuable sources of information about the history of Guam. In 1920, he earned a Ph.D. Rogers says:

Modest and intellectually inquisitive until the end, William Safford died in 1926 without returning to the island where he had served the local people and his own government with quiet distinction. [Rogers 1995: 123]

Upon his arrival Schroeder announced that he would be first the governor of the people, and second the commander of the naval station. Essentially, he continued the policies of the Leary administration. He did amend Leary's infamous *General Order Number Four* outlawing public fiestas — he allowed fiestas with a permit.

A day of historical significance for Guam was 15 October 1900. On that day, the ice plant was opened. Farrell says:

The Chamorros were amazed at the frozen water and even more amazed that it would melt in their hands before they could get it home to show their friends. [Farrell 1986: 115]

When he took over, Schroeder was concerned about the state of the treasury. He was determined not to let it fall below \$10,000.00 (Mexican). Schroeder failed to take Guam's typhoons into account. In his *A Half Century of Naval Service*, he says of 19 July 1900:

It first began to be realized at about four in the morning that something unusual was happening. The barometer was falling rapidly, and the wind was so strong that the storm shutters in Government House had to be closed, barred and supported as well as possible from the inside. One shutter after another was crushed and everything wrecked within. Not long afterwards, a fierce ripping sound announced that the galvanized roof had begun to go, and in a short time the whole of it had been deposited in greater or smaller sections on the slopes and summit of the high ridge at the back. The occasional downpours of drenching rain added their quota to the terrifying conditions, and as cellars are unknown in Guam, not much refuge was to be found anywhere. At about noon the wind shifted rapidly to the eastward, showing that the storm had passed to the southward and was speeding on its way westward. I made my way out to see if anything could be and was being done to help the townspeople, but I found that several parties of seamen and Marines had anticipated me and were at work rescuing those in danger. The fury of the wind made it impossible to stand or even to crawl in exposed places; the only recourse was to lie flat and roll or wriggle to the shelter of some wall or low ruin, I reached a piece of wall and stood behind it for a moment to catch my breath, but soon was driven from there by fragments of it being blown off and, although brought to my knees, I escaped injury beyond a few bruises and a wrenched shoulder. By that time practically everything in the shape of tiles, timbers, roofing and coconuts that could be blown about had already been blown away and there was less danger from that source. But the sea was slowly rising, sucked up by the diminished atmospheric pressure indicated by the low barometer; and it engulfed all the low parts of the town, finally reaching the plaza in front of the palace. [Schroeder 1922: 255-256]

The *Yosemite* had been undergoing engine repair when the storm hit. She broke loose from her moorings and was carried over the reef. Powerless, she was carried many miles northward where she was found the next day by the U.S.S. *Justin* — she was sinking. The crew were transferred to the *Justin* and *Yosemite* was given a three-gun salute as she went down.

The typhoon was devastating for Guam. Virtually every building on the island except those built of coral masonry was destroyed. A wave swept over Inarajan killing 28, and a small trading boat was driven out to sea with two men aboard. It was never seen again. And five crewmen from the *Yosemite* were lost when their steam launch was swamped in Apra harbor.

The typhoon also destroyed most of the island's food supply. Schroeder commandeered all of the food on the island and rationed it. He also sent the *Justin* to the Philippines for supplies. Before the emergency ended, he had spent \$9,182 for disaster relief.

On 25 November 1900, the Pioneer Marine Battalion that had worked on the construction of Naval Station as well as on numerous construction projects on Guam was unexpectedly relieved by another battalion of Marines. The Pioneer Battalion had established a rapport with the Guamanians. The new battalion was somewhat unruly. Its members occasionally got so out of hand that the usually tolerant Chamorro-Guamanians complained to the governor. Schroeder reported to the Navy Department:

I have had occasion at various times to note and to mention to the department that many little actions on the part of the natives of the island indicate a friendly feeling for the American government, its flag, and its representatives here. This feeling is quite unmistakable and will, I hope, become well grounded. Among the less thoughtful the feeling of uneasiness engendered by the detestable spirit of lawlessness displayed by a part of the Marine battalion has undoubtedly checked somewhat this feeling of satisfaction with the new regime; but I am glad to think it is not truly representative, and the steps taken to restore order tend to reassure them; it is hoped that in time one prime difficulty will be removed viz. the dread by this peaceable and law-abiding people of complaining and testifying against those who maltreat them. [Schroeder 1901: 10]

In addition to typhoon relief, the treasury transferred \$3,000 and the people, both civilian and military, of Agana donated \$1,755 to a hospital fund. The hospital was named the Maria Schroeder hospital in honor of the governor's wife who had worked

tirelessly to collect the funds. The cornerstone was laid by Mrs. Schroeder herself on 10 June 1901.

Remember the *irreconcilables* who had been sent to Guam in 1901? Gov. Schroeder had the Marines and the prisoners erect a temporary prison where the leprosarium had been.

The exiles were allowed to wander about and socialize with the Americans and the Guamanians. On 4 July 1902, the United States offered amnesty to any Filipino insurgent who would swear an oath of allegiance to the United States. With a couple of exceptions all of the exiles accepted the offer. The prison camp was closed in February 1903. Teacher-lawyer Leon Flores (who was to found a prominent local family), the lawyer Pancracio Palting (who was to become a judge) and cook Maximo Lorenzo Tolentino decided to stay on Guam. On 4 July 1961, the Filipino community of Guam dedicated a memorial to the Filipino patriots held on Guam. The invocation was offered by Monsignor Felixberto Flores, the son of Leon Flores. In attendance was 85-year-old Maximo Lorenzo Tolentino.

Remember the lepers who Sixto had released in 1898? They had been living in the villages! In February 1902 Schroeder found out that there were four of them living in the community. After a careful search several others were located and others began to turn themselves in. He eventually located 24 lepers. Schroeder established a colony for them in Tumon.

In September of 1902, Guam was struck by a major earthquake. Almost all of the buildings made of coral masonry, virtually the only buildings that had survived the Typhoon of 1900, were damaged or destroyed.

Schroeder was a man of many interests. During his administration a slaughterhouse was built in Agana. He built schools, roads and bridges. He reformed the court system, encouraged agriculture and started a topographical survey. He was also very sympathetic to the quest of the Guamanians for local autonomy. A few prominent Guamanians circulated a petition requesting that U.S. citizenship be conferred on the people of Guam and that they be given some local autonomy. Schroeder forwarded this petition to Washington, with a favorable recommendation. It was also Schroeder who recommended that the United States government change the name that it was using for the Mariana Islands — it was still calling them the Ladrões!

It was during the Schroeder administration that Guam took her first tentative steps to becoming a communications hub of the Pacific. In 1901, the Commercial Cable Company and the Great Northern Telegraph Company created a company called the Commercial Pacific Cable Company. Commercial Pacific constructed a cable facility on Guam. In 1902 cable was laid between San Francisco and Hawaii. In 1903, cable was laid from Hawaii to Midway, Midway to Guam, and Guam to Manila. To celebrate the event, President Theodore Roosevelt sent a message to himself in 1903. It circled the world and returned to him in 12 minutes. In 1905, a cable was laid between Shanghai and Yap and on to Guam. By 1906, there was a cable between Shanghai and Peel, in the Bonin islands, and on to Guam so there were two telegraph routes between Guam and Shanghai — the mind boggles!

The Schroeder administration also welcomed the first Protestant missionary, the Rev. Francis M. Price.

There had been Protestants on Guam for a number of years. Protestantism had been brought to Guam by Chamorro-Guamanians. Jose Castro and Louis Castro had gone to sea as whalers. In Hawaii they converted to Protestantism and changed their names to Joe and Luis Castino. When they returned to Guam, they were welcomed by Jose Taitano and his 10 children. Let Price tell the story in his own chauvinistic way:

On June 24, 1898, the *Charleston* took possession of Guam for the United States, and the death-knell for political oppression and religious stultification was sounded. God's eye had pitied and His arm brought salvation. Two natives of Guam who had lived many years in the United states and Honolulu, and had become earnest Christians, Joe and Luis Castino, when they heard that deliverance had come to their people, were moved to return to their native island and tell the "old, old story." On their arrival Mr. Taitano welcomed them, and with his large family of six girls and four boys, openly united with them. The priests threatened them, telling them that they were still under Spanish law, and would be punished as soon as the Americans left. But the Americans did not leave, and the opposition only made these men more earnest. A daughter of Luis Castino, an earnest Christian of strong character who had been well educated in the Honolulu schools, opened a school for teaching English, and has prosecuted her work with great patience, energy and success. She is a good musician, and by playing the organ renders valuable assistance at the religious services. [Price 1902: 18]

When the first Protestant missionaries arrived on Guam, on 27 November 1900, they were received by this company of Chamorro-Guamanian Protestants and a contingent of Americans who worshipped with them including Gov. Schroeder and his family.

Price was a Congregationalist of "strong principles" and a crusader. He bought some land at Adelup Point from William Coe and built the first Protestant church.

Price was a man of his time — he was a narrow-minded, chauvinistic and bigoted. But it is obvious that his intentions were good. As offensive as much of his writing is today, one can gain some flavor of the Chamorro-Guamanian culture and the American paternalism of the time from reading his reports:

The beautiful island of Guam, the largest of the Ladrone group, has a population of about ten thousand, of which Agana, the capital, has seven thousand. There are two somewhat distinct classes of people here: those of Spanish blood (the so-called high-classed Chamorros), and the common people. the first class furnished the civil officers of the government and possesses most of the wealth and intelligence, though a large proportion of the poorer class have each his own home in Agana and a little farm in the hills. The blood of many nationalities flows in their veins, but the Malayan undoubtedly predominates and gives its character to the people. Their faces show them to be a weak race, and while many are pretty, few are fine looking. Some of the children are very attractive with their soft black eyes and olive complexions, but one seldom sees a beautiful old man or woman. The iron of the pure Gospel of Christ must be infused into their blood to impart strength to their characters and nobility to their countenances. [Price 1902: 11]

A bit later, after complaining of the Chamorro-Guamanian's smoking and betel nut use,

Price continues:

The clothing of the people of Guam is simple, and adapted to the climate. For men it consists of white cotton trousers and a blouse worn outside (very neat when clean) and for the women a cotton chemise, a trailing skirt, usually of calico, and a white, thin chemise, or over-waist, with low neck and large flowing sleeves. When the women go on the streets in full dress they usually wear a cotton kerchief, folded diagonally over the shoulders, with the ends crossed and pinned over the breast and another thrown loosely over the head. The well-to-do wear clothing of richer quality. It is hard for the children to get used to the superfluous custom of wearing cloths, and they throw them off and run about naked, in defiance of the law, at every opportunity. One little fellow was caught by an officer and locked up overnight for venturing too far from home undressed. [Price 1902: 12]

Not surprisingly, Price was shocked at the morals of the Chamorros:

Social life is, as a rule, very unclean and the sentiment against social sins is abhorrently low. Houses of ill repute abound. One who was in a position to know said: "Parents even in the best families would be glad to give their daughters in temporary marriage to the officers of the Navy who are married men for the time of their sojourn here." Such a thing is not, of course, allowed in our Navy. The thirst for white blood has something to do with this, but the sad thing is that public sentiment tolerates it. There are two reasons for this. The large fees demanded for legal marriages, during the Spanish administration, compelled many to live in unlawful wedlock, and thus lawful marriage was lightly esteemed. But much more than this the immoral lives of most of the Spanish priests and officers gave a religious sanction to vice. Some of the padres had children by different women in different villages and publicly recognized them. "They told us," said a Chamorro, "to do as they said and not as they did." [Price 1902: 14]

Apparently, Price's allegations of uncelibate behavior are not just the anti-Catholic ravings of a zealot. A woman, who shall remain nameless is amused by the religious character of one of her forbears.

"I was always curious," she said, "about how my family got so much land — we own hundreds of acres around here. Well, somebody found a diary at the Micronesian Area Research Center written by one of my ancestors. He was a priest!

"When a priest converted a certain number of people, the Spanish governor would give him some land. My ancestor was shackled up with a Chamorro woman and he had some kids with her. Well, whenever the governor would give him some land for making conversions, he would sign it over to his mistress and it has passed down to my family."

Looking at photographs of Guam during the Schroeder administration demonstrates graphically the Americanization of Guam. One sees women dressed in the fashion of America at the turn of the century. Writing for the 1903 *Independent Price* said:

No one conversant with public affairs in Guam can doubt, for a moment that the American Government, during the more than four years of its occupancy, has discharged its functions in the interest of the people. Speaking broadly, they are far more prosperous now than ever before, and, as a rule, contented. Many of them being of Spanish extraction they are naturally loyal to the Spanish name and inclined to criticize the American Government, but all admit that although the cost of living is higher, there never was a time in the history of the island when the people were so well supplied with the comforts of life. The price paid for a day's work is many times larger and rents have increased from \$3, \$5 and \$8 per month to from \$15 to \$60 per month. This change has affected the common people more than the better classes, and enabled them to live in decency and comfort. Said an intelligent Chamorro: "Formerly our lower class women rarely had an upper garment to wear, now almost every one has four or five *camisas*. As a clerk in a government office, and interpreter under Spanish rule, I received \$2 Mexican per month, now no one receives less than \$20 per month, and many much more." A large sum of money is distributed to the people monthly, and a very large proportion goes to the poorer people, who never handled money before, and naturally they like it. [Price 1903: 11]



On 6 February 1903, Schroeder was relieved by Cmdr. William E. Sewell.

Perhaps Sewell's most important contribution was *General Order 69* that formalized Guam's judicial system. His administration was also characterized by his work on revising taxes, prison laws, the control of commercial corporations and the control of gambling. He was also interested in education. Farrell says:

Sewell requested federal funding of \$25,000 for school buildings and \$6,000 for annual expenses to operate them. When finally established, there were actually two school systems: one for the American colony, with a school surrounded by a neat white picket fence to separate it from the village, and another consisting of schools in the villages to meet what the naval administration considered to be the basic educational needs of the island children. [Farrell 1986:130]

Many Chamorro-Guamanians were "land rich but dollar poor." They had difficulty paying their land taxes. The naval government was acquiring title to several plots of land every year. In general the government got only the poorest land —Japanese migrants usually bought the better pieces. The Japanese were rapidly gaining control of the economy.

Sewell returned to the United States on medical leave, after less than a year in office. He died soon after. Lt. Frank H. Schofield served briefly as acting governor. He was replaced by Lt. Raymond Stone. Stone held down the fort until the new governor, Cmdr. George L. Dyer, arrived on 16 May 1904.

Dyer does not seem to have enjoyed the island or its people. He felt that the people lacked ambition, and that they had no interest in change or progress. But since he was also convinced that no American would want to live on Guam permanently, he decided that it was necessary to train Guamanians to do the jobs being done by Americans on Naval Station. Guamanians, particularly Chamorro-Guamanians were not held in particularly high regard by Americans. Most Americans were convinced that

Chamorro-Guamanians could not be trained as skilled workmen or even as reliable laborers. Despite these assumptions, Dyer instituted an apprenticeship program whereby every skilled worker would have a local assistant.

Dyer was appalled at the sanitary conditions in Agana. Agana got its drinking water from wells. It was built on such a flat plain that waste material, both human and animal, seeped into the water table contaminating the water supply. Dyer wanted to build a reservoir on the Pago River. In 1902, Leonard Cox had made detailed plans for such a system. The cost was \$50,000 — \$50,000 that Congress would not appropriate.

All of Dyer's plans were not totally frustrated. Despite the shortage of funds he made major improvements to the harbor. And he built some roads and made other improvements but money was always scarce.

Dyer, or the Dyers, managed to make significant improvements to the Schroeder hospital. Susana Dyer got grants and donations from the local community, the naval community and from off-island to add a wing to the Maria Schroeder Hospital. This wing was dedicated to the treatment of women and children.

Dyer noted that there seemed to be a lot of people squatting on government land. In 1905 he asked for a cadastral survey or a survey of land which shows property lines. This was the beginning of a process of sorting out property titles that continues to plague the island to this day.

In late 1905, Dyer was replaced by Lt. Luke McNamee, who became acting governor. He put court officials on salary and had all fines and fees paid into the treasury.

On 2 March 1906, Cmdr. Templin M. Potts became governor. He was particularly interested in the health of the people. For years, people with a rare form of yaws that was unique to Guam, called gangosa, were diagnosed as lepers. During Potts' administration, however, doctors discovered that gangosa was a separate disease called tertiary yaws. Potts had them removed from the leper colony to their own facility at Ipao. He eventually got an appropriation from Congress for the treatment of this disease. It is to his credit that gangosa was eventually eliminated.

When Potts left in the fall of 1907, McNamee, now a lieutenant commander, again took over as acting governor until 28 December 1907 when Capt. Edward J. Dorn arrived. Dorn's first annual report was issued in 1908. It is an interesting document in that it represents about 10 years of the process of Americanization. Carano and Sanchez say:

By 1908 most Guamanians had accepted American rule. Ten years of contacts with fairly large numbers of Americans had wrought important changes in their ideas and attitudes. Acceptance of the American regime was shown by the enthusiasm with which the people of all classes joined in the celebration of America's national holidays. Moreover, respect shown for the authorities and flag and openly expressed confidence in the justice of the American government demonstrated the loyalty of the people to the new regime. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 208-209]

Gov. Dorn was pleased with the rapid advance of Americanization. In his *Annual Report* of 1908 he says:

The past year has on the whole been prosperous and peaceful, unmarked by any catastrophe, free from destructive typhoons and heavy earthquakes. The crops have been normal, the health of the island very good; the population seems law abiding, contented and happy: the taxes have been promptly paid and the business in the general shops has thriven. The enthusiasm with which the people of all classes join in the celebration of our national holidays, the respect which is shown the authorities, and the outward manifestations of respect for the flag, together with the openly expressed confidence in the justice and wisdom of the national government, argue a very satisfactory state of devotion to the nation whose flag has now flown over the island for ten years. There is every reason to

believe that, with the spread of the public school system and the sentiments thereby inculcated in the minds of the younger generation, the United States will have, in Guam, a most loyal and devoted possession. [Dorn 1908: 1]

Dorn recognized a potential problem with the economy. So many Guamanians were leaving the farms to take better paying jobs that Dorn was afraid of the effect of a reduction in federal largess.

One important change that took place on Dorn's watch was the conversion of the monetary system on 1 July 1909 from Mexican and Philippine money to the American dollar.

In that same year, Dorn began nudging Guam toward political self-determination. He began calling meetings of influential Guamanian leaders to advise him on proposed changes in laws. These meetings were the forerunners of the Guam Congress.

Dorn left in the fall of 1910. He was replaced by Lt. Frank B. Freyer, as acting governor. Freyer was relieved by Capt. George B. Salisbury. Salisbury worked primarily on improving the road network and agriculture.

In 1898, Lt. Robert E. Coontz had been an officer aboard the *Charleston* when she captured Guam. On 30 April 1912, as a commander, he became Guam's 20th American governor.

Coontz was interested in law and order. In his memoirs, *From the Mississippi to the Sea*, he wrote:

In my first address to the people I told them that I would be a hanging governor. If the person who committed a crime were insane, it would do no harm to hang him, and if he were not crazy, the ends of justice would best be served by hanging. There were no murders in the island while I was there. My successors were also hanging governors, and after the next murderer was executed in the center of the plaza at the capital of Guam, and the public was invited to witness the hanging, there was little trouble of this character. [Coontz 1930 : 334-335]

When Coontz arrived, Guam was experiencing a severe drought. The people of Agana had to line up at the ice plant to get water. Soon the rain came but Coontz wanted a permanent water supply. He asked Congress for an appropriation of \$11,000. Congress was so impressed with his proposal that it gave him \$25,000! He built a reservoir on the cliff above Agana and had water piped to it from a stream several miles away. Agana received a supply of unpolluted water that immediately improved the health of the residents.

Coontz' average day as governor does not seem to have been too arduous:

The routine of a day at Guam, when the governor was not visiting some part of the island away from the capital — I visited in turn each community — was to arise fairly early while it was cool and have breakfast served on a screened veranda. Always had papaya, a glass of fresh coconut milk and generally a couple of eggs on toast or fried bananas and some good black coffee, finishing off with hardtack and native honey. I am very fond of coconut milk. I was in my office until one o'clock when we had lunch, after which we rested for a short time during the intense heat of the day, returning to work until four or four-thirty. From that time until six-thirty practically all the men and some of the ladies played tennis. Then there was a refreshing shower and a tub bath and by seven-thirty or eight we were ready for dinner. Socially there was some activity nearly every night. Each officer in turn did his part. [Coontz 1930: 338]

In his *Annual Report* of 1912, he listed the surveying, mapping and recording of land titles; and the definite establishment of government land to be among the island's most pressing problems.

It was during the Coontz administration that the first motion pictures were shown on Guam. They used Dorn Hall as a theater. Dorn hall was used as a school during the day and a banquet hall or movie theater at night. One of the flicks had a scene showing a locomotive racing along the track at full speed. At one point it seemed to rush straight at the audience. This caused such a panic that adults rushed for the door and children

jumped out the windows. Fortunately the windows were open and low, so no one was hurt. It took a while to persuade the audience to come back in.

On 23 September 1913, Coontz was succeeded by his public works officer, Cmdr. Alfred W. Hinds, who served as acting governor until 28 march 1914 when he turned the reins of power over to Capt. William J. Maxwell.

Despite all of this Americanization, the Japanese continued to dominate the economy of the island. The Navy department invited a San Francisco firm, Atkins, Kroll & Company, to set up an office on Guam. The company set up an office in Agana and a warehouse in Piti in 1914. A.K. is now the oldest company on Guam.

Maxwell continued ongoing projects and started several of his own. Without doubt, the most successful was the Bank of Guam which he established with *Executive General Order Number 193*. Finally, in 1914, Dorn's long-delayed cadastral survey was begun.

By 1914, Guam was an American possession enjoying many benefits made possible by this firmly established naval government.

On 28 June 1914, the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand touched off a conflagration that enflamed Europe and eventually the world. Shortly after the war started, President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed the neutrality of the United States. When Maxwell was informed, he issued a similar proclamation for Guam.

Tensions had been increasing in Micronesia since the Germans had come to occupy their territory. As Farrell says:

Many of the actions of the naval governors of Guam during the early 1900s must be considered within the context of the military relationship between Germany and the United States. The two nations were competing for an Asian trade empire, and defended their ground with ever-expanding naval forces.

Although many of the governors of Guam and their counterparts in Saipan were on friendly terms, they nevertheless recognized each other as potential enemies and performed their individual duties within the confines of the policies dictated by their respective commanders in chief. [Farrell 1986: 91]

Although World War I was primarily a European war, Germany's ownership of the rest of the Micronesian Islands, brought the war to Guam's doorstep. While there is no doubt that the U.S. military on Guam would have been unable to withstand a German assault, American neutrality during the major part of the conflict provided an effective defense. The only incident on Guam during this conflict was the arrival and internment of the German cruiser, the *S.M.S. Cormoran*.

On 25 August 1914, Maxwell was notified by cable that Japan had entered the war on the side of the Allies. Almost immediately, Japanese and German warships began a deadly game of cat and mouse among the Micronesian Islands.

The *Cormoran* entered Apra Harbor, on 14 December 1914, and asked for coal and supplies. Since Guam was a neutral port she was not allowed to aid any belligerent. Maxwell gave the *Cormoran's* captain 24 hours to leave. But the *Cormoran* did not have enough fuel to make a safe port, so the ship and her crew were interned by the U.S. Two days later the Japanese cruiser *Iwate*, stopped off the entrance to Apra harbor just outside the three mile limit. A boat was immediately sent by Maxwell to meet her. The Japanese were told that the *Cormoran* and her crew were interned on Guam and would remain there for the duration. Satisfied, *Iwate* continued on her way. The 33 officers and 340 enlisted men of the *Cormoran* greatly outnumbered the Marines responsible for the island's defense. But the officers and men of the *Cormoran* spent their internment very congenially. They got along well with the Guamanian people. They participated in

community affairs. Some of them married into local families. One even married a Navy nurse.

In *Flight of the Cormoran*, Herbert T. Ward describes this union:

The improved relations enjoyed by all since the departure of the former island governor, [Maxwell] not only brought about a new spirit of comradeship among the men, but allowed romance to bloom as well. At three o'clock in the afternoon, on January 1, 1917, Miss Eleanore [sic] Blain, a U.S. Navy nurse, and Dr. Karl Von Gebhard, formerly of the German colonial service, and now a reserve officer aboard the *Cormoran* were united in marriage at the home of Surgeon and Mrs. A.E. Peck. A civil ceremony preceded the religious ceremony. It was preformed by Major Manwaring in the presence of close friends. During the ceremonies, the bridal couple stood under the marriage bell composed of "*cadena de amor*" suspended by long festoons of the same graceful flower. The magistrate and the Reverend Mr. Logan stood in a bower made of federico palms. The whole house was tastefully decorated, and the one hundred guests made merry to the strains of the thirty-five piece *Cormoran* band. The bride came on the arm of Surgeon Peck, and was given into the keeping of the groom by him, acting as proxy for her father. The bride was attended by Miss Natalie Johnson as bridesmaid. The bride wore white *peau de cygne*, a long veil of intricate lace, and carried a bouquet of gardenias. Miss Johnson was dressed in pale pink chiffon, and carried a bouquet of pink flowers. Following the ceremonies, refreshments were served. The bridal bouquet was caught by Miss Bartlett, the ring from the cake fell to Lt. Frank, and the penny to Miss White. [Ward 1970: 115]

In his *Annual Report* of 1915, Maxwell makes a rather shocking announcement concerning land ownership on Guam:

The order of the Secretary of the Navy to the first American Governor and Military Commander of Guam reads in part as follows:

"2. On taking control of the Government of the Island of Guam, you will particularly assume control of all Crown Lands, fortifications and public buildings on the island; together with such archives as may be found there."

The lands and buildings referred to in these orders may be said to be the only real estate under the control of the Navy Department which is in any sense held in fee simple, but, by a strange omission, title to much of the property is not recorded and the limits by metes and bounds to the larger part of it are actually undetermined; nor has the title thereto been passed upon by the Attorney General of the United States. Former governors have on their own individual authority alienated tracts of public domain, part of which may be "Crown Lands" and part the property of the island of Guam, and large tracts with unsurveyed boundaries have been "leased" for various terms of tenure.



The Congress of the United States has not alienated, or sold any land, nor has the United States defaulted on any lands in Guam. Original title then appears to be only "possessory" information, i.e. (when accomplished according to law) by permit to occupy for a period of years and possession secured by continuous occupation and development at the end of this time. In the largest number of cases of occupation in this island the requirements for obtaining possession have been disregarded by the people and the government alike, both as to survey, metes and bounds, and fencing, and the people have been allowed to believe that their occupation only needed to be nominal in order to secure possession.

43. A Royal Decree by the Crown of Spain, dated February 13, 1894, nullified all possessory information titles which were not perfected by April 17, 1895. As no titles in Guam were perfected by that date (or thereafter) all property at the time of the taking over of the government, so far as present existing known records show, was legally public domain and apparently "Crown Lands."

The courts of Guam ignored the Royal Decree and continued to issue possessory information titles, and these, after this issue of General Order No. 3 dated August 21, 1899, have become legalized in principle if not in fact by the signed approval of the governor of Guam to entries in the records of the Registry of Lands, Deeds and Titles.

During the existence of the Naval Government of Guam certain lands have been acquired for use of the naval establishment either by purchase or gifts from private parties, but as the Attorney General of the United States is not known to have passed on the title to any of these lands they cannot be said to be actually in the possession of the United States.

The United States Department of Agriculture has acquired two tracts of land by purchase, and money therefor being specifically appropriated by the Congress of the United States for that purpose. Title to these lands has been examined and approved by the Attorney General of the United States, and the authority of the governor of Guam to grant title is confirmed so far as such action is in conformity with the expressed intent of the Congress of the United States.

In the course of investigations of certain claims to titles during the current year it was discovered that the Royal Decree of February 23, 1894, by which land held under possessory information titles was escheated to the Crown of Spain after April 17, 1895, and the Royal Order providing for the manner of executing this decree dated February 13 1894 has never been published on Guam. The Royal Decree had never been found, but the Royal Order was discovered in the Court Archives.

44. The conditions of tenure of land thus have been very uncertain and the following method of giving possessions to nonspeculative owners has been devised and is being put into operation. [Maxwell 1915: 10-11]

Maxwell seems to have been the first governor to understand that there were no individual freeholds on Guam — every square inch of the island belonged to the United

States government. He also realized that he did not have the legal right to give or sell any land to anyone without Congressional approval. Maxwell decided to leave well enough alone. He announced that anyone occupying land had to come to the land office and register his occupancy. But:

**So many people believe themselves possessed of the land outright that few have paid any attention to this oft repeated call of the government. [Maxwell 1915: 11]**

Maxwell did not evict anyone who followed the rules of the land office. When their land was surveyed, the title was “searched” and the occupant was given a “possessory title.” He was then required to fence it and start paying tax on it.

This reads like an orderly process but it was not. Farrell says:

**For some time, the Navy had been experiencing difficulty in establishing the boundaries of government and public lands on Guam. It seems that although the residents could remember the precise boundaries of their own private property, no one could quite remember the boundaries of the adjoining government property. [Farrell 1986: 153]**

Dealing with land ownership disputes on Guam would drive Solomon crazy so perhaps it is not surprising that Maxwell’s tenure came to an end when he suffered a nervous breakdown.

Maxwell’s 1915 report also noted that there were six saloons and 16 “public women” who according to the governor got their living almost entirely from U.S. enlisted men. They were given medical checkups by Navy medical personnel every Monday and came to be known as “Monday Ladies.”

On 29 April 1916, Lt. Cmdr. W.P. Cronan became the acting governor. On 9 May 1916, Capt. Edward Simpson, the commanding officer of the naval bases at Olongapo and Cavite in the Philippines, was asked to take over until the new governor, Capt. Roy C. Smith, arrived. Smith arrived on 30 May.

In the meantime, on 31 January 1917, Germany announced a campaign of “unrestricted submarine warfare.” The U.S. severed diplomatic ties with Germany. As soon as the news reached Guam, all of the *Cormoran*’s crew were required to remain on their ship. After German submarines sank several American merchant vessels, President Wilson asked for and Congress passed a declaration of war against Germany on 6 April 1917. When word of the declaration reached Guam, the governor demanded the surrender of the ship and crew. Lt. William A. Hall was enroute to take the *Cormoran* as a prize. He met the *Cormoran*’s launch. The launch went about and ran for the ship. Hall gave chase. Marine Cpl. Michael B. Chockie was ordered by Hall to fire a shot across the bow of the vessel. This was the first shot fired by the United States in World War I. The Germans blew the ship up rather than surrender it. All but nine of the crew were rescued and sent to the U.S. for imprisonment. The *Cormoran* was, then, the first German ship sunk as a result of American entry into World War I.

Guam was the setting for one of the great forgotten love stories of World War I. Cpl. Hans G. Hornbostel was a German-born Marine assigned to Guam before the war. Because of his language ability he was instructed to make contact with a suspected German spy named Herbert von Costenoble. Hornbostel found out that Costenoble was in fact a spy; and at the same time he fell in love with Costenoble’s daughter, Gertrude. Gertrude eloped with Hornbostel in defiance of her father. When war was declared Hornbostel was given the unhappy, or perhaps happy, detail of arresting his father-in-law.

The cadastral survey continued slowly. The government still issued possessory titles. Smith recommended that whenever Congress passed general legislation regarding Guam these possessory titles be confirmed in fee simple.

In his 1917 *Annual Report*, he says:

111. In addition, there were 247 guarantees of title issued by the Island Government. All land titles in Guam are possessory. There were no titles in fee simple granted by the Spanish Government. The land therefore belonged to the Crown. Hence, in theory, the whole island became the property of the United States. The island Government has recognized the claims of owners who held by possessory title before the American occupation, also of certain others who perfected their claims subsequently. Since no United States land may be alienated without an act of Congress, full title to none of this land exists.

112. By recent Executive Order of the Island Government, the practice of granting any sort of a title to government land on the basis of possession for a stated term of years has been discontinued as illegal. But the Island Government has undertaken for some years to defend the claims of owners who have already secured possessory titles. [Smith 1917: 20]

In his next *Annual Report* he continues the theme:

78. In addition there were 399 guarantees of title issued by the Island Government. This means that the titles are guaranteed so far as the Island Government is concerned, and that they will be recommended to Congress for confirmation in fee simple whenever general legislation for Guam shall be undertaken. The subject of land titles in Guam remains very complicated. The situation was explained in my last annual report, also very fully in the governor's report for 1915. The squatters and others who are holding government land illegally will be slowly rounded up as the survey progresses. One or two examples have already been made. The rental for government land is small, whereas the fines and costs are severe when the delinquent is discovered. Genuine occupants of government land should have some way of acquiring a title after a certain lapse of time, accompanied by a minimum increase of value due to their own efforts. This will require an act of Congress, as public land cannot otherwise be alienated. It should be taken up in time, with other general legislation for Guam. [Smith 1918: 13-14]

Gov. Smith established the Guam Militia and instituted mandatory military training for all males from 16 to 23 years old. In 1918, on Smith's recommendation, the militia was recognized by the Navy Department as a part of the U.S. Navy Reserve.

Because the Americans had refused to join in the punishment of Germany after the war and because the Japanese had been on the allied side during the war, all German possessions in the Micronesian Islands were ceded to Japan at its end. Included were

such islands as Saipan, Tinian, and Truk, that were to become household words in World War II.

It was during the First World War that Guam took its next faltering step toward democratic self-rule. On 3 February 1917, Gov. Smith convened the First Guam Congress. Like Gov. Dorn's advisory panel, the Congress was made up of prominent residents of the island who were appointed by the governor. The Congress met on the first Saturday of each month to discuss any issues that came up. Also like the Dorn group, they could make recommendations to the governor, but they had no legislative power. While some of their suggestions were implemented by the governor, most were rejected. For the most part, issues dealt with minor village matters, but in June, 1925, the Congress asked eleven visiting members of the U.S. Congress to give U.S. citizenship to the people of Guam. Guamanians were to wait 25 years for the coveted American citizenship.

By 1918, Guam had benefited from or suffered under 20 years of naval government as the American colonial government was called. She had had 19 different governors. For the most part these governors had been decent men interested in improving the lot not only of their men but the local population for which many of them seem to have had a genuine affection. There had been a lot of changes since the Spanish had left. In the second volume of his series, *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Sacrifice — 1919-1943* Farrell says:

Through a series of nineteen different governors and acting governors, from 1899 through 1918, successive naval administrations worked diligently to improve the Naval Station and the island. Agana, which had been allowed by the Spanish rulers to lapse into squalid lassitude, was infused with the energy of Naval Station vitality. The government buildings were reconditioned and painted, and the surrounding areas landscaped. The roads were widened and

maintained. Water lines, sewer lines, telephone lines, and electricity were extended throughout the capital city. More private businesses were established.

By 1918, the Americans had transformed Agana into a clean and healthy Pacific outpost. The city had become a picturesque community of whitewashed buildings amid neat rows of nipa palm houses, its streets decorated with hibiscus, bougainvillea and plumeria. Public education had been established and was steadily expanding. The system was under-funded but the importance of schooling had been instilled in children and parents alike. [Farrell 1991: 17]

The funds for these improvements had always come from the Navy's budget.

Congress had been reluctant to accept such a far-flung island empire. The only reason it eventually acquiesced was the certain knowledge that if it didn't take the spoils of the Spanish-American War, someone, most likely Germany, certainly would. Guam was a naval coaling station. From time to time, Congress would appropriate funds for improvement of naval facilities but it never appropriated a dime to improve the civilian development of the island culturally, politically or economically. Congress appropriated money to build the Agana water system but that was for the health of U.S. personnel.

The first American governor, Capt. Richard P. Leary had used naval funds to improve the lot of the local population — in violation of the spirit if not the letter of naval regulations. This had established a precedent that his successors had more or less followed. It was, of course necessary to establish a military justification. But military justifications were found to build roads, schools and hospitals; to police the villages and to provide medical care in them; even to establish a bank.

Certainly the area of greatest success of the naval government was in improving health conditions on the island. In 1899, naval medical personnel faced a deplorable situation. A city of several thousand had no sewer system or water system. Dogs, pigs and chickens roamed the streets. Hookworm was pandemic. Tuberculosis, leprosy and yaws were common. Regulations forcing cleanliness and hygiene, the attention of Navy

medical personnel and a water and sewer system had made major improvements in the health of the island.

Even without the help of Congress, progress was made in other areas as well. The American colony, as the Haole-Guamanians and their families were called, did what it could to improve living conditions. Farrell credits this solely to a desire to improve the situation for whoever filled their billet when they rotated. But there is no doubt that many in the American colony fell in love with the island and its people. Military personnel and their families joined with island leaders to create fraternal and civic organizations. They participated in community projects. Some of them married local women, established businesses and raised families. Some of them, already married, stayed on the island to start businesses and raise their families.

These American-Guamanian families began to compete with and join the *Manak'kilo* (upper class) in dominance of Guam's social system. This addition only added to but did not significantly alter the social stratification that had existed on Guam since pre-contact times. In his memoirs, Joaquin Flores Sablan says:

Barrios were a factor in the caste system of Chamorro society. The caste system was an unwritten code, but it determined the status of an individual in the society. The criteria by which a person was measured included wealth, family line, marriage with the ruling class, rental of church pews in the cathedral, the barrio of residence and the type of house a person had. Status depended upon whether a person lived in a limestone-walled house or a wood frame structure with sheet metal roofing.

The oldest barrio was San Ignacio where the "high people" (*manak'kilo*) resided. The high people consisted mostly of those who intermarried with the ruling class: Spanish or American. Those who married Americans were referred to as "American Bamboo." The *manak'kilo* kept aloof from the common people, and some would not even allow their children to attend school, but had them taught by private tutors. The young people of the high class were reared strictly, and their marriages were usually arranged for them within the group. [Sablan 1990: 23-24]

As the new American presence continued to influence Guam's society, dark clouds were forming on the horizon.

Since Commodore Matthew G. Perry had, under the gun, opened Japan to international trade, she had followed an extremely aggressive policy of expansion in the Pacific. In 1894-1895 she defeated China in a surprise attack and took Formosa. In 1894, while still at war with China, she surprised the Russian fleet at Port Arthur and got a part of Manchuria. In 1910, she annexed Korea. Then in 1919, without shedding a drop of blood, she acquired all of the Micronesian Islands except Guam.

In Japan, foreign policy makers were divided. There was a consensus that the Japanese were destined to replace the *Gaijin* as the dominant power in Asia. It was in the methodology that the differences lay. The conservatives wanted to gradually develop Japanese dominance through diplomacy and economic domination. A more vocal group, the military flushed with success in Russia and China, was more aggressive. They said that American and European presence in Asia infringed on Japan's sphere of influence. They saw American bases in the Philippines and Guam as threats to their national security.

Caught between an isolationist sentiment in America and an aggressive Japan, depend on Congress to do exactly the wrong thing. In 1916, it passed the Jones Act. The Jones Act promised to withdraw U.S. sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize Philippine independence as soon as a stable government could be established there.



This decision pleased the emperor to no end. This was not viewed as a victory of diplomacy, the Japanese saw it as American cowardice. More than any other action of the West, this catapulted the militarists into dominance.

The largess of Congress meant that the value of Guam to the U.S. was in doubt. Guam's primary, if not sole, value to the U.S. was as a coaling station on the way to the Philippines. With no base in the Philippines, the Navy would have no justification for maintaining Naval Station.

A little over a week before the end of World War I, Gov. Smith discussed the relationship between Naval Station and Guam. His final annual report dated 25 September 1918 says:

The Naval Station comprises the whole island. The governor of the island is also commandant of the Naval Station. The facilities of the station are at present adapted only to the needs of the station itself. The purpose of the naval occupation is in the main to garrison and govern the island. The Naval Station furnishes the necessary legal organization. It could at any time be expanded into an actual naval station. The civil government, while carried on by the naval personnel, is separate, and is known as the Naval Government of Guam, and locally as the Island Government. [Smith 1918: 1]

In mid-1918, the population of Guam was 14,969. All but 845 were Chamorro-Guamanians — 625 of these were military personnel. There were also 104 Japanese.

Smith wanted major improvements in the island's infrastructure and political status.

Farrell:

Smith made several recommendations for the further improvement of the island and the station. The top item was a new station ship so that the quarterly health and commercial trips to Asia could be resumed. New buildings were needed for the Marines, and more sending power for the radio station. Members of the Guam Militia should be enrolled as Marine Corps Native Auxiliaries. The U.S. Congress should support capital improvements that would make the island more self-sustaining, and should "confirm land titles and enact a homestead law

for Guam. This to be taken up when general legislation for Guam shall be undertaken, including citizenship."

Governor Smith was one of a handful of naval officers who publicly supported a positive decision about citizenship for Chamorros. The Navy leadership recognized the need to retain Guam as a naval facility, if only for lookout purposes. But some Navy leadership also realized that if Guam was to be permanently retained as a naval installation, it was only just that the civilian population of the island, who lived under those naval regulations, should have the same political and legal rights that Americans had. Smith was one of those leaders, and he did much to invigorate the spirit of democracy during the early period of American military rule on Guam. [Farrell 1991: 21]

By the end of the World War I, Guam was well on its way to becoming Americanized. Congress had made no decision regarding Guam's political status. But English was the language of education and business. Universal military training was established. And the first faltering steps toward self-government had been taken. Like American children in the 1920s, the children of Guam could recite the Pledge of Allegiance, the Preamble to the Constitution and the Gettysburg address.

Some of this progress was to be lost under the next governor. Everyone who has been around a hierarchy, either civilian or military, knows that there are some people who float to the top of such organizations who, if brains were dynamite, couldn't blow their own noses. Such a man was Capt. William W. Gilmer. He became governor on 15 November 1918.

Most of the general orders and regulations of the naval governors had served a perceived need — some of them were carefully considered improvements in the island's social organization. Gilmer outlawed whistling in Agana! He outlawed interracial marriage! He decreed that every able-bodied man over 16 would bring in five rat heads per month or pay a fine of five cents for each rat head he did not submit!

The Chamorro-Guamanians had maintained an aspect of their ancient custom of matrilinearity through the Spanish custom of appending the mother's family name after

the father's family name. For example, Gov. Col. Luís de Ibáñez y García's mother's name was García and his father's name was Ibáñez.

Gilmer decreed that all wives and children would take the names of their husbands and fathers. He forbade social gatherings after 10 p.m. Farrell takes an unusually forgiving view of Gilmer.

To be fair, Gilmer was to some extent a victim of his own professionalism. A decorated war hero, having been awarded the Navy Cross, he found Guam to be something less than a tight ship. He attempted to correct the situation by governing Guam and its 15,000 Chamorros as if they were all enlisted personnel. He was also fighting an influenza epidemic, and in order to control the spread of the disease, he had to restrict social and religious gatherings. [Farrell 1991: 29]

Gilmer's most egregious orders were his interlocking decrees outlawing concubinage and forbidding "White" Americans from marrying Chamorras or Filipinas.

These two general orders are so ridiculous as to be worth quoting:

EXECUTIVE GENERAL ORDER NO. 325

Sept. 29, 1919

It is hereby ordered and decreed:

1. That the following amendments to the Penal Code in force in Guam shall have the force and effect of law in Guam from and after this date:

Paragraph 2 of Article 433 of the Penal Code is amended so as to read: — Adultery is the voluntary sexual intercourse of a married person with a person other than the offender's husband or wife.

2. Article 434 of the Penal Code is amended so as to read: — In cases of adultery the testimony of the offender's husband or wife shall be competent.

3. Strike out Article 435 of the Penal Code.

4. Article 437 is amended so as to read: — The man who shall keep a concubine in his home, or out of it, shall be punished with the penalty of *prison correccional* [Spanish for prison] in its minimum and medium degrees. The concubine shall be also punished with penalty of *presidio correccional* [Spanish for jail where minor infractions are punished] in its minimum degree.

EXECUTIVE GENERAL ORDER NO. 326

Sept. 29, 1919

1. It is hereby ordered and decreed that on and after October 1 1919, any white person residing in the Island of Guam is forbidden to marry any person

whole or part of Chamorro or Filipino extraction, and any marriage of such nature entered into on or after said date shall be null and void.

2. White persons are those of Caucasian extraction who have no Chamorro, Filipino or Negro blood in them.

3. When a person lives clandestinely, openly or notoriously with a person of the opposite sex out of wedlock it shall be considered proof of adultery or concubinage, and any such person not a native of Guam may be deported at any time by direction of the governor. Natives will be punished in accordance with Articles 433 and 437 of the Penal Code in force as amended by Executive General Order No. 472.

4. A white person who marries a person whole or part Chamorro or Filipino at any place other than Guam for purpose of evading this order shall be denied admittance to Guam. [Gilmer 1919: 10]

These orders were, of course, for the people's "own good." Gilmer no doubt saw himself as protecting the morals and the racial purity of his command. They were also for the Chamorros' "own good" because they were intended to stop the practice of sailors and Marines abandoning their families when they rotated.

According to Rogers, the effect was to condone cohabitation which, although so widely practiced as to be traditional, had been contrary to the religious customs of the community for the past 300 years or so. This would have been the case had only G.O. 326 been published. But taken with G.O. 325 cohabitation is clearly outlawed.

How effective these orders were is moot because Gilmer was not long for the job.

James Underwood was an American who had come to Guam during the Leary administration and the grandfather of Del. Robert Underwood, the current U.S. Congressional delegate from Guam. He was taking a trip to North Carolina to enroll his daughters in a boarding school. Some prominent residents of Guam took up a collection to defray the cost of a side trip. Using this money, he traveled to Washington, D.C., and met with the Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Robert E. Coontz. He asked the former governor of Guam and a friend of the family to get Gilmer off the island. Gilmer had

almost finished his tour so Coontz decided to let well enough alone but promised to assign a more sensitive officer as the next governor.

On 27 July 1920, Capt. Ivan C. Wettengel became the new governor. One of Wettengel's first official acts was to repeal some of Gilmer's most ill-conceived decrees — whistling in Agana, smoking in public and intermarriage. Out of respect for the office of governor, the repeals were not to take place until Gilmer's ship was over the horizon.

It is worth noting that Gilmer was an exception. Most naval governors enjoyed being governors of Guam and made it their primary activity — despite the fact that their main job was to command Naval Station. Most of them liked Guam and its people and worked well with the community. When they left, they were fondly remembered by the Guamanians.

As it happened, a naturalist named Henry E. Crampton traveled on the same boat as the Wettengels. He was writing an article for *Natural History* magazine. He wrote a description of Agana in 1920:

Agana is a town of great antiquity. Even at the time of first discovery there was a village on the plain within the shallow roadstead at this place, and undoubtedly this site was selected on account of the river that rises as a spring in the central hills back of the town, which provides the town with an adequate water supply at all seasons of the year. Agana extends for more than a mile along the shore, and has several streets paralleling the water front, as well as numerous intersecting roadways at right angles. Nowadays, the streets are well paved with the abundant limestone rock called *cascao*, or *cascajo*, which makes a very satisfactory surface. Good water supply is provided, and electric lights, as well. The general aspect of the town is most pleasing, owing to the cleanliness of the streets and the neatness of the white houses.

As limestone is very plentiful, the better homes as well as the government buildings are made of this material: the walls are thick, so as to make the interiors as cool as possible. Wooden houses are also made, and they, too, are whitewashed as a rule. If the roof consists of tiles or of corrugated iron, its slope is gradual, but if thatch is employed as a covering, the pitch is usually steep, so as to make an effective rainshed. [Crampton 1921: 132- 133]

Crampton contrasts Agana with the outlying villages.

The smaller villages distant from the capital are lesser counterparts of Agana, but more primitive in the nature of the case. They comprise fewer stone houses, of course, but there is always a stone church and usually one or two places belonging to the leading men are built of the more durable materials. Every town has its schoolhouse and teacher; and even in the smallest places the work of education is carried on. Lately a spirit of rivalry has been developed through the institution of district fairs, when the people exhibit their prize livestock and farm products as well as the best examples of their handiwork in the way of basketry and embroidery. The effect has been most stimulating, and has led to awakened interest in affairs that were formerly regarded as matters of drudgery and routine. [Crampton 1921: 139]

Crampton also provides a description of a day in the life of the Plaza de España:

Then, too, the routine of a naval establishment gives an unusual amount of life to the Plaza. Every morning at eight o'clock, the full band assembles before the palace, and the halyards of the two flag staffs are manned by Marines. Promptly at the first stroke of "eight bells," the band plays the "Star-Spangled Banner," and the national flag and the Union Jack are hauled up while everyone in sight and hearing stands at attention. All the children of the primary grades have previously assembled in formation on the parade ground itself, and after "colors" they go through calisthenic exercises while the band plays suitable music. On Sunday mornings, the men of Agana are exercised in military drill, which is compulsory for all able-bodied men within certain age limits. While they have a standard or uniform dress, this is worn only on special occasions. Yet dress parade is a truly dignified affair, for the youths maintain that erect and self-reliant carriage which is so characteristic of native races. Occasionally a most interesting drill is witnessed of the "carabao cavalry," as it is called, although the mounts are not water buffalo but domestic cattle. All through the day the bells tell the time as on shipboard, and bugles sound the calls that direct the military life of the station. Again at seven o'clock in the evening, the musicians assemble in the bandstand and play classical and other selections for an hour, while the officers and their families stroll about in the comparative cool of the evening: [Crampton 1921: 133-134]

A few months after Wettengel took his post, Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge were elected president and vice president. They had been elected on the pledge of a "return to normalcy." There had been eight years of Democratic leadership and a war no one wanted any part of. The Harding administration concentrated on domestic policy. The Senate had twice voted down the Versailles Treaty. Unlike the other allies, America did not want to punish the Central Powers. Since the Americans had been so

uppity during the peace negotiations, the other allies had not supported the U.S. efforts to keep Micronesia out of Japanese hands. Now all of the European powers' interests in Asia were threatened by Japan.

Japan held Yap, the hub of all cable communications between North America and China — including military communications. The world watched apprehensively as the U.S. fortified Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines; and Japan fortified the Bonin Islands, Formosa and Micronesia. Japan was in trouble here. As Farrell says:

Japan, unable in 1921 to challenge American sea power in combat or to afford a construction contest with the U.S., chose the only possible alternative: to avoid a war with the U.S. while promoting the expansion of its empire. Japan's government challenged its best diplomats to go to the Washington conference and persuade the U.S. to voluntarily forgo the opportunity to control the Pacific. [Farrell 1991: 45]

As usual in diplomacy, the Americans got taken to the cleaners and didn't know it had happened. The Japanese agreed not to build ships they could not afford to build if the Americans would not fortify Guam and the Philippines.

What did this mean to Guam?

Farrell says:

In signing the Yap Agreement, the United States recognized Japan's dominance in the Pacific. The security of Guam, the "key to the Pacific," according to some strategists was placed in jeopardy. In addition, Guam's immediate economic future was now doomed to stagnation. Under the Washington Agreement, Guam could not be fortified — that is, the U.S. Naval Station at Guam could not be expanded. By executive order, Guam was closed to outside commerce. America's strategic position in the Pacific was adversely affected. In essence, U.S. military policy in the region would now rely on Pearl Harbor as the advance island base, supporting a defensive line from Alaska to American Samoa. Guam and the Philippines would only be maintained as nominal supply stations while the U.S. did business in Asia. [Farrell 1991:51]

Guam had a wage economy. Now the people were expected to go back to the ranches and become self-sufficient. What this would mean to the Guamanians was 20

years of slow to no development followed by the invasion of more “Maritime Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places.”

With the Yap Agreement and the demobilization of American forces, America had withdrawn to a position from which most military analysts agreed that she could not project sufficient force to effect events in the west Pacific. She owned Guam and the Philippines but both could be had for the taking.

The Navy had a hard time finding competent officers to serve as Guam’s governors. Guam was the end of the line. Some wanted the job because they knew their careers were nearly over and Guam was a convenient place to save money and make a few shopping trips to the Orient before retirement. Those who really wanted to govern found their efforts thwarted by Congress’ niggardliness and the restrictions of the Yap Agreement. About the only way a governor could improve living conditions for the growing population was to have Marine and Navy personnel do public works projects — build playgrounds, schools, public latrines and so forth. This, of course did not benefit the local economy by pumping money into it. To the local economy, the end of the First World War and the Yap Agreement meant an end to military construction and the economic boom that went with it.

The economy slowed down and with it, the pace of life. Guam reverted to a backwater; but, this time a backwater of the American Empire. Farrell says:

In many ways, life on Guam in the twenties and thirties was a reflection of life in any small midwestern town in the mainland United States. Many of Guam’s approximately 18,000 people lived a rural, agricultural life, but without the supporting infrastructure, without civil government and with a myriad of little problems that complicated everyday life in this isolated island community. [Farrell 1991:59]

But what was life like?



The government buildings in Agana were solid masonry structures set among manicured lawns. Many of the town's leading citizens lived in equally solid though much smaller, replicas of the governor's residence. Most of the people, however, lived in very small wooden houses with thatched roofs. Each home was about sixteen feet by twenty feet and was raised above the ground on wooden foundation posts, with the floor and some walls constructed from rough-hewn hardwood planks. The thatched roofs had to be replaced about every six months, unless typhoons required earlier action. Windows were openings cut in the walls with no screens. A wooden shutter, held open with a stick during the day, was closed tightly by night to deter insects, peeping Toms and evil spirits. Often the walls were composed only of rough post frames covered with rattan, bamboo or coconut-frond matting.

The average house had no electricity, no running water and no indoor toilet, although there were occasional water hydrants along the street and some streetlights. With no toilets and few outhouses, it was the practice that every morning a member of the household or a paid boy would carry the family chamber pot to the shore and throw the contents in the ocean. There were no paved streets in the Agana of the early 1920s. Prisoners or citizens working off their annual head tax, filled in potholes and cleaned trash from the roads. Marine police officers and Chamorro trainees in uniform walked the streets of Agana at all hours of the day, protecting the city from litterbugs, tuba drinkers and runaway pigs. [Farrell 1991: 59]

With funds barely adequate to cover the cost of minimal maintenance requirements, governors of Guam found themselves with two primary responsibilities. First, they had to keep the military personnel military enough to service and resupply ships that occasionally came through. And they had to maintain law and order.

Law and order was maintained by the Insular Patrol. The Patrol was made up of what the Marine commander considered his most reliable men. They were detached and served as constables in the villages. But they were more than cops. They lived in the villages and served as examples of "good Americans." Farrell says:

The responsibilities of the Insular Patrolmen were as varied as those of any small-town policeman in the United States. As peace officers, they enforced the laws of Guam and brought offenders to justice. They were authorized to make arrests at any time and place, with or without a warrant. This amounted to considerable authority in the outlying districts where the patrolmen were responsible for enforcing sanitary regulations, game laws, speed and traffic regulations, dog licensing and prohibition laws. They were also to prevent the unlawful cutting of hardwood, superintend local public-works projects, combat

agricultural pests, inspect the water supply and ensure the castration all bulls not fit for breeding. [Farrell 1991: 78]

When Wettengel left Guam, on 28 October 1921, Lt. Cmdr. James S. Spore took over as acting governor until 7 February 1922 when Capt. Adelbert Althouse arrived. Very little information is available on the Althouse administration. A little under two months after he arrived, the *Guam News Letter* ceased to publish and no new publication took its place for two years. The Navy Department had ruled that the *News Letter*, as a Navy publication could not support itself with commercial advertising, so after a couple of months as a mimeographed sheet, it closed. Althouse took over just as the last funds appropriated for war construction were being expended, so his administration was probably the cheapest for the federal government of any in the interwar years.

On 4 August 1923, Capt. Henry B. Price became governor.

In March of 1924, a new journal, the *Guam Recorder*, was launched by William W. Rowley, an ex-crewman on the *Yosemite*. The first issue contained articles by Hans Hornbostel, now an archaeologist for the Bishop Museum in Hawaii; Pedro Martinez, about upgrading his ice plant; and Gregorio Sablan about the new two-story jail. In 1933, Rowley sold the magazine to the naval government. It continued to be published monthly until 1941.

Notice that Hornbostel, the romantic counterspy of the First World War is now a researcher for the Bishop Museum in Hawaii. But he was also a spy for the Americans. While doing archaeological research in the Marianas for the museum he kept his eyes on Japanese military activities for American Naval Intelligence.

Leonard Cox, a civil engineer who had worked on Guam during the Schroeder administration wrote a book entitled *The Island of Guam*. Cox presents a report so rich in detail that it is almost photographic. It is worth a rather extensive quote.

Social classes in Guam can not be drawn in most cases along the usual lines of cleavage. Practically all of the inhabitants are landowners; many of the lower classes have recognized good blood, and no family in the island can be called wealthy. The distinction, roughly speaking, falls between those who live merely from day to day and those who are thrifty and provident. The better class are usually large landowners, their ranches being rented on shares to persons of lower class, but the bulk of their income is usually from small shops or the rental of houses. Their customs and mode of life are those of Europeans of the better classes. This class furnishes the island officers, such as treasurer, island attorney, judges, clerks and minor officials.

The citizen of the middle class is a comfortable person whose ranch furnishes him with a competent livelihood. This he adds to by skilled labor such as silver and goldsmith work or cabinet making or work in the Navy yard. He dresses in a white drill coat with a military collar and tails like shirt, loose trousers a straw hat, and, when at home, wears half slippers, without stockings. His wife and daughters are notable housekeepers and models of convention and propriety. Their dress consists of a full skirt of silk or muslin and a full, low-necked, wide-sleeved blouse of stiff piña cloth. His younger daughters are often dressed in the American fashion. His class is temperate, though rarely abstemious; and the use of betel nut, or of tobacco by women is not sanctioned.

The lower classes differ even in appearance from the higher, which is possibly accounted for by the fact that there is less foreign blood in their veins. They may be less intelligent than the Tagal [Filipino], and less energetic, but they are a peaceful, good-natured, law abiding people, industrious in their own way and on their own work; sensitive and clannish to the point of protecting miscreants from the law when they themselves are the victims of wrongdoing. They are slow to make friends, and a little suspicious of advances, but once having formed a friendship they are staunch and true. It is a fact that farmers have sold copra to a friend for 3½ cents per pound when rival merchants have offered as high as 4 cents. After a two years' experience in handling Chamorro laborers, no instance is recalled of a single direct falsehood, though instances of promises made and not fulfilled were frequent. The native cook sometimes steals, and so may the house boys and cooks' assistants that it is necessary to maintain, but they seldom steal anything more valuable than food, and regard it as part of the privileges of the office.

The rancher will never make a business success until he abandons his present practice of living in town and going out to his ranch on working days. This custom owes its origin to two causes: First, to the fact that the early Spaniards made it compulsory to live in the vicinity of a church (it was much easier in that way to collect taxes): and, second, it was important to be near a

water supply. All through the southern half of the island water is accessible, and in the northern part there are few places where there is water in the dry season but the difficulty of attending church will be the obstacle in the way of a change until better and more roads are constructed from ranch districts to neighboring villages and until those who actually work the ranches become used to living upon them instead of returning to villages each night. If a ranch is within an hour's walk of the town its owner will spend two hours of his day on the road to and from work; if at a greater distance, he will spend a day or two, or even a whole week (at certain seasons) on his farm but will never fail to reach his village or church Sunday morning and evening, and the Sunday afternoon cockfight.

In town the laborer's costume differs from that of his well-to-do neighbor only in the quality of material. He wears the same shirt-like coat on the outside of his trousers, which are of blue "jeans," a straw hat, and on Sunday he adds a pair of half slippers. In the country he wears a sandal composed of leather or fiber sole piece, held by a thong which passes over the instep, around the heel, and between the great and second toes. At work on his ranch, he dispenses with the shirt, as well as the hat, and rolls his trousers to his hips, leaving his bronzed body naked except for the trunks formed by what is left to view of his trousers. In town he lives in a plank or bamboo house perched some two or four feet from the ground and consisting usually of only one room, ventilated by three or four small openings for windows, which he closes by sliding wooden shutters. Only the more prosperous boast the possession of a Filipino bed, the majority being perfectly contented on a grass mat without covering. Whole families, including sons, daughters and their husbands and wives sometimes sleep in one room, with the doors and windows tightly closed. The natives fear the night air, and prefer the poison of poor ventilation to the risk of fevers or cold. Both men and women sleep in the same cloths they have worn during the day. Each house has a thatched lean-to at one end, beneath which they do their cooking. The stove consists of a stone enclosure filled with earth, on which they build a fire. A number of stones of proper shape serve as supports for the vessels.

The women of the poorer classes wear on feast days or Sundays a long trailing skirt of brilliantly colored calico and a white piña or muslin blouse over a short chemise. On their heads they wear a folded handkerchief of cheap quality. On working days their dress is of the same style, but older, with the train of the skirt tucked in at the waistline. They wear no stockings and discard even the half slippers when indoors. At their ranches they tuck the skirts up above the knees and do all the harder kinds of labor with the freedom and ease of a man. It is no uncommon sight to see a woman climbing a coconut tree by the notches cut in the trunk, going hand over hand to a height of 40 feet, her skirts gathered about her waist, and a short, black pipe held between her teeth. The women stand in the water waist deep and pound the cloths against wooden trays set over the stream. After washing, the cloths are spread upon the ground to dry and finally ironed with a queer little charcoal flatiron from the Japanese trading stores.

The men are short of stature, but well-formed and strong in the legs. They have great endurance, but not much strength in the arms and back, and are not good at lifting weights or striking hard blows. They can walk great distances in

the hot sun and carry quite heavy burdens. The women are well-formed, very erect in carriage, and almost without exception have beautiful black hair, of which they take great care and are very proud.

The children are in many cases dressed in exactly the same style as their elders. The usual garment for small children consists of a one-piece dress of about the same pattern for both sexes. Little girls of from five to 10 years of age often wore long trains and had their hair knotted on the back of their heads. The little boys wore long trousers with shirts, the tails of which hung outside the trousers. In Agana and in the more traveled sections of the country the children have rapidly adopted American dress, and the native costume will probably disappear in a few years. All school children now dress as do American children. Baseball, introduced to Guam by the Marine detachment has become the most popular of all sports among the children, boys and young men. The native baseball team often carries off the pennant. Nearly every school has a baseball team, and games between different schools are regularly played. The little girls also play ball, but, of course, have no regularly organized teams. Each school is provided with a playground, with the usual swings and gymnastic appliances found in the playgrounds of American schools. The playgrounds are very popular and are continuously in use during the day.

The cockpit is the attraction on Sundays and holidays, and the crowds about the entrance to the enclosure give it all the appearance of a country fair. The pit is a sandy space about 25 or thirty feet square, enclosed by a low bamboo fence. On one side is the entrance and the shed covering the owner in charge of the betting. There is a table divided into two sections by a low combing and the better places his money on the side assigned to the bird he selects. The fight never comes off until the money on each side balances, and the betting is therefore even. This condition they are often unable to bring about, and consequently there is much delay and wrangling. The birds are armed with knife-shaped gaffs  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide, and sharpened to a razor edge. The fight is usually of short duration and results in the death of one or both of the combatants.

The Chamorro has very little idea of the value of money; he has no idea of economics and the prices he charges you for anything you wish to purchase are largely dependent on what he thinks you will pay. He spends his money freely on articles of clothing or adornment for his house or for his wife and children. He is very prone to buy all kinds of goods on credit and while cases of fraud have been known among the younger generation, nothing is further from the average respectable Chamorro's mind than the avoiding of payment of his just debts, but the creditor must at times strain his patience almost to the breaking point.

Since the opportunities for importing goods from the United States have so much increased, American goods are now found in the home of the Chamorro. The houses of the well-to-do are well furnished, and many of the people possess automobiles and motorcycles and in general live as well as do the American-residents. All classes are purchasing American furniture, musical instruments, sewing machines, gramophones, and many other novelties to Guam.

All classes stand in great awe of the law and manifest the greatest respect for its humblest officer. No threat of personal violence may move a stubborn Chamorro, but a mention of the law will end all opposition and make him a willing promiser if not a doer. The governor or, "*y magalahi*," as he is known, is the personification of power to him. The governor and the American colony are his standards in everything and his idea of Americans and American customs are formed from his observation of them. The natives are as quick to learn the best as the bad, and it is a matter of the greatest importance to furnish these people at the outset of our administration with the very best examples as regards morality, gentility, and ordinary methods of living. [Cox 1926: 41-45]

Many writers visited Guam in the twenties. One of them, M.S. Lea published an article in the February 1926 issue of the *American Mercury*. It contains a fascinating description of an American's perception of Guam and of the Haole-Guamanian community:

It is not big enough to be considered in the topographical scheme of things save as a pin point and a name, and it knows it. Its very sense of inferiority makes it intriguing.

"Here I am," it seems to say. "You will find Hawaii sensuous and Manila a little depraved. I am that derelict thing, a South Sea island in the raw."

"Oh, my God!" the passing tourist responds, "And people live here! Let's get back aboard, for Gosh sake!"

But such comments are not ruffling to the ladies in organdy dresses and a variety of fans, whose husbands are stationed ashore. They live quite nicely in old Spanish houses, made new with built-on verandahs and fresh whitewash. They belong to bridge clubs, and on clear afternoons they play tennis on courts laid out on the plaza, and on moonlight nights go on picnics and swim lazily in the convenient lagoons. [Lea 1926: 208]

A couple of pages farther down, Lea presents a description of the expatriate communities view of Chamorro-Guamanian social stratification

Glib-tongued America [the American community] has divided the population of Guam into three classes, distinguishable at the feet. These classes are the shoe gang, the slipper gang and the barefoot gang.

The shoe gang is *mestizo* and is appareled, when in public in unbeautiful Western cloths and undoubtedly painful shoes, which it is said to remove, once across its own threshold, to enjoy again the natural ease which God ordained. It owns trading shops and occupies white collar jobs in the civil service. The slipper gang works on the roadways and hires out for domestic service. The barefoot gang lives on its ranchos, and corresponds to the coolie class of China. [Lea 1926: 210]

On 7 April 1926, Capt. Lloyd S. Shapley, a retired naval officer replaced Price as governor. Apparently because of the civil war in China, retired officers were being called up. Shapley continued the public works projects that were under way.

John Edwin Hoag was one of a string of journalists who visited Guam. He wrote an article for the December 1927 *World Traveler*; in it he provided insights into how Guam was dealing with Prohibition. He warned it is fraught with error. For example alcoholic beverages were a Spanish introduction.

Prohibition may be the law of the land in the United States, and also in Guam, but wither that much-mooted law is retained or repealed doesn't worry the Chamorros in the least. They've been "moonshining" on the island since time began, and even the despotic powers of the governor can't keep nature from providing a Chamorro with the "drinks with a kick" that he likes. His favorite drink is "agi," a name which is apparently a contraction of the Spanish "*agua diente*," which all visitors to Spanish countries know is a form of brandy. Guam "agi" is distilled from fermented coconut milk, and it's a perfectly wholesome, although potent drink. The distilling of course, has to be carried on surreptitiously, and if that is too much bother the natives fall back onto another intoxication concoction which the Americans call "monkey rum." To make monkey rum the native merely gathers a few green coconuts, digs a whole in the side of the nut and dumps in about a teaspoonful of brown sugar. The hole in the shell is then stoppered and the nut is set aside. In about two weeks the process of fermentation is completed. The beverage thus created is a clear brown, or almost whisky-colored liquid — three drinks of which will send a hopeless paralytic up a coconut tree! Monkey rum is not only powerful, but it grows in Guam at the rate of about 200 gallons to the acre. [Hoag 1927: 48]

After a record three years two months in office, Shapley was replaced by Cmdr.

Willis W. Bradley Jr. on 11 June 1929. A few months after Bradley took office, the American stock market crashed. This caused a worldwide depression. The depression had little effect on Guam or, more correctly, the depression had begun on Guam 10 years earlier so Guamanians were used to it.

Guam had one industry — the military. There were the Navy and Marine posts, a few restaurants and bars; and some retailers. All of this was surrounded by family-owned

ranches. Guam had been on a subsistence economy for ten years so she hardly noticed the “Great Depression.”

Bradley set three goals for himself at the beginning of his administration: he wanted to provide a better standard of living for the people; provide better public education; and give the Guamanians more local control of their government. He managed all three! But not without antagonizing his superiors.

He was threatened with removal as governor if he didn’t shape up. To this he replied:

I have no particular desire to leave Guam this year, nor do I desire to ruin my naval career by argument with my superiors, and it seems that one or the other is in sight unless I am content to do as most of my predecessors have done, that is, simply let things drift along in the easiest channel without making any progress to speak of. Unfortunately, I am not built that way. When I see and understand the crying needs of Guam I shall fight for them as long as I am governor, even if it wrecks my future naval life. The result is that Guam has made more progress in the last year than in any previous two years — but that I seem to be constantly in hot water. [Bradley 1930a]

Bradley privatized government services. In his *Annual Report* of 1930 he notes:

The fiscal year 1930 has been marked by much progress in Guam. Although the price of copra, the principle export of the island, has been at a very low ebb during the entire year, and has seemed to get progressively worse, activities in Guam have continued on an unprecedented scale. It is apparent that the funds necessary for the many improvements inaugurated have not been obtained by the sale of this year’s produce, and that money heretofore stowed away is being brought to light and put into active service. It seems that such an unusual condition of affairs has been brought about by the administration’s policies of getting the government out of what should be private transactions and turning all legitimate business over to properly established commercial interests. It is pleasant to note that these policies have resulted in a mutual confidence which, in its turn, has produced activity in new construction and new enterprises. [Bradley 1930b: 1]

Under Bradley, the government bid out such services as local road repair, telephone and electric line maintenance, street cleaning and garbage collection.



Perhaps Bradley's greatest contribution was his attempts to gain political status for the Guamanians. He tried to get them U.S. citizenship. And on 24 December 1930 he signed a proclamation giving a bill of rights to the island's inhabitants. Unfortunately, Bradley's bill of rights did not receive approval from Washington.

Bradley also held the first elections on Guam.

On 7 March 1931, Guam elected members of the Guam Congress and district commissioners. At the time of this election, belief was widespread that the Congress would have legislative power. Consequently, there was tremendous interest in the election. This, Guam's first experience with democracy, began what became an overriding passion for the island. Today, Guam is perhaps the most political place in the world. Politics permeates the activity of every adult. You can't get away from it. As radio talk-show host Jon Anderson said, "If you get three adults together on Guam, within five minutes, the talk turns to politics."

Capt. Edmund S. Root replaced Bradley on 15 May 1931.

Early in his administration, Root made a remarkable discovery. He discovered that the cadastral survey was humbug. In his *Annual Report* of 1931 he says:

The land survey, mentioned in my last report as progressing slowly, has been most unsatisfactory during the past year. It was realized some time ago that many of the surveys previously carried out were not wholly satisfactory, and on that account progress was held back considerably. Further investigations by the only professional surveyor in the island, whose services are available from time to time, have shown that a large part of the previous surveys are inaccurate and undependable, thus making it most difficult to find any fixed points from which to start, without causing almost hopeless confusion. It appears that the rectification of those incorrect surveys is practically impossible on account of buildings and other improvements erected on the properties in question, and that it will probably be necessary to re-plot considerable areas of the island, accepting the situation "as is" instead of the boundaries which would have been indicated by correct surveys. These difficulties are the price which must be paid for the utilization of unskilled personnel. [Root 1931: 10]

The next year, Root lamented the result of this slipshod surveying:

A matter of serious concern to the island is the unsatisfactory cadastral survey situation. Practically all previous surveys were inaccurate; and as a result, our courts are fairly clogged with land claims. A Government surveyor, in connection with a surveying party which he has trained, is able to make but small headway toward improving this situation. [Root 1932: 6]

It was on Root's watch that the second general election was held. The general election of 1933 was met by apathy, largely because of the disappointment of the people in the powerlessness of the Congress. The new Congress, although elected, still had no legislative power. The number of registered voters fell off by 50 percent for this election. Twelve seats were left unfilled due to lack of candidates. Root also removed district commissioners from the list of elective offices. The commissioners were paid by the naval government and their job was to implement and force compliance to government orders but when they were elected their loyalty was to their electorate. Commissioners were appointed with the advice of the Congress.

Just before the beginning of the Root administration the Yap agreement expired. The U.S. government in its infinite ignorance failed to understand the fact that in all of history no nation has ever been attacked by another nation because it was too strong. When the Yap agreement expired in May 1931, the U.S. had three options; continue the withdrawal, maintain the to status quo, or fortify Guam and the Philippines. All of these options, of course should have been dependent upon what Japan was willing to agree to. Japan was uninterested in negotiating. So the United States withdrew unilaterally — the government was afraid that fortifying Guam and the Philippines would antagonize Japan. This failure to fortify, of course, encouraged Japan.

Root had the dubious pleasure of overseeing the demilitarization of the island. But he also got to see the economy of the island gradually increase — this even with the

demilitarization and a worldwide depression. Bradley had planned to develop an industrial area at the mouth of the Agana River. Root implemented the plan. He located the government's plumbing shop, slaughter house, garage, carpentry shop and storehouses there. Local businesses were allowed to use these facilities if there was no competing civilian facility available. The public market also did well. Root was instrumental in opening the School of Agriculture that was later renamed in his honor. And he established the Guam Museum.

American strategic thinkers since 1898 had recognized Guam's strategic importance. The opinion of the summer conference at the War College in 1910 was that although Guam was a support position for the defense of the Philippines, even if the Philippines did not exist it would be a critical position. The military recognized that Guam was in a position to threaten all Japanese ports and shipping lanes.

Despite these recommendations from the nation's strategic thinkers, Congress knew better. On 11 June 1932, naval authorities on Guam were ordered to demilitarize the island. Japan was so enthusiastic about this gesture of appeasement that on 2 October 1932, she officially recognized her puppet government in Manchukuo. Manchukuo was a country created by Japan from conquered parts of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

By June 1933, the demilitarization of Guam was virtually complete. Two eight-inch guns and two trailer mounts for seven-inch guns remained behind due to a shortage of transportation. And two antique six pounders were kept on the island for the purpose of saluting.

Guam and Philippine vulnerability did not occupy a high position on the American agenda. Farrell says:

Diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan were strained in 1933, but few Americans cared. Times were bad, and Americans didn't have the energy to worry about their island possessions — if they even knew about them. The plight of unfortified Guam and America's inability to take a firm stand in the Pacific did not go unnoticed by Pacific peoples, however. Australians and New Zealanders were deeply concerned over the manner in which Washington and London used Guam and other Pacific possessions as expendable pawns in a dangerous game of chess. [Farrell 1991:134]

But Congress shared the agenda of the American people and Guam held a low position on that agenda.

Capt. George A. Alexander replaced Gov. Root on 21 June 1933. His main area of interest was agriculture. He concentrated on increasing copra production; and the cultivation of kapok, rice and vegetables.

On 13 October 1935, the 20th century landed on Guam! The first Pan American Airways Clipper arrived from San Francisco after stops at Honolulu, Midway and Wake. A Pan American Publication, *Pan American Air Ways*, describes the arrival of the first airmail, a little over a month later:

Guam — Practically the entire population of the island of Guam — some 20,000 — turned out November 27 to greet the *China Clipper* as it thundered down the northern coast of the island to land in Apra Harbor near the Pan American Airways base at Sumay Point. To these friendly Chamorro people the great silver plane that had come to end forever their age-old isolation, seemed little less than a miracle. That mail could reach them from America in four days was almost incredible for they had not even been connected with the United States by regular direct steamer service. Wildly they cheered as the Clipper's crew stepped ashore to be congratulated by Captain George A. Alexander, U.S.N., governor of the island.

Soon the crew were on their way to the governor's house for a dinner in honor of their arrival. But first they had seen to the unloading of 200 pounds of Guam-addressed mail and its speeding toward the post office. "Quickest possible delivery was made," Captain Musick radioed Alameda, "to convince the people that this 'miracle' actually had taken place." [Pan American 1935: 3]

Alexander so enjoyed his tour on Guam that he requested and received a one-year extension in order to see some projects come to fruition.

Cmdr. Benjamin V. McCandlish became governor of Guam on 27 March 1936. Also in March, a construction crew arrived to build a small hotel at Sumay for Pan Am passengers and crew.

On 11 July 1936, the Guam Congress requested \$5,000 to send representatives to the United States to petition for American citizenship. The governor refused this request on the grounds that the money supplied by the federal government was to be used for purely local purposes. The Guamanian people subsequently raised the needed funds by public subscription. On 10 February 1937, U.S. Sens. Millard Tydings and Ernest Gibson introduced Senate Bill 1450, "A Bill to Confer United States Citizenship Upon Certain Inhabitants of the Island of Guam." The bill did not pass.

In 1936, George Washington High School opened its eight classrooms. Agueda Johnston was its principal.

On 16 December the first American priests to serve on Guam arrived.

Cmdr. James T. Alexander took over as governor on 8 February 1938. He helped to establish a small tile factory. In 1938 Chamorros had a renewed opportunity to enlist in the Navy — again they were relegated with Blacks and Filipinos to be mess attendants. But this was an opportunity to see the world. And a chance to get the coveted American citizenship that was denied the folks back home. After being trained aboard the oiler *R.L. Barnes* in Apra harbor, they were sent to duty stations in the United States or overseas. The program was a mixed blessing. The departure of Guam's best and brightest no doubt hurt the economy but most of them contributed when they sent their pay home as "Y allotments."

Farrell sums up the thirties on Guam:

As the thirties drew to a close, Guam found itself considerably more prosperous than it had been at the start of the twenties. Over the two decades, roads had been extended throughout the island, several new schools and public buildings had been constructed, and the island's agricultural and industrial potential had been gradually increased. Pan American Airways had established a Clipper base at Guam, bringing mail and distinguished visitors to the island on a regular basis and carrying Chamorros to foreign ports and the mainland United States.

Still the Chamorros of Guam had no political status. Although inhabitants of an American colony, they were not American citizens. Since 1917, they had been requesting U.S. citizenship, and would continue their efforts for more than three decades.

Guam, sleepy little backwater of the American empire, was preparing to enter the fifth decade of the 20th century. Rogers says:

On the eve of America's entry into World War II, social conditions on Guam were substantially different, and better in many respects from the Navy's point of view, than they had been four decades earlier when Captain Glass steamed into Apra Harbor. Acculturation of the Chamorros into the American ethos was already deeper than their absorption into the Spanish culture in all social aspects except religion. The use of English on Guam was more widespread than had been the use of Spanish, and acceptance of the American lifestyle by Chamorros was already pronounced. [Rogers 1995: 157]

And perhaps most tellingly, the Chamorro-Guamanian population had risen from an estimated 4,000 in 1898 to 21,502 residing on Guam, according to the 1940 census.

But there were ominous clouds on the horizon.

Americans had a generally favorable opinion of Chamorro-Guamanians. In an intelligence report prepared in February 1944, from prewar sources, entitled *Strategic Study of Guam: O.N.I 99*, the Naval Intelligence Division of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations says:

As a workman, the Chamorro was generally intelligent and adaptable. As an instance of this, 11 welded steel tanks were erected during 1941 by the Chicago Bridge and Iron Works. Seven American welders were brought to the island. The first tank was welded entirely by Americans, the last entirely by natives who had been trained during the progress of the job. The large number of automobiles on the island particularly the Model T farm jitneys, provided a mechanical background for most native boys. Bulldozer and crane operators are

readily trained. Every Chamorro is more or less adept in the use of the machete, a tool of all work. Clearing operations were generally accomplished rapidly with the aid of this tool, although in 1941 bulldozers and dynamite were placed in service to speed up the work. Carpentry, blacksmithing, sheet metal work, boat building and other trades were learned with facility equal to the average American worker. [Schuirmann 1944: 288]

On 20 April 1940, Capt. George J. McMillin assumed command and governorship of Guam.

Guam was trapped between the United States and Japan in a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific. America felt she had an obligation to keep Asia open to international trade. Japan was convinced she had the obligation to lead, or take if necessary, Asia out of Western domination. To Japan, the Philippines was a part of Asia and intended by Providence to be part of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Guam too, surrounded as she was by Japanese-mandated islands, seemed to the Japanese to belong within the Sphere.

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# **GUAM—**

**AN ANALYSIS OF AN AMERICAN COLONY WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS  
ON THE INTEGRATION OF THE PRECONTACT CLASS SYSTEM INTO THE  
MODERN SOCIETY**

**VOLUME II**

**By**

**David T. Givens**

**A DISSERTATION**

**Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Department of American Studies**

**1999**

# HELL IN PARADISE AGAIN — WORLD WAR TWO

Sunday, 7 December 1941, started off as a routine day on America's little backwater island in the Pacific. It was the day before the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. On Monday there would be a Mass and a procession, then everyone would go home or to the home of a friend or family member for the fiesta meal. There was excitement in the air but it was the excitement of a routine Sunday before a fiesta.

Bishop Miguel Angel de Olano y Urteaga remembers:

It was a beautiful morning. People, especially the younger men and women, thronged the door of the Cathedral to attend Solemn High Mass in honor of the Immaculate Conception. The Mass was to begin at eight. The Cathedral was bedecked in gala attire, for Agaña, Guam, was ready for the celebration. [Olano 1949: 135]

Farrell says:

The Chamorros on Guam worked long into the night of December 7, 1941, preparing food for the next day's Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Several Marine and naval officers gathered at Felix Torres' house in Sumay for cocktails. Enlisted men in Agaña hung out at Shinohara's Rooster Bar until closing time. Weary from the tension of the past few days, Governor McMillin retired to his large bedroom at Government House. [Farrell 1991: 186]

At about 4:45 a.m. 8 December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

Remember, Guam is a day ahead. Guam was in a very precarious position surrounded as she was by the Japanese-mandated Micronesian Islands. Since the end of World War I, expert after expert had recommended strengthening Guam's defenses. But Congress knew better. At about 8:30 a.m. on 8 December the first Japanese bombs began to fall on Guam.

Guam's defenses consisted of 153 Marines and 274 naval personnel (including five female nurses). This force was supplemented by 247 half-trained and poorly armed Chamorro-Guamanian members of the Navy Insular Force and the Guam Naval Guard. The Naval Guard, popularly known as the Insular Guard, had been organized in April as an Infantry unit. These units are frequently referred to as the Guam Militia. Although poorly trained, they ultimately acquitted themselves well. There were a total of about 340 men in units that could be used in combat. These were sailors on armed vessels, Marines and the militia. The Marines had four .30-caliber machine guns, 12 Browning automatic rifles and pre-World War I vintage bolt-action rifles. The Insular Guard had the same type rifles, but most of the men had only had experience firing .22s. There was also an assortment of handguns, shotguns and civilian weapons. The Navy had, on station, an old oiler used for the training of stewards, the U.S.S. *R.L. Barnes*; a patrol boat, the U.S.S. *Penguin*; a YP-16 and a YP-17, both harbor patrol boats.

At 5:25 a.m. the Japanese on Saipan were ordered to attack Guam immediately. At 5:45 a.m. a U.S. Navy radioman was in his shop on Libugon Hill, which is now called Nimitz Hill. He heard a message informing the Asiatic Fleet that Pearl Harbor had been attacked. The radioman called Government House, had the governor awakened and passed along the message.

At 6:00 a.m. Gov. McMillin told Cmdr. Donald T. Giles, his aid for civil affairs, and Lt. Col. William K. MacNulty, the commandant of the Marine Barracks, that the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor. He ordered the military to implement the defense plan. And he ordered the military and civilian agency heads to inform prominent Americans and Guamanians. The police force and the militia were mobilized. McMillin

ordered the schools closed and he would have closed the churches were it not for the fact that thousands of people were already on their way, and since there was no commercial radio or civilian telephone system, the best way to warn them was to make an announcement in the churches.

MacNulty went to Sumay village to warn prominent Guamanians to be prepared for an attack. He recommended that they pack what they could and go to their ranches.

At 8:36 a.m. the first bomb fell outside the office of the commander of Sumay. The latest "Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places" had arrived.

In the Agana Cathedral, Bishop Olano had begun the High Mass. Communion was just about to begin. It was interrupted by a commotion outside. Someone told the bishop what was happening and he sent the congregation home. With the Cathedral empty and airplanes strafing the city, the bishop completed the ceremony.

Historian and educator Pedro C. Sanchez was an eyewitness to the war. He says:

For the first time since the ugly years of the Spanish-Chamorro war, 1670-1695, the fears and thoughts of the horrors of war drove the Chamorros into a panic. In the confusion, people rushed helter-skelter everywhere it seemed. In the haste to seek shelters outside the capital, horror-stricken people left their homes and workplaces without securing them. Even stores were left wide open as both owners and employees took off in haste. Having no time to gather families together, many spouses were separated from one another and children from their parents. In the crowded rush, people were shouting everywhere to keep families together or to locate lost ones. Above the frightening noise of people in panic, the anguished cries of women and children could be heard. [Sanchez 1980: 77]

As soon as there was a lull in the bombing, the government began evacuating civilians from Agana and Sumay; while the military prepared to resist an expected Japanese invasion. All Japanese nationals were rounded up and confined in the jail.

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The *Penguin* was ordered to patrol outside the entrance to Apra harbor. The first plane to spot her sunk her. The *R.L. Barnes* was strafed and bombed in the harbor, but she would not go down.

By the afternoon, Agana was essentially a ghost town. Most of the people had scattered to ranches and family residences around the island.

In the early morning hours of 10 December, a Japanese force of about 5,000 men came ashore. They met only a little more resistance than the Americans who had taken the island from Spain in 1898.

McMillin, had no illusions about his ability to defend the island. The defense plan called for the sailors, Marines and militiamen to offer only a token resistance before surrendering. About 700 of the invaders advanced on Agana and were met by the Guamanians of the militia and a few Marine and naval personnel. After a brief, but brave resistance, the defenders of the capital were overwhelmed. The surrender of the Americans ushered in 2 1/2 years of Japanese rule.

The sound of the fighting awakened Radioman 1st Class George Ray Tweed. At first he thought it was the Marines, but he soon realized that the sounds included artillery which the Marines didn't have. Tweed was told by Giles that the Marines intended to put up token resistance before surrendering and that Tweed had the option of surrendering too or trying to hide. During the fight Tweed ran into the jungle in the hope of escaping detection.

The Japanese rounded up all of the Americans on the island, with the exception of a half dozen, including Tweed, who hid out in the jungle, and sent them to prison camps in Japan. One of the primary jobs of the Japanese who occupied the island during the war

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was to hunt down the holdouts. They succeeded in killing all but one of them. The one who escaped, Tweed, wrote a fascinating account of his adventure, *Robinson Crusoe, U.S.N.: The Adventures of George R. Tweed, RMIC, on Jap-Held Guam*.

Initially the Japanese army ruled Guam. Since they were convinced that they would stay on Guam forever, the Japanese immediately began incorporating it into the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. They changed Guam's name to *Omiya Jima* (Great Shrine Island), Agana became *Akashi* (Red City) and the populace became *Kanakajins*.

Under the Spanish and under the Americans, Guam had, technically, always been ruled by martial law. But it was not until the arrival of the Japanese that modern Chamorro-Guamanians came to understand the most savage interpretation of the term.

The Imperial Army set out to teach the *Kanakajins* "proper" etiquette. On the first day of the invasion, several *Kanakajins* were captured. They were given small rectangular pieces of cloth called "identification passes" which identified them as natives. After their passes were issued, they were sent out to get the other *Kanakajins* to come in for registration. This cloth pass was issued only once so it had to be given great care.

Using fists, sticks and rifle butts as instructional tools, the Japanese taught the local people the custom of bowing. The *Kanakajins* learned the *rei*, a bending of the neck or a nod of the head which was exchanged between equals; the *keirei*, a bending at the waist to a 45 degree angle, which was given to virtually all Japanese; and the *Saikerei*, a 90 degree bend at the waist which would have been given to members of the imperial family in the unlikely event that anyone on *Omiya Jima* should ever meet one. Carano and Sanchez say:

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Bowing was not practiced on Guam before the war, so the custom was entirely foreign and new to the people. When the Japanese armies occupied Guam, signs were placed all over the island — Agana especially was flooded with them — reading: “You Must Stop Here and Bow to Us.” Every sentry box, office and important military area bore such signs. Many Guamanians, not knowing what the signs meant, went about their business without paying much attention to them. As a result, many people, young and old, men and women, were slapped, kicked or hit with sticks and the butts of rifles for failing to bow. Many were punished for not bowing properly. The custom required that a person make a full stop, turn to the sentry box or individual and make the appropriate bow. If one bowed too low, he was punished. If he bowed too slightly, he was punished. The bow was required to be appropriate to the person and the occasion. Although it was done begrudgingly, the Guamanians learned how to bow. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 274]

During this period, two *Kanakajins* were executed. Alfred Leon Guerrero Flores was accused of smuggling a note to one of the American prisoners who was still on the island. Francisco Won-Pat, the younger brother of the man who was to become Guam’s first delegate to the U.S. Congress, was accused of stealing food. After confessions were beaten out of them with fists, clubs and water hoses, they were publicly executed by firing squad. Just before the squad fired, both men waved good-bye to the assembled crowd.

Fortunately, army rule was short lived. In March 1942, the last army units were moved to Rabaul, the capital of New Guinea, and the navy took over the rule of *Omiya Jima*. Unlike the army, the navy men were well-disciplined and attempted to curry favor with the population with gifts of candy and cigarettes. For the most part, they stayed in their quarters. When they were on liberty they did not usually molest the populace.

The major excesses of the Imperial Navy were in connection with its overzealousness in searching for American personnel who were in hiding on the island.

One of the most interesting stories of this period is that of Tweed. It is a story of fear and courage; hardship and ingenuity; luck and self-reliance. It is a story of a man

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trapped in a terrifying situation who made the most of that situation. But most of all it is the story of the courage and loyalty of the people of Guam.

Tweed and the other five American servicemen who had escaped into the bush had very unrealistic estimates of the duration of the war. Between the first bombing and the invasion, the duration of the coming war was discussed in depth as it was such an important consideration in deciding what course of action the men would take. Tweed's estimate was four to six weeks.

Tweed and a friend hastily packed some provisions and escaped into the jungle. They were aided extensively by a large network of *Kanakajins* and at least one Japanese. The *Kanakajins* appreciated the benefits of the American way of life but some of them had confidence in America because of considerations that are unrealistic in modern warfare.

At one point in *Robinson Crusoe, U.S.N.*, Tweed asked one of his benefactors, Juan Cruz:

"Why do you like Americans better than Japs?"  
"Who wouldn't?" he laughed. "Before sometimes we used to see Chamorros from Saipan. Japs treat 'em like dirt. Saipan Chamorro is always poor — Japs take his eggs, milk, anything. He can't get good job in town. Nothing."

"Don't you think the Japs might be here to stay?"  
He laughed again, showing strong white teeth. "Just look at Jap man, then look at American man," he observed. "American will win." [Tweed 1945a: 27]

The *Kanakajins* were, in general, fiercely loyal to the United States throughout the war. Jesus Quitugua, one of Tweed's benefactors, informed Tweed that the Japanese were angry that he had escaped. The radio equipment had been destroyed and the Japanese had discovered records showing that Tweed was the radioman. In an effort to find him, they went to the church where all Americans were being held and searched for

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him. Later, by checking personnel records, they were able to discover the names of the other five missing servicemen and by searching Tweed's house, they were able to locate a photograph. The Japanese offered a reward of 10 yen for any American and 50 yen for Tweed.

"They put up a notice about you in lots of places," Sus went on. "One in front of Pedro Martinez' store. Everybody was standing there staring at it and saying that was a good-sized reward when Pedro came out and read it. He turned around and told them, 'If any of you men need that money, come to me and I'll give you fifty yen. Don't go hunting down an American for it.'" [Tweed 1945a: 30-31]

For 2 ½ years, the Japanese searched the island, district by district, for the missing Americans. Of course, they had to use *Kanakajins* to do the actual searching and most *Kanakajins* did not want to find any Americans. If one of the *Kanakajin* searchers happened to know where an American was hiding, he would frequently slip away from the party, run ahead, and warn the American.

Aid was not, however, given only by those who knew where the Americans were hiding. Ramon Baza of Yona Village never laid eyes on Tweed, but his actions or lack of actions may well have saved Tweed's life. Of Baza's actions, Tweed reports a discussion with Jesus Quitugua:

"Have the Japs bothered you or Juan?" I asked anxiously.

"No, everything's okay. We had one close call, though. The morning after you left here, the searching party came up with Ramon Baza leading, just like he said he would. They found two white insulators."

I cursed the haste which had caused me to leave behind two antenna transposition blocks. Juan hadn't a chance to come out to the shelter at daylight for a last-minute check. A native had spotted the white blocks, shown them to the others, and taken them to Baza.

Sus went on. "Baza called everybody together and said, 'These things were found here, but we're not going to turn them in! Understand! We are going to forget all about it. If I hear that any man mentioned this to the Japs, I'll kill him!'" Not a word was ever said about the discovery. [Tweed 1945a: 72]

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In a 1977 interview, Ramon Baza denied threatening to kill anybody. He said that while the search party was looking, they found a broken radio, but they didn't even pick it up because they knew that it would give Tweed away.

In answer to the obvious question, "Was one man worth all of the suffering of the people of Guam?" Baza answered:

"There's no trouble because Tweed is an American and the people believe in the American way. He's an American so the people were anxious to let him hide."  
[Gibson 1977a: 2]

Ironically, some of those who helped Tweed were Japanese and Japanese-*Kanakajins*. Before the war, much of Guam's retailing was done by Japanese. As one would expect, many of these people were pro-Japanese, others were loyal to America. One who was strongly pro-American was Mrs. Riye Dejima, who suffered severe whippings for her demonstrations of sympathy for imprisoned Americans. She allowed her half-Japanese clerk, Tomas (Tommy) Tanaka (the father of Thomas V.C. Tanaka, a long-time senator, former speaker of the Guam Legislature and the 1994 Republican gubernatorial candidate), to pilfer stores and take them to the American holdouts.

"There was one Japanese woman," Tweed said, "Mrs. Dejima and a half Japanese man, Tommy Tanaka, who were friendly towards me and helped me." There were others, according to Tweed, who were not helpful; some of them were *Kanakajins*. Of one he says:

It was Lorenzo Siguenza, an active collaborator with the Japs. Before the war, he'd worked at the United States Agricultural Station, and my friends had told me he was now questioning the natives hauled in by Jap searching parties. He had grilled Manuel Aguon. [Tweed 1945a: 112-113]

Siguenza explained his actions in a 1977 interview.

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"Sure, even Ramon Baza (according to Tweed, the leader of the search party) acted like he meant it, really meant it. He acted like he was as much Japanese as the Japanese themselves.

"There were Japanese right there, and Saipanese interpreters — if you hesitate or show some doubt, you die.

"And you either had to be rough about it (interrogating others) — or too bad for you," he said. [Gibson 1977b: 3]

Perhaps the greatest danger to Tweed was the *Kanakajins* tradition of gossip. It is said that to a Chamorro-Guamanian a secret is something that he tells only his friends and they tell only their friends. At one point, Tommy Tanaka offered to hide Tweed, but only if no one knew about it. Later, Tweed decided to take Tanaka up on his offer, but he didn't know how to contact him. He decided to contact him through his priest, Father Oscar Calvo, whom Tweed calls by his nickname, Pale' Scot which he renders Father Scott. Tweed says:.

I told him how close the Japs were on my trail and how desperately I needed shelter and secrecy.

"A man I can trust has offered to take me in, but I don't know where he lives," I explained. "Will you help me?"

"Who is this man?" he asked.

"Before I tell you his name, I want you to promise that you will not mention it to a soul."

"I give you my word the name will never pass my lips," the Father promised solemnly, crossing himself.

"He is Tommy Tanaka."

"I know him well. I will see him after Mass Sunday at San Antonio Church," he assured me. "I will tell him you are waiting for him."

"Please be very careful that no one finds out," I reminded him.

"Trust me. My lips are sealed." Father Scott then confided that he was helping a native who was also hiding from the Japs and invited me to share his shelter until he could get in touch with Tommy.

I waited while Father Scott went to arrange matters with the other fugitive. This man, José Hernández, and some other natives had one day seen what they thought were United States Air Force planes flying over Guam. The rumor spread that the Americans were returning with an invading army of paratroopers and that the Japs were going to burn all the houses in Agaña before they landed. He had run through town, shouting to the people, "Flee to the hills! The Japs are going to set fire to your homes!" Now the Japs were ready to set fire to José.

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Father Scott returned in about fifteen minutes, took me to the hideout, introduced us, and left. No sooner had he gone than José turned to me and opened conversation:

"So you're going to Tommy Tanaka's place?"

I could hardly believe my ears. "Uh, Tommy who?" I stammered.

"Tommy Tanaka."

"Who's that? Sounds like a Jap. I don't like Japs."

"Oh, Tommy's only half Jap. He's a good fellow."

"What makes you think I'm going to his place?" I asked as casually as I could.

"Father Scott just told me," he replied.

I felt as if I had been kicked in the stomach. "If you can't trust a priest, who on Earth can you trust?" I asked myself bitterly. I'd heard of priests who had gone to their death rather than reveal a secret, and here I had to pick one who gave me away to the very first person he talked to.

Later Father Scott brought his brother and father to the hideout. In front of them and José, he referred to my going to Tanaka's.

"Father, you promised you would not mention that man's name!" My voice betrayed my bitter disappointment.

"Oh, did I let that slip?" he asked, contritely. "Please don't worry; your secret will not leave this group."

My face flushed, and I bit my lip to hide my chagrin. "It isn't his fault," I kept reminding myself. "He just can't understand the extreme importance of absolute silence about this." Nevertheless, I couldn't help being depressed. If I went to Tommy's now, we both would probably get into trouble. However, Father Scott had promised that no one in the group would do any talking to outsiders, and so I clutched at that straw. [Tweed 1945a: 130-131]

"Now Tommy Tanaka," Tweed recalled, in 1978, "brought food to me. At one point I went to his house. He was going to help me. I was there one night and one day and the next night. He came home from town, where he was working and he was scared stiff. He said, 'My God, everybody in town knows that you are here at my place.' I said, 'Well, for Gosh sake Tommy, who the heck is telling them?' He says, 'Father Calvo is.'"

"So Father Calvo was going around town telling everybody in town that I was at Tommy's place."

Tweed was not particularly bitter about the priest's inability to keep a secret. He felt that it was just a cultural trait.

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“Now the Chamorros,” he said, “on the average, don’t have the ability to keep a secret. Father Calvo and Father Duenas were the only priests permitted to stay on the island when the Japanese arrived. They were permitted to stay because they were Chamorro. I feel that the fact that they had been ordained didn’t change that cultural characteristic and they just couldn’t keep a secret.”

With the hope of an American counterattack constantly on their minds, the holdouts longed for information of the outside world. The *Kanakajins*, too, had few encouraging words. What news they got was disseminated by the Japanese. It was, of course, of questionable veracity.

Another time at the school, Cynthia said, the Jap master of ceremonies gave a “news” talk in which he claimed that the invincible sons of Heaven had already captured Australia, New Guinea, Wake, Midway, and Mare Island. A Chamorro who happened to know the location of Mare Island [it was a navy yard in San Pablo Bay] held up his hand and asked,

“Have you taken California yet?”

“No,” admitted the newscaster, “we will get California next month!” [Tweed 1945a: 103]

Early in his escape, Tweed had begun a quest to get a radio. The Japanese had confiscated all of the sets on the island. Several people took Tweed sets that were not in working order. After getting an old Silvertone almost serviceable, Tweed had had to abandon it. After finally getting settled, he asked Juan Cruz to get the abandoned radio. Juan said, “O.K., I’ll dig it up.” Tweed managed to get it working, with difficulty as Cruz had literally buried it. Tweed’s first newscast was fairly clear and very disappointing.

She was describing a big sea battle and it sounded bad for us. The United States had suffered a severe defeat, she said; an entire task force had been destroyed. I was feeling pretty low when she signed off, and a man’s voice announced, “This is Rad-yo Tok-yo bringing you the news!” [Tweed 1945a: 76]

Tweed tried to get a station with a more balanced coverage of the news.

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I was able to bring in stations in Japan, the Philippines, and China, but none from the States. Before the war, K.G.E.I. had been my favorite for news, and so I kept trying to get it, but had no luck. Then one night I was cruising the lower end of the dial and hesitated at one point at just the right moment the announcer said, "This is K.G.E.I., San Francisco!" I let out a whoop and shouted, "There he is. There's HOME!" [Tweed 1945a: 76]

K.G.E.I. began its operation in February 1939. It was the General Electric Company's first short-wave station. It was a part of G.E.'s exhibition at the San Francisco World's Fair on Treasure Island. At that time it operated under the call sign of "W.6.X.B.E., the showcase station for General Electric."

Shortly after, the power was raised from 35 to 50 kilowatts and the call sign was changed to K.G.E.I.. K designates a station west of the Mississippi River and G.E.I. stands for General Electric International. In June 1941, upon the closing of the World's Fair, K.G.E.I. moved its short-wave transmitter to the salt flats of Redwood City, California.

When the United States entered World War II, K.G.E.I. was operated by the U.S. Office of War Information. According to *About K.G.E.I.*, the station's publicity handout: It was used to inform servicemen overseas of the activities at home, as well as in other parts of the world. [Brooks 1980]

On *Omiya Jima*, the station was informing, not only a serviceman, but hundreds, or perhaps thousands of loyal civilians. Tweed's was only one of several clandestine radio listening posts. Several of them were tuned to K.G.E.I. Although K.G.E.I. is no longer on the air, it broadcast, as a Christian missionary station into the 1980s. Once the radio was in operation, the *Kanakajin* grape vine soon had groups coming from nearby farms every night to listen to the broadcasts. Finally, the long period of burial took its toll and the battery shorted out. Circumstances also forced Tweed to move.

At his next location, in a cave, Tweed managed to establish some luxury. One of his benefactors stole a generator and two others risked their lives by breaking into a Japanese storeroom and stealing a radio. Tweed set the radio and the generator up in his cave and again held his nightly meeting.

Since my cave was small, only a favored few could come to the broadcasts, which was all right with me. Eight or ten of us sat on the lower level as near as we could crowd to the radio placed atop two boxes on the upper level. My most interested listener was Manuel, who regularly as clockwork every evening brought down his wife and four children for the program from K.G.E.I. With his poor English, he had a hard time understanding the announcer, so that although he put his ear close to the loud-speaker and listened attentively until the last word of every broadcast, when it was over he'd invariably look up at me and ask, "What's the news?"

Since Manuel was good enough to let me stay on his property, at considerable risk to himself, the least I could do was to see that he got a full account of what was going on. I took full notes of every broadcast and gave them to his wife, who read and spoke English. She relayed the information to him in Chamorro.

It was this making out a nightly report that gave me the idea of starting an underground newspaper. From Paul Muña, a native who had worked at the Commandant's office, I obtained an old but usable typewriter and some paper and carbon, and the *Guam Eagle* was born. I took the name from the mimeographed daily formerly run off at the Communication Office before the Japs came.

Each night I typed up my notes into front-page news. At first I made only two copies, an original for the "files," and a carbon for Manuel. He was as proud of it as a squirrel is of his tail, and always took his sheet home with him. He couldn't read it, but he listened importantly, nodding his head as his wife and Pete interpreted it to him. I cautioned them against telling anyone about the *Eagle* or showing it to outsiders, but it was not long before they, with typical native inability to keep a secret, were taking it all over the neighborhood and letting people see it and even made duplications of it. Once Sus Mesa's niece copied it and showed it to all her neighbors. "I know this is straight news," she told him. "Tweed got it on the radio and this is exactly what he heard." I saw to it that she didn't come over again.

Others to whom I was indebted for food and clothing begged to be put on the *Eagle's* subscription list, until our "printing" establishment was turning out a mammoth daily edition of five copies. This was total capacity, since the typewriter simply couldn't produce a sixth legible sheet. No one seemed to think of asking me to run off a second "printing." [Tweed 1945a 86-87]

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In 1978 Tweed seemed to remember going into a second printing. "I think," said Tweed with a chuckle, "I worked the circulation up to about twelve copies."

"Although there were only twelve copies," he continued, "I think quite a number actually 'read' my paper because each one of my customers had instructions to let only those that he could trust read it and then each customer agreed to destroy it so that it did not fall into the hands of the Japs. Then, of course, word of mouth pushed the information through the Guam grapevine."

In 1985, Tweed corrected himself saying that there were never more than five copies.

Prominent on the subscription list were the two other groups of Americans.

"There were six Americans to start with," explained Tweed, "and we were divided into groups of three, two, and one. I was the one. We had been in hiding about nine months when the Japs captured the three Americans of the largest group."

After a futile attempt to torture and trick information from the three, they were forced to dig their graves and were killed.

The Japanese later killed the other two Americans after a brief fight.

One of the *Guam Eagle's* subscribers was Agueda Johnston, a schoolteacher who was the principal of the first high school on Guam. She was later to become the deputy director of the Department of Education. At one point she invited Tweed to her house for a meal of roast pig. He accepted, making the six mile journey, in a typical bit of derring-do, in a borrowed jitney, a customized automobile frequently used in pre-war Guam as a taxi. After dinner, some of the guests began to relate stories about how the Japanese were treating the *Kanakajins*. These stories of torture mostly directed at locating and killing

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Tweed so depressed him that he considered giving up and surrendering to avoid causing more suffering for those who had helped him.

As if she were reading my thoughts, Mrs. Johnston rose and said, "Mr. Tweed, I'd like to talk to you a few minutes alone."

We went out on the porch.

"Never give up," she whispered. "Never give up, no matter what happens."

"I can't stand to think of what others have to go through to keep me alive," I said.

"I know," she went on, "but you have much more to fight for than your own existence. The people of Guam feel that as long as you hold out the Americans will come back. If you surrender, they will believe you have lost your faith and think the Japs have won. They will give up hope." [Tweed 1945a: 105-106]

In the best traditions of the American free press, the *Eagle* paid its own way.

When people came to pick up their copy, they would bring eggs, rice, meat or canned food. The *Eagle* also held to traditional American journalism philosophy:

The four months during which I published the paper were a difficult period **in** the history of the war. During this time Corregidor and Bataan fell, but the *Eagle* never lied, no matter how black the news. If we shot down only two Jap **planes** and lost an aircraft carrier, that's what the paper stated. I operated on the **principle** that truth is the best propaganda. Naturally I knew that the news from **K.G.E.I.** would be more accurate than that from Tokyo or Manila, and so I based **my** reporting on the broadcasts from the San Francisco station.

I was absolutely sure, of course, that America would come out on top, and **so** I selected significant items of the news which pointed in that direction and **elaborated** on them. One incident concerned the activities of a single American **destroyer** in enemy waters. The United States warship met a fleet of Jap **transports** escorted by four Jap destroyers. In the face of the concentrated fire of **all** the Jap guns, the Americans charged and sank one destroyer, then wheeled **to** escape. The three remaining gave immediate chase, but fortunately a sudden **tropical** rainstorm hid the American ship.

Then, under cover of the heavy downpour, the United States warship **circled** back and sank two of the transports while the Jap destroyers were **searching** vainly in the rain. I used this in an editorial as an example of the **daring** and imagination of our Navy. Americans didn't have to rely entirely on **superior** force of arms but could outwit and outfight their enemy even when we **were** at a disadvantage. In a short time this story was being repeated in all **corners** of Guam.

The best news we got in the whole time the radio was in operation was the **announcement** of the Doolittle raid on Tokyo on April 18, 1942. The Japs had **been** boasting that Japan was surrounded by an invincible ring of steel in the



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form of the Imperial Navy and Air Force. When Juan heard of the bombing, his eyes lit up, and he said, "Boy, I hope Doolittle comes by here on his next trip!"

Islanders' faith in the eventual return of the Americans remained high all through the occupation. There were a few who finally decided that the United States Navy was never going to return, that the Japs were there to stay, and that it would be best to collaborate with them. But they were a very small fraction of the population. If I had to guess, I'd say perhaps two hundred out of the twenty-four thousand. The others remained steadfast in their faith in the United States. The high degree of confidence had been built up through the years by what Americans had done for Guam, but my *Guam Eagle* had its tiny part to play, and I was proud of it. [Tweed 1945a: 88-89]

The *Eagle* was an on-again-off-again publication as Tweed had to move from time to time to escape the Japanese. In his book, Tweed doesn't mention the demise of the *Eagle*.

He later said, "I stopped publishing because the Japs found out where I was and they came out to capture me. I grabbed my typewriter and my radio and my supplies and went over to the other side of the island and set up business over there. I started publishing over there and they learned where I was. At that point I didn't have time to pick anything up. I just had to grab what I could and get the heck out of there.

"I don't really know how I knew they were coming. As near as I remember, nobody warned me. I just left on premonition. Now, I did that two or three times and each time I'd get out just in time."

Unfortunately, no copies of the *Eagle* appear to be in existence. Tweed was unable to salvage any of the issues. And the subscribers seem to have fulfilled their agreement to destroy their copies.

Tweed's informal office of war information was one of at least three clandestine radio groups that helped to maintain the morale of the islanders throughout the war.

"I think that the morale there was excellent considering the conditions under which they were forced to live," said Tweed. "Here was the idea behind the publication

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of the *Eagle*. The Japs were there. They were completely in control. They were punishing these people and treating them like animals. The Guamanians were wondering whether or not the Americans would ever come back. If the Americans never came back, it would behoove the Guamanians to make peace with the Japs and collaborate with them. But the fact that I was still in hiding there and publishing this paper, proved to them that I was certain that the Americans would come back and recapture the island. Of course, that gave them heart to hold out against the Japs.”

Tweed remained in hiding for 31 months. The Japanese made a constant effort to capture him. A prominent resident, Baltazar Jeronimo “B.J.” Bordallo (the father of Ricardo J. Bordallo, the governor of Guam from 1975 to 1979, and from 1983 to 1987) had at one time offered aid to some of the fugitives, and it was rumored that he was harboring Tweed. The Japanese went out to Bordallo’s farm and, thinking to catch the hired man off guard, asked him:

“How many of the white fellows are you feeding?”

“Nine,” the workman answered.

“What do you mean, nine?” asked the Jap, amazed.

“We are feeding nine white ones here — eight hens and one rooster!”

[Tweed 1945a: 198]

The Japanese took Bordallo into *Akashi* and tortured him for six days. Bordallo later said:

“On the sixth day, I felt that if the Japanese continued (the torture), I would be a dead man.” Bordallo said. So he made an offer. “I told them I would search for Tweed and deliver him in 20 days,” he said, “and if I failed, I agreed to forfeit my life.” [Fichter 1977b: 3]

After a week to recuperate from the torture, Bordallo began a half-hearted search for Tweed.

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"I was hoping," Bordallo said, "that Tweed would appear before the Japanese officials and say, 'I'm the one you want; these people are innocent; do not punish them anymore.'" [Fichter 1977b: 3]

Apparently, Agueda Johnston softened her "never give up attitude." She attempted to persuade Tweed to surrender. Many years later she said:

"If he were any kind of hero, he would have turned himself in. One man is not worth the life of the father of 13 children." [Fichter 1977a: 2]

The father of 13 children is still only one man. The fact is, however, that B.J. Bordallo was not killed and Tweed most certainly would have been.

Except for their excesses in searching for Tweed, harsh treatment was the exception rather than the rule. The *Kanakajins*, who were conscripted into work brigades, were paid for their work. The value of the yen, the only allowed currency, was inflated astronomically, but still they were paid. Those who wanted to were permitted to remain on their farms to grow food. Of course, the food was sold for overvalued yen at government-mandated prices. Barter became the common means of exchange. Since American money was forbidden and the yen was essentially useless, eggs became a medium of exchange.

It was Jose Rivera's job to collect the eggs.

In an interview conducted for this project, he said "The Japanese made up a group of laborers." "My assignment was to go around to different ranches and collect eggs — eggs for the Japanese officials. That was my job. I was not put to work in the rice fields or any place else, but I had to make some collections on weekends."

Rivera admits to occasionally holding out on his bosses.

"It was necessary," he said, "because the Japanese came and took the hens — they took the layers. That reduced my collections so there were not enough for the Japanese.

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“I was not really pushed around too much,” he continued. “As long as I collected the eggs and did my job they left me alone. I was never harassed too much. My policy at that time was ‘out of sight out of mind.’ The more I could stay away from the eyes of the Japanese, the better I liked it.”

All in all, this period of Japanese rule was not too bad. For the first time in many years, and the last time, *Omiya Jima* was self-sufficient in food. The people who went to the ranches grew enough and caught enough fish to feed the island and its Japanese occupiers. For entertainment they arranged parties, dancing and singing. Those who were interested in watching Japanese movies could go for free. And occasionally the Japanese would put on a variety show to entertain their men and the local population.

*Omiya Jima* was governed during this period by a lieutenant commander whose given name is apparently lost to history. Lt. Cmdr. Homura, a retired officer, was recalled to active duty when the war broke out and given the post of *minseibucho*, the head of the *minseibu* or civil authority. He was a dufus old man given to tearful patriotic speeches and propaganda. He was very helpful to *Kanakajins* who were interested in the progress of the war. He frequently gave progress reports where he extolled a rapid succession of Japanese “victories.” Those familiar with the geography of the Pacific, however, could read between the lines — they could follow this string of Japanese “victories” as it moved steadily nearer to *Omiya Jima*.

Carano and Sanchez say of him:

Homura was not considered to be a cruel man. He generally kept to his post and attended to civilian affairs without fanfare. He visited every village regularly and kept himself informed of general conditions on the island. The *minseibucho* remained in Guam for the duration of the war. It is believed that he died on the island, a victim of his own sword. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 281]



The organization that struck fear into the hearts of the people of Guam was the Japanese civilian police force. There were about 15 policemen on the island assisted by Saipanese interpreters, who were nearly as feared as the policemen. The police investigated crimes that ranged from murder to speaking English. The suspect was always tortured. If he refused to answer, he was tortured for obstructing justice. If he denied the accusation, he was tortured for lying. If he admitted that he had done the crime, he was tortured as punishment.

*Omiya Jima* was for a time occupied by only a few score Japanese officials. Some *Kanakajins* suggested to Tweed that they could rise up and overwhelm the occupation forces. Tweed pointed out that although *Omiya Jima* was undermanned, the Japanese could quickly bring forces from nearby Saipan and create a holocaust on the island. Wisely, the *Kanakajins* practiced only passive resistance.

*Omiya Jima's* great passive resistance leaders were men of the cloth. With the Japanese occupation, all non-*Kanakajins* religious leaders were imprisoned in Japan. The only non-Japanese ministers on the island during the occupation were the Rev. Jesus Baza Duenas, the Rev. Oscar Lujan Calvo and Rev. Joaquin F. Sablan, a Baptist.

*Omiya Jima's* best-remembered hero during the period of occupation was Duenas. Owning books written in English was a crime. Duenas was frequently seen ostentatiously reading works in English. When he was told to submit his sermons for censorship, he stopped giving sermons. He refused to read any but routine official announcements from the pulpit.

During the last half of 1943, two songs sprung up. The first "*Sensei Na Sensei, Hafa Nanamu,*" or "Teacher, Teacher, What Do You Have to Eat," was sung in

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Chamorro. There were a number of verses but it always culminated in the punch line,  
“*Taimanu ti un chatpa’go*,” — “No wonder you are ugly.”

Apparently this song offended the teachers but the police thought that it was  
amusing so offenders were only lightly punished. The greatest punishment was meted  
out to those who were caught singing one of the two protest songs in the hated and illegal  
English. Being caught singing either of these songs would get the singer severely  
punished.

The first was sung to the tune of a pre-war favorite “Sierra Sue.” It went in part:

Uncle Sam, I'm so sad and lonely...  
Uncle Sam, come back to me.  
Uncle Sam, I love you only ...  
Oh, please come back and set me free.  
[Sanchez 1975:159]

The other was called “Uncle Sam, Uncle Sam Please Come Back to Guam.”

Early Monday morning  
The action came to Guam,  
Eighth of December,  
Nineteen forty-one.

Oh, Mr. Sam, Sam, my dear Uncle Sam,  
Won't you please come back to Guam?

Our lives are in danger  
You better come  
And kill all the Japanese  
Right here on Guam.

Oh, Mr. Sam, Sam, my dear Uncle Sam,  
Won't you please come back to Guam?  
[Sanchez 1975: 160]

There were an almost unlimited variety of verses to these songs. Most,  
unfortunately, have been lost to history.

Of Chamorro-Guamanian resistance, in general, Sanchez says:

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By and large, resistance during the occupation took on a Chamorro flavor. It was not dramatic. It was not resistance by shooting down invaders and occupation troops, or blowing up bridges and enemy facilities. It was a different kind of resistance because it was resistance through and of the spirit. [Sanchez 1975: 156]

Perhaps the harshest treatment that the Guamanians endured during the war was the last six months of occupation when they were under the rule of the *kaikontai*. The *kaikontai* was an agricultural group. Its mission was to produce food for the Japanese army that was returning to defend the island from the Americans. To do this, its officials forced everyone over the age of 12 to work in the fields. Their methods of inspiring labor were brutal. The *kaikontai* was caught between the ever-advancing American forces and constant demands for more food to replace dwindling supplies. They used rifle butts to get more work out of unwilling *Kanakajins*. *Kanakajins* were beheaded for reasons known only to the Japanese.

Throughout this period, as before, most *Kanakajins* were loyal to the United States. The first rumor of American return had predicted that it would be timed to coincide with Christmas 1942. After that, very few American holidays passed without a rumor springing up of a re-invasion timed to coincide with that holiday.

On 2 July 1944, Duenas and his brother Edward, an attorney, were summoned before Japanese officials. After a day of torture and questioning about the whereabouts of Tweed, both were beheaded. Although the priest did not know where Tweed was, many Chamorro-Guamanians would like to think that he did but took the secret to the grave.

A couple of months later, upon his return to the island, Tweed managed to piece together the following account of the murder of Duenas:

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Antonio explained that the Japs closed in on his ranch two days after I'd escaped. From him and from later talks with Juan Flores, I got the whole story. Flores had learned from his brother, Joaquin, that I had gone to Pangelinan's place. Months later, when the Japs were putting on terrific pressure to hunt me down, he was afraid he might be caught and killed for what he knew. He was a good Catholic and was afraid it might be a mortal sin to possess the knowledge of my movements and keep it secret. He felt that he was facing death and went to the confessional and told Father Dueñas that I had gone to Pangelinan's ranch. "Father," he asked, "is it a sin to keep this secret?"

"No, my son. Do not tell anybody." But Father Dueñas himself left the confessional booth and told so many people that he knew where I had gone that word got to the Japs. They tortured him until he finally broke down and told them I had gone to Pangelinan's.

The Japs were furious that Father Dueñas had not reported this knowledge earlier. They killed the priest. [Tweed 1945a: 258-259]

This part of the book was the major cause of controversy that got it banned by the Church in 1945. It has been claimed that Flores told the father of Tweed's location at Pangelinan's outside the confessional so the "seal of the confessional" was not broken and that the Duenas would never have told the Japanese anyway. Whether Duenas knew of Tweed's stay at Pangelinan's outside the confessional or not is impossible to determine at this point. But the fact that shortly after Duenas' and his brother were murdered, the Japanese descended upon the Pangelinan ranch would seem to support the contention that the priest broke. Fortunately for Tweed and the Artero family, Duenas' information was months out of date.

The Japanese had prepared well for the American attack on *Omiya Jima*. Throughout the occupation they had fortified most likely avenues of approach. They had brought some of their best troops from Manchuria to aid in the defense of the island. The Japanese commander of the South Marianas Area Group, Lt. Gen. Hideyoshi Obata, was stranded on *Omiya Jima* by the American attack on Saipan. He supervised plans for the defense of the island but he left the command of the actual fighting to his subordinate, Lt. Gen. Takeshi Takashina.

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The Japanese had had two-and-a-half years to fortify the island. This had been done with work brigades brought in from Korea and others formed on *Omiya Jima*. After the first American bombing on 23 February 1944, they began to work at a feverish pitch. Every man on *Omiya Jima* from 12 to 60 years of age had been drafted into a construction brigade. They worked alongside Koreans and Okinawans, who had been brought to *Omiya Jima* as construction workers, under the brutal supervision of Korean and Japanese supervisors. They had constructed runways, pill boxes and other defenses. Takashina had deployed his troops in fixed positions throughout the islands. They were most heavily concentrated, however, along the western and southern coasts, particularly around Tumon Bay and Apra Harbor, the two easiest landing routes. As O. Robert Lodge says in *The Recapture of Guam*:

When Japanese army units began returning to the island as reinforcements in the spring of 1944, the enemy dropped all pretense of getting along with the natives. The military closed schools, forbade church attendance and took over all government functions. As the garrison grew larger, an acute shortage of food developed and the Japanese seized all available stockpiles. In addition, they drastically increased forced labor demands and further reduced the already small pittance of food supplies of the natives. A bare subsistence ration was issued to the worker, and those too sick or weak to produce had even this withheld.

Finally, the Japanese ordered all people living in the military areas to evacuate their homes, and herded them into concentration camps in the interior. Medical supplies were limited, sanitation non-existent, and food inadequate. Hundreds died, and small children who did survive became stunted and deformed from disease and malnutrition. Human bodies were beaten and broken, but within them the spirit remained alive. Every bow to a Japanese officer, every blow received for some real or fancied offense, every violation of native customs and traditions only served to heighten the resentment against Japanese rule. [Lodge 1954: 9]

By summer the preliminary attacks had become an almost constant series of air strikes — primarily originating from Saipan which was now in American hands. The

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Japanese decided to put the *Kanakajins* into concentration camps. Carano and Sanchez say:

When the preliminary attacks on Guam became sustained, most of the people were moved to concentration camps located at Maimai, Tai, Manengon, Talofofo, Inarajan, and several other places. The removal order was issued on July 10, 1944. Since the Japanese expected to make their strong defense against the Americans on the northern plateau, the people of Yigo were the first to be moved. Residents of the Mt. Santa Rosa area were sent first to waterless Maimai. They were joined later by people from other parts of the Yigo region. The people took with them as much food as they could carry on bulcarts, on the backs of cows and carabaos, and on their own shoulders and backs. Before the march they were assembled in front of the Yigo School. At about 7:30 p.m. the long walk began. Men, women and children, the well and the sick, marched throughout the night. From Yigo some went one way, some another. One group walked to Dededo and then across to Barrigada, following approximately the present Harmon to Barrigada road. The other group walked as far as Asatdas, where Marbo is now located, [Marbo was a military housing area on what is now Andersen A.F.B. (South)] and cut left on a trail to Barrigada. The first group reached Barrigada by morning and continued on to Mangilao, where they waited for the rest. The second group, a larger one, reached Mangilao about 4:30 in the afternoon. The wretched column consisted of exhausted men, women, children, the sick who were hardly able to carry themselves, and invalids on stretchers borne on the shoulders of tired men. The Japanese civilian guards were relentless, permitting no one to stop by the wayside. Now and then the spine-tingling sound of club against flesh and the painful cries of men and women resounded through the line of march as the Japanese guards punished those who fell behind. Many who dropped from exhaustion were picked up by relatives and friends and dragged along the way. [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 290-291]

For many this was the worst time of the war. The reason for moving the people to concentration camps is unknown. At the time, many feared that the Japanese planned to kill the entire population. Obviously, if the Japanese had wanted to do such a thing, there was nothing to prevent it. The intent was probably to keep them from helping the Americans and to keep them out of the way. As unpleasant as the experience was, it turned out to be a blessing in disguise. It got the civilian population out of the villages. During the preassault bombing, the villages were virtually bombed flat.

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As a prelude to the American invasion, the Navy shelled the island incessantly. From his cave on the west side of the island, Tweed managed to reflect the light from the setting sun of 10 July 1944 onto one of the destroyers. When he thought he had their attention, he began to send semaphore signals. When the crewmen of the ship saw the red flashes, they thought it was an enemy gun and prepared to shell it. The fire control officer, however, looked through his binoculars and saw Tweed's semaphore in time to stop the firing. The destroyer signaled Tweed that they were receiving his message. He signaled them everything he knew about Japanese emplacements. He then signaled, "Can you take me aboard?"

The destroyer lowered a boat that rescued Tweed after 31 months on Japanese-held *Omiya Jima*.

After the Americans started bombing, the Japanese went into a frenzy of atrocities. It would be impossible to recount more than a fraction of them but some stand out.

On 18 July 1944, 16-year-old Juan Cabrera and 15-year-old Beatrice Flores Perez were picked up by the Japanese. They and nine other *Kanakajins* were accused of aiding the Americans. They were confined in a cave for two days without food or water. At about 3 a.m. on the third day, they were marched to a large bomb crater. They were forced to kneel at the lip of the crater and bow their heads. Each had a Japanese soldier behind him. At the order of the commander, 11 soldiers simultaneously struck their victims.

Farrell says:

Juan never lost consciousness. Although he had been cut deeply, the bayonet had missed the jugular vein. Frightened beyond speech, his neck

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bleeding profusely, he lay silent and motionless. He felt dirt being shoveled in on top of him. Bodies nearby jerked spasmodically. Then the dirt stopped falling and the bodies stopped moving. The Japanese left. After several seemingly endless moments, Juan slowly pushed the dirt from his face and peered around. He saw no one. With his head hanging to one side, he sat up and then, in incredible pain, struggled to his feet and stumbled away.

In the woods nearby, he fell and stared back at the crater that had been his intended grave. In a macabre scene, his friend Jose Camacho soon got up and also walked away. Then Beatrice sat up. With blood and mud caked on her neck, she wandered aimlessly into the woods. Juan, in shock from his slashed neck, could not call out to her, and was in too much pain to go to her. [Farrell 1984: 3]

A couple of days later, Juan found Beatrice. They made their way to Juan's house and then to the Manengon concentration camp where they were cared for.

When the order went out to send the civilians to the Manengon concentration camp, a Japanese commander named Takebena held back 50 girls and an unrecorded number of men and boys to continue working in the Fena area. On 23 July 1944, the girls were taken to several caves and gang-raped.

Tweed was not the only person on the island who hastened his day of liberation. The Japanese in Merizo were systematically taking the villagers into caves in the jungle and killing them. They had taken 30 on 15 July, ordered them into a cave, and shot the group. Several survived only to be bayoneted or cut down with swords. But some still survived.

The next day 30 more were selected and executed. On 17 July, the remainder of the villagers, about 740 of them, were marched ostensibly to Manengon. But when they got to Atate, they were stopped and ordered to dig a cave large enough to shelter them all. Several men and boys were sent back to bring up supplies. Their families were used as hostages to ensure their good behavior. A boy ran away and found Manuel Charfauros, one of the survivors of the 15 July massacre. Another survivor, Jose S. Reyes, came

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upon the group and told them what had happened in the cave above Merizo. The group immediately returned to Atate to try to rescue their friends and families.

They knew that every morning the Japanese guards formed up and stacked their weapons. The plan was to lie in wait and rush the stacked weapons. Reyes had a rifle that he had hidden throughout the war. The rest were armed with sharp sticks and courage. When the 17 guards stacked arms, the six young *Kanakajins* rushed the weapons. The 17 Japanese were taken by surprise. They reacted quickly but not quickly enough and they were slowed by Reyes' fire. The *Kanakajins* got the guns and started shooting. Sixteen Japanese were killed, one escaped. On the day that the American forces landed, these six *Kanakajins* and two more got into canoes and paddled out to the American ships. They were later used as observers and guides for the liberators.

The Americans, opposed by 18,000 dug-in, determined, and experienced troops, faced a much harder task than had their predecessors in 1898. It turned out to be one of the most bitterly contested battles of the war in the Pacific.

The recapture of Guam was a part of Operation Forager under the command of Adm. Raymond A. Spruance. Forager was the name given to the battle that wrested Guam and the Northern Marianas from the Japanese. It ranks as one of the largest operations of the Second World War. Five hundred thirty-five ships carrying 127,571 troops were engaged. Guam's part of Operation Forager was named Operation Stevedore. Stevedore was an operation of the III Amphibious Corps under the command of Maj. Gen. Roy S. Geiger.

On 8 July, the Navy began a 13 day bombardment of the island. Twenty-five thousand shells were fired into suspected enemy positions. During this shelling, Navy

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underwater demolition teams began finding and destroying underwater obstacles. At each beach they cleared, the frogmen left a crude hand-painted sign that said “Welcome Marines.” They were so well protected by the shelling that only one man was killed during the obstacle-clearing phase of the operation.

The immediate objective of any military invasion is to take and secure a perimeter and establish defensive positions that will prevent the enemy from launching a successful counterattack.

The attack itself was concentrated around Apra Harbor. The Americans committed 54,891 ground troops in the assault — 36,933 Marines and 17,958 soldiers from the 77th Infantry Division. One of these men was John J. (Jack) Eddy. He was a first lieutenant — the rifle platoon leader of the 2nd platoon of F Company, 9th Marine Regiment of the 3rd Marine Division. Forager was his second campaign.

The plan called for the 3rd Marine Division to make an amphibious assault north of Apra harbor at Asan and for the Marine 1st Provisional Brigade followed by the Army’s 77th Infantry Division to make an amphibious assault south of the Orote Peninsula at Agat. The two groups would then envelope the harbor and gain control of the mountain ridge above the coast from Facpi Point to the Fonte Plateau. Part of the 77th Division was assigned to the 1st Provisional Marines. The 305th Regimental Combat Team from the 77th Division landed behind the Marines on the 21st of July and into the morning of the 22nd.

First the area was given a final “softening up.”

“If you had seen it,” said Eddy, “you wouldn’t have thought there could have been a soul alive within five miles of Asan point. It was a tremendous artillery barrage

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and planes right down on the deck strafing and the last thing that they did was let loose these rockets. I don't know, there must have been 10,000 rockets hit the beach about five minutes before the first assault wave. All of the Japanese in the area had to be in a state of shock. That's why I've always said that the people in the second wave had it much harder than those in the first wave — of course, I wasn't in the first wave."

Lt. Shigenori Yoshida was an Imperial Army doctor. Because of his training he was ordered not to place himself at risk or to commit suicide, so he survived the war.

Yoshida describes the tactical effectiveness of the softening up in *Sorrowful Solitary*

*Island: A Memoir of No Surrender on Guam During World War II:*

Immediately, the whole coastline was covered with bomb smoke from aircraft and warships of their support parties that aided the landing operation. The U.S. positioned two battleships, three cruisers and three destroyers side by side 3,000 meters off shore and continued to fire on the coastline using all of their main artillery. Until then bombardment from warships had taken place from a distance of 10,000 to 20,000 meters. The U.S. Navy must have felt confident enough to come that close because they knew that they had mastery of the air and that the Japanese artillery and gun platforms on the coastline had been completely destroyed. As far as destructive power was concerned, there was no comparison between the warships' guns and field weapons. Each battleship carried about 1900 tons of primary and supplemental artillery. It was calculated that if one U.S. battleship fired its main artillery and used half the shells it had, the destructive power would equal the firepower of five Japanese military divisions.

When this formidable bombardment was concentrated on the narrow strip of Agat Beach, the 38th regiment that had been guarding the whole area of Agat was totally powerless. Almost instantly, our waterfront point was tragically destroyed, shelters scooped out, and officers and soldiers blown up. At about 8:00 a.m. the superior U.S. troops made their landing and massed into the field. These troops were from the 4th and the 22nd Marine Corps Regiments that belonged to the Marine brigade and the 3rd artillery troop. [Yoshida 1981 :113-114]

Masashi Ito, a Japanese machine gunner, describes the effect of "softening up" in

*The Emperor's Last Soldiers.*

The din robbed us totally of any sense of hearing. It wasn't the same as a boom or a roar that splits the ears: it was more like being imprisoned inside a huge

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metal drum that was incessantly and insufferably being beaten with a thousand iron hammers. [Ito 1967: 20]

“We transferred from the troop ships into Higgins boats,” Eddy continued.

“Those were large landing craft that took troops and equipment up to the reef, we transferred from those onto L.C.V.P.’s, that stands for Landing Craft Vehicle — Personnel, out about 500 yards before the reef,” Eddy recalled. “We transferred from Higgins boats into the amtracs [amphibious tractor as the L.C.V.P.s were popularly called]. We should have all gotten a combat ribbon just for being able to make that transfer. We were climbing from a Higgins boat that stands about six feet out of the water into an amtrac that stands about 12 inches out of the water. This, of course, is out in the open sea with rolling surf, and carrying all of that gear. Just accomplishing that feat, I thought, was fantastic. From there we made a run for the reef.

“The landing was made in what is called a column of battalions. The 3rd battalion landed first, then the second (that was us), and behind us the first.

“As we were approaching the reef,” Eddy continued, “I was sitting on the tail end of this amtrac looking to see what was happening. I was looking to see if it was going to be a good day or a bad day. From all appearances, it was going to be a very bad day. We had a saying in the Corps when we faced a particularly dangerous situation, ‘Somebody’s gonna get hurt.’ I could see that ‘somebody was gonna get hurt.’ I could see the previous wave getting hit by artillery and mortar fire and I could see various boats that could not get over the reef. They went broadside and turned over so there were Marines bobbing around in deep water.”

Eddy and his platoon made their landing.

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“Actually,” he said, “we landed in a bowl. They had the high ground and it was really high. We all rolled up onto the beach. I don’t know how many amtracs were in a wave — maybe a hundred. But I’m only guessing. Supposedly you’re to keep position and, you know, stay in line so that everybody hits the beach at the same time. But with the surf — hell, it’s hard enough getting in there on a day when you’re fishing. On a day when the place is full of planes and boats and shells and things going crazy, some people become over anxious, let’s say. And they break formation. It just becomes a God-awful mess. And, of course, some boats overturn and maybe the platoon leader and even the platoon sergeant are in that boat, so you have a bunch of men who land and have no idea what they are supposed to do. But a squad leader or somebody takes over and the platoon takes its assigned objective.

“We got to the base of the first ridge. That was our phase line — more or less an assembly area where F Company was supposed to regroup. K Company preceded us up the ridge so there were no enemy to our immediate front. So we’re regrouping in a protected position preparing for the second phase. We didn’t have much to do except sit around and smoke. In truth, we were like spectators. We could see people fighting all around us — getting shot and blown up but nothing was happening where we were.

“Then all of a sudden,” Eddy continued, “we started getting fired on from our direct front; which didn’t make a lot of sense because K Company was to our front. I found the commander of K Company and told him about it and he said I was getting fired on from Asan point. Well, you know, he was a captain and I was a lieutenant; I wasn’t *going* to argue with him, but this was my second major operation and I was pretty sure I ~~knew~~ which direction the bullets were coming from. I went back to my men and put

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together a little patrol and worked up the ridge and sure enough, there were two caves. There were Japanese in the caves with machine guns — the whole bit. We were just sitting around taking it easy and I guess they just couldn't resist."

The 1st Marine Provisional Brigade landed on the beaches at Agat, south of Apra Harbor about three minutes after the 3rd Marine Division had landed to their north. The 1st Provisional Brigade was followed by the 77th Infantry Division. As they moved north, they cut off Orote Peninsula. Trapped on the peninsula were 3,100 Japanese troops under the command of Air Group Commander Asaichi Tamari. The 77th Infantry Division relieved the Marine Brigade to allow them to concentrate on taking the peninsula. On the 27th, the 3rd Marines and the 77th Infantry met and consolidated their perimeter. The 1st Provisional Marine Brigade finished clearing the Orote Peninsula on July 29th. Of the 3,100 Japanese who were trapped on the peninsula, only four surrendered.

During this initial phase of the recapture of Guam, the Japanese launched several counterattacks. The most serious was on the night of the 25th. Yoshida tells of the Japanese preparations:

On the same night, Captain Hiroshi Naganawa, head of the third battalion, based on Suenaga's decision, issued the command, "Tonight, at midnight, the third battalion will attack the flank of the U.S. troops stationed on Agat Beach. Exterminate the enemy at the waterline."

He also ordered each unit to let soldiers drink up all the Sake [rice wine] they had on hand in order to heighten the morale of the troops.

The command itself was written in extremely confident language. It might give readers the impression that this was an order to mop up the remnants of the enemy after a battle we had already won. However, the exact reverse was the case. All the soldiers made themselves ready to die. Following their leader's order, they began to straighten up their personal belongings, casting their eyes down in total silence. They burned all the letters from home and family photographs that they had always kept on them. They held up bills, like a five-yen bill or 10 yen bill, over the fire and burned them one by one, giving them a

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regretful glance. They opened cans of salmon, and had a feast with white rice. The Sake tasted bitter and intoxicated no one. It was a deeply sad moment. The soldiers turned their backs to each other and wept silently. [Yoshida 1981: 123-124]

The attack was centered on Eddy's platoon.

"We were down at Cabras Island," he said, "and we were relieved and put into division reserves. We moved nearer the front and dug into fox holes. It was raining that night. I remember that. We damn near drowned. We stayed in reserve. The next morning we relieved A Company 1st Battalion 3rd Marines.

"According to the documents that were later captured, the Japanese plan was to contain us in the bowl that we had landed in. He figured that by the time we reached the top of the ridges we would be pretty well spent and scattered. He was right. We were pretty well spent. There were gaps in our lines — huge gaps of five, six hundred yards between supporting units. By probing the lines, he was able to determine where the gaps were. His plan then was, of course, to come down, take over our beach, and cut us off from resupply. Sounds good. He had a good plan but he didn't have enough firepower to back it up. But some of them did get through; some of them even got down to the division hospital area.

"My platoon and I were in division reserve and then we were committed into the battle. We had no difficulty. We followed up behind another battalion and took their positions. We began to attack from there and that's when everything started coming apart. Unwittingly, our attack was coming through exactly the same place that the Japanese planned their attack later than night. We were attacking right through the same route that they were planning on attacking. It got real confusing. They actually attacked us while we were attacking them if you can imagine! That's how confusing it got up

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there. I'm sure that this led to their failure — helped break-up the attack. I think that they were surprised to find us up on the ridge so suddenly when we had been struggling for days down in the bowl. And, of course, we were a whole brand new battalion — we were the division reserve. I think that really caught the Japanese by surprise and I don't think he had any kind of communication left to change his plan. I think the plans were all set and blueprinted and so they just went ahead; despite the fact that they would be attacking a fresh battalion new on the line — that was us, unfortunately.

“We had just gotten up on top of the ridge,” Eddy continued, “and we started getting fire from our right flank. I assumed that E Company was there; they were supposed to be there. So I hollered, ‘Hold your fire, dummy, this is F Company.’ And I got an answer back, ‘Horu you file dummy, zis is efu company.’ In just a matter of minutes, a squad of Japanese came busting out of the brush with fixed bayonets — they didn't get anyplace. That was the first counterattack against us. Not 20 minutes later there was another one from our left flank. Now I knew that I had enemy troops on my left and my right and I had no reason to expect the ones in front were any friendlier. I went back to find out why there were so many Japs and no Marines. It turned out that the other two companies had not been able to make it up the hill. I also discovered that I was the only surviving platoon leader in the company. Just before dark, the company commander, Captain Louis H. Wilson, Jr., (he received a Congressional Medal of Honor for his part in this action and later became the Commandant of the Marine Corps), and the battalion commander, Col. Robert Cushman, Jr., (he also became Commandant of the Marine Corps — he preceeded Wilson), came up to look the situation over. They looked the position over and they decided that it was a good position to hold. They promised to

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send up some reserves. That was not the best news I had ever gotten. I mean, hell, I was the reserve. But they did manage to get some guys up there. I lost a lot of good friends who tried to get up and help me but were killed trying to make it.

“One really silly situation developed while these guys were coming up to help me. I was standing on the road and I saw this guy coming along and he was carrying a machine gun. Behind him came a guy carrying a tripod. I thought, ‘Great, we have a machine gun section coming up here to help us.’ Then I saw the third guy carrying an ammo chest and I realized that these were not Americans. They were Japanese reinforcements. They weren’t coming from their lines. I don’t know how they got there. I let out a war whoop and started shooting and everybody else started shooting and we mowed them down. Then we had a first-class operating Japanese machine gun. We put it to good use!

“Now, the thought crossed my mind that we were being written off; that they didn’t think we could hold that position; but I’d venture to say not one Japanese soldier got past our position that night. Of course, a lot of them went around us. The records say that there were seven attacks that night. I don’t know; it seemed endless. You knew when they were coming because they’d start all their chanting and yelling. They would scream and yell at us and tell us what they were going to do to us — in English. And we would recommend a diet for them and Tojo — in English; we didn’t know any Japanese. It was crazy. I never expected things to get to that point but we were very close. All of a sudden they would attack. We were right on top of each other. We were shooting flares and they were shooting flares — they were behind us and we were behind them. We fought with bayonets and bare hands.

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**"I could see that I didn't have many men left so I had to pull back about 50 yards.**

**Well, it worked out O.K.," Eddy continued. "They attacked our last position and we called in artillery on it. We just dumped everything we had in on our positions — our old positions, they were in there now. They had been in and out of our positions all night.**

**"I could see...I looked.... Where were the men? Well, that's them there. There?**

**That's it? Me and seven. The Japanese had demoted me to a squad leader.**

**Needless to say, on the Japanese side, the situation was similar. Yoshida says:**

**With the dawn, soldiers began returning from the front line with faltering steps. All of them, without exception, looked paralyzed and their eyes were unfocused.**

**"Hey, are you O.K.? Watch out for the bullets! Lie down!**

**Being totally indifferent either to my shout or to a shower of bullets, they were walking back aimlessly with their guns on their shoulders upside down.**

**"Everybody is gone. Everybody is gone. Battalion commander, too....Company commander too....Absolutely everyone is gone."**

**One of the soldiers was shouting loudly as if he were singing as he passed by. It was obvious he became mentally deranged. What kind of deadly scenes did he experience that were cruel enough to make his well-trained, strong-spirited soldier lose his mind? What in the world was going on on the front? Being seized with fear, I called out to retreating soldiers. Their answers were all the same.**

**"No hope. Totally wiped out. We can't fight any more. This is it. It's time for us to commit suicide," they shouted with blood-shot eyes. I felt my mind empty. I was deeply shocked to hear that Captain Naganawa had died. The Captain's death meant a collapse of the third battalion. I thought since this was the final battle, we, too, would have to take our lives. Once I decided to do so, I immediately felt great relief. I was not afraid of dying. There were so many dead bodies on the ground that even the living were anxious to die. My sanity was drifting away. [Yoshida 1981: 131-132]**

**"Surprisingly enough," Eddy said, "the 2nd Platoon of F Company continued to operate through the entire campaign on Guam. We ended up at Pati Point where Andersen Air Force Base is now."**

**According to official records, there were 3,500 enemy killed that night. Eddy doesn't know who counted them.**

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“They were probably compiled from morning reports,” he said. “I think that the count is accurate,” said Eddy. “The closest we ever came to a body count was our morning report which consisted of going out and shooting everybody in the head that was laying in front of us. I think that the 3,500 count is pretty accurate for the whole front that night. There were a hell of a bunch of them around us.”

The lack of success of this counterattack broke the back of the Japanese resistance on the island. According to Lt. Col. Hideyuki Takeda, operations officer of the Japanese 29th Division,

**It was estimated that it was no longer possible to expel the American forces from the island after the results of the general counterattack on the night of 25 July were collected in the morning to about noon of the 26th. After this it was decided that the sole purpose of combat would be to inflict losses on the American forces in the interior of the island. [Lodge 1954: 87]**

Only about 6,000 of the original 18,500 Japanese combat troops remained. These were pulled to the northern half of the island. To destroy the remaining forces, Gen. Geiger decided to cut the island in half at the waist. The 3rd Marine Division was deployed on the west side of the island in such a way as to cover about half its width. The 77th Infantry Division was similarly deployed on the east side. Both units moved north destroying any resistance they encountered.

As the main units moved slowly forward, fast moving patrols went out to scout the terrain. It was one of these patrols that had the distinction of freeing the first large group of Guamanians. As the official history of the 77th Infantry Division’s participation in the campaign recounts it:

**An outstanding event of the day for the “Statue of Liberty” Division was the liberation of 2,000 Chamorros who were huddled in a concentration camp near Asinan. Patrols of Company L, 307th found the camp unguarded. They let the natives out and directed them back toward their homes on the west side of the island. The captives were almost beside themselves with joy. Not knowing**

whether to kiss their liberators, bow to them, or shake hands with them, they tried to do all three at once. Many carried tiny American flags which they had hidden from the Japanese. "We wait long time for you to come," some of them said. Their faith in the return of the Americans had apparently never faltered, although as one Chamorro scornfully said, "We were told by the Japanese that the U.S.A. was being defeated, that Japan had control of the Hawaiian Islands, and that the Americans had only one ship left as the rest had been sunk."

The weary infantrymen were immensely moved by the joy of the natives as they passed back through the lines. Soldiers who had been complaining because their rations were low gave away what few cigarettes they had. While watching the tiny children who carried huge baskets, and the women who trudged along with half their household possessions on their backs, the soldiers realized the meaning of liberation for these enslaved people. [Department of War 1946: 68-69]

The fighting continued for 22 days. On 10 August 1944, Gen. Geiger announced that organized resistance on Guam had ceased. He was premature. On 12 August, Army troops stormed Gen. Obata's final command post. All of the Japanese in it were killed.

Guam was again in the hands of American "Maritime Bringers of News and Accounts of Foreign Places" but it had been expensive. The casualties were 1,283 Americans killed and 5,719 wounded. By actual count, 10,971 Japanese had been killed. Many others had been sealed in caves and were not counted. Over 7,000 Japanese remained on the island. American patrols, augmented by armed Guamanians, hunted down the remaining Japanese. In addition, Guamanians roamed the island singly and in groups to extract revenge on their tormentors.

Jack Eddy looked upon the job of hunting down the remaining Japanese as a training exercise.

Emotional and physical exhaustion had taken their toll.

"My memory's foggy," said Eddy. "There are days and weeks that I can't account for. Our battalion was now company strength. Our company that had come ashore with 270 men and seven officers was now down to about 66 men and two officers.

So, of course, we were getting a bunch of replacement troops. Some of them had some combat experience but most had never heard a shot fired in anger. This included the platoon leaders as well as the riflemen. So these patrols provided a method to give the men additional training before taking off on the next campaign. So we used them in that manner. We had targets to shoot at that could shoot back; which always makes training more realistic. I wouldn't even venture a guess as to how many patrols I was on — maybe a hundred. In the course of all these patrols I only lost one man.

"I have no idea how many Japanese we eliminated but it would be up in the hundreds. We killed 100 percent and captured zero. There was no effort made to capture them. There had been some efforts. We sent out jeeps with loud speakers and people who spoke Japanese. Planes flew over and dropped leaflets. They were being told how to surrender and that they would be well treated and so forth. The problem was that these guys would shoot at the planes and jeeps. We got the point. We figured that they didn't want to surrender. They wanted to die. So, O.K., that's what we were getting paid for."

Care had been taken even during the heaviest fighting to do whatever was possible to protect the civilian population.

"We were told," Eddy recounts, "what to expect. You know, what they looked like — what they'd act like. And we had been briefed well before the landing that we were actually recapturing American soil and liberating American citizens. Even though they were not officially American citizens until 1950, they were U.S. nationals and treated as citizens well before that."

Once the island was taken, it had to be governed. This was the job of the Army's military government specialists assigned to what are called civil affairs units. Civil

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affairs personnel stepped ashore on the first day. As soon as civilians were located, civil affairs personnel began to care for them. They gathered them into camps and posted several proclamations. Adm. Chester W. Nimitz was proclaimed the governor of Guam and the Northern Marianas. This proclamation was of major political significance to Guam until 1950. It re-established the naval commander as the final authority on Guam.

It reads in part:

**All powers of government and jurisdiction in Guam and adjacent waters, and over the inhabitants thereof, and final administrative responsibility are vested in me as Admiral, United States Navy, commanding the forces of occupation and a Military governor, and will be exercised through subordinate commanders at my direction. [Nimitz 1944: 1]**

The second proclamation defined various war crimes and a third established military courts for Guam and the Northern Marianas. Gradually American law was reestablished on Guam.

“I ended up down in Inarajan,” Eddy said. “This was, maybe, September of 1944. We were sent down there to protect the village and to run combat patrols — there were still some Japanese wandering around the hills out there. The Guamanians spoke English. English was their language. All their schools were taught in English. They were as American as anyone you’d hope to meet. They were completely loyal. It was kind of hard to maintain discipline. They were too nice to us. We were camped on the edge of town. Just a bridge and a little river separated us from the village. One day they had what they call a ‘fish pull.’ They tied all of their nets together and stretched them across the mouth of the bay and everybody pulled all the fish toward the shore. Of course, all the Guamanian girls were out there working and the Marines were ‘helping.’ Like I said, it was kind of hard to maintain discipline. It was an enjoyable experience.

“We were living in fox holes covered with shelter halves. The people didn’t have a thing. One day we got in a shipment of cots. We sat down and talked it over and decided that we couldn’t very well sleep on cots while they were living without a stick of furniture. So we gave our cots to the villagers.”

Many Chamorro-Guamanians served as guides for the liberators. One such was George Santos Flores. Before the war Flores had been a young farmer. He had been born under the American administration and considered himself an American.

“We went to American schools,” Flores said. “I quit after the sixth grade because my father needed my help and he was afraid that if I got too much education I might not want to be a farmer. I had always liked America and Americans because they had improved everything here on Guam.

“The first I knew of the war was when I saw an airplane fly low overhead. I thought it was an American plane. A little while later, I met some members of the Guam Militia driving toward Agana. They told me that the Japanese had bombed Agana.

“So we lived under the Japanese for two-and-a-half years. I stayed on my farm and out of the way as much as possible. But we all hoped that the Americans would come back soon.”

As the American invasion became imminent, Flores, who was then 20, and his family were moved to the concentration camp at Manengon. When they heard that the Americans had landed at Asan they made preparations to leave. Flores heard that there was a camp for refugees in Yona. Flores and his mother began walking in that direction.

“My mother was sick,” Flores said. “So I had to carry her all the way from Manengon through the mountains all the way to Asan. It took two days. We started in

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the morning. We walked all day. We slept in the mountains. Then the next morning I carried Mom down into Asan. But by the time we got there, there was nobody around — they had all left.

“Soon the Marines started coming, riding the trucks. They stopped and the Marines got down. They said that there were no sick people at Asan. So they picked us up and took us to Agat.

“I left my mother there. She told me that maybe I wouldn’t see her again. I left and went with the 21st Marines. I left my wife with our daughter in Agat. About six or seven days later, I met my brother and he told me that my Mom died and they buried her. To this day, I don’t know where they buried my mother.

“In 1945,” Flores continued, “I was in the invasion of Rota with the Third Marine Division. After the Marines and Army had secured Rota, they sent me back to clean out all the Japanese stragglers.

When I got back to Guam, we organized the Guam Combat Patrol because there were still plenty of Japanese stragglers. They were stealing and everything and sometimes they killed somebody. Every day we went out and patrolled and set up ambushes. I killed plenty of Japanese.

“I worked hard in the Guam Combat Patrol. I patrolled all of the northern part of the island. When there was a report of Japanese stragglers, I went out and hunted them down. We killed about 275 Japanese.

“Sometimes when we found them, they were sick or wounded and if they wanted to surrender, I would just carry them in. Sometimes when I would pick them up they

would tell me to shoot them. They were afraid to go back to Japan. They were told there was no surrender. I would tell them, 'You are my prisoner of war!'" Flores concluded.

Some of the Japanese holdouts were remarkably tenacious. As Rogers says:

After the war ended and in response to American propaganda to surrender, [Lt. Col. Hideyuki] Takeda himself and sixty-seven of his men finally gave up on 4 September 1945. A week later, he persuaded another forty-six of his men to come in. These military prisoners were returned to Japan. From then on, about 130 Japanese either as individuals or as small groups, held out, utterly convinced that the American propaganda about the war's end was a lie. These hunted men lead desperate lives, a few starving to death, and some resorting to cannibalism among themselves to survive. During the next three decades 114 stragglers surrendered and the remainder were killed.... [Rogers 1994: 194]

One straggler was captured in May of 1960. Three days later, his companion surrendered.

It was dusk of 24 January 1972 when two Chamorro-Guamanians, who were on a fishing expedition, captured what was probably the last straggler. When Jesus M. Duenas and Manuel D. Garcia arrived at their new fish traps in the basin of the Talofoto River, they noticed that they were not alone. Duenas called to a roughly dressed figure that he took to be a child or teenager. The person dropped his fish trap and started running. The two men managed to catch their quarry after a short chase and struggle. The man took a posture of submission on his knees with head bowed and hands in an attitude of prayer and awaited what he thought would be his execution. Sergeant Shoichi Yokoi was captured after hiding for 28 years in the dense jungles of Guam.

The two men took their captive to the Agaña police station where he was assured that he would not be harmed. Later that evening he was transferred to Guam Memorial Hospital where it was determined that he was in remarkably good physical condition.

Yokoi had been transferred to Guam from Manchuria in February of 1944. When organized resistance ended, he and nine fellow Japanese hid out in the jungle-covered

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Talofofo River valley. Gradually their number dwindled to three. After Typhoon Karen, in 1962, destroyed many of the sources of food in the area where the men had been living, Yokoi moved to another cave about 10 minutes walk away. Eventually the two companions died, apparently from eating federico nuts, which are poisonous unless properly prepared. Yokoi buried them. For the remaining eight years of his ordeal, Yokoi was alone.

He built ingenious fish traps which aided him in his hunting-gathering existence. A small pig that he caught and ate made him ill, so he ate no more meat. He subsisted primarily on breadfruit and fresh-water shrimp. When his clothes wore out, Yokoi, a tailor in civilian life, wove some burlap-like cloth from the bark of the hibiscus tree. Using a needle made from wire, he sewed this material into a suit of clothes.

With the exception of a couple of bouts of food poisoning, Yokoi's health remained good, due probably to his scrupulous personal habits. He bathed at least twice a day to prevent the infections and fungi from which his compatriots had occasionally suffered.

He returned to Japan in a specially chartered jet accompanied by the remains of his two friends. Also on the flight were Musashi Ito and Bunzo Minagawa, the two wartime buddies who had surrendered in 1960, a doctor, a nurse, a Japanese government official and a gaggle of about 60 newsmen.

Yokoi admitted that he knew that the war was over but he did not surrender for two reasons. One was that he feared that he would be summarily executed. Additionally, he was brought up in a culture in which it was considered disgraceful to return from battle alive and defeated. To return home would bring shame on his family and his

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emperor. He said that he did not want to return home while there was any possibility that his father was alive to see his disgrace.

On departing Guam, Yokoi wrote a farewell which read:

Despite my being a former member of the Imperial Army of Japan, your expressions of kindness and friendship, and the presence of multitudes of you here today to bid me good-bye, fills my heart with warmth and appropriate words of appreciation escape me. Only the tears of gratitude flow shamelessly. I pray that we will be able to strive hand-in-hand forever for a better understanding among mankind. [Lince 1973: 118]

Later, in Japan, he made the enigmatic statement:

Guam's culture is more advanced than Tokyo's. [Lince 1973: 118]

He did not elaborate.

Yokoi returned to Guam twice. He was invited to spend his honeymoon at the Hilton. An incident from his final visit is described by Joe Murphy in a column entitled "I was there when they found Sgt. Yokoi."

A few years ago, Sgt. Yokoi returned to Guam. He went out to Talofofo Falls. I happened to be there and once more greeted him. A group of Marine veterans were also out at the falls, part of some reunion. These tough old guys looked at Yokoi, and Yokoi looked at them. Suddenly, beautifully, the war was over. The Marines went up to Yokoi and hugged him, one at a time.

Tears rolled down his eyes — and mine. [Murphy 19970925: 31]

On 22 September 1997, Yokoi died of heart failure in Nagoya.

What kind of man remains hidden in the jungle for nearly 30 years, the last eight of which were spent in total isolation?

A Tokyo psychiatrist, Dr. Shohei Okabe, studied two such holdouts intensively using modern psychological tests. He studied Yokoi and Hiroh Onoda. Onoda was captured in the Philippines in 1974. Okabe discovered that despite very different

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upbringing, both men were unusually self-sufficient; the type sometimes referred to as “loners.”

Rumors persist that there is one — some say at least two — more Imperial Army soldiers hiding in the jungles of Guam. But as time goes by, this becomes less and less likely.

The liberation of Guam and the conquest to the Northern Mariana Islands spelled the end of the war. In *The Liberation of Guam: 21 July — 10 August 1944*, Harry Gaily says:

From the newly improved naval bases, particularly on Guam, the United States fleet could more effectively block the transport of supplies and men to the thousands of Japanese troops stranded in the lands which they had earlier conquered, extending as far south as New Guinea and westward to Burma. They were now isolated without hope of support of any kind from the Imperial government. It is unlikely that enemies such as Admiral Nagano, chief of the Japanese naval staff, and Gen. H.M. Smith would agree on much concerning the Pacific War. One point, however, reiterated at length by both was that the loss of the Marianas meant that Japan had irretrievably lost the war. Perhaps the most succinct expression of this was that stated later by Prince Naruhiko Higashikuni, Commander of Japan's Home Defense Headquarters, when he wrote:

The war was lost when the Marianas were taken away from Japan and when we heard the B-29s were coming out .... We had nothing in Japan that we could use against such a weapon. From the point of view of Home Defense Command, we felt that the war was lost and said so. If the B-29s could come over Japan there was nothing that could be done. [Gailey 1988:205]

The resistance of the Japanese in the face of hopeless odds convinced the Americans that the conquest of the home islands would be extremely difficult, as Nimitz says in *Triumph in the Pacific: The Navy's Struggle Against Japan*:

Conquest of the southern Marianas cost more than 5,000 American and nearly 60,000 Japanese lives. Japan had lost its direct air staging line to the Carolines. The United States had acquired logistic bases for further conquests westward, submarine bases for stepping up attacks on Japanese communications with the Southern Resources Area, and air bases from which the new long-range B-29's could blast the industrial concentration in and about Tokyo. The loss of the Marianas was the beginning of the end for Japan. Yet

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not all Allied officials saw it that way. The general refusal of Japanese troops to surrender even when hopelessly overpowered, and the wholesale suicide of Japanese civilian residents of Saipan in order to avoid capture led many to the chilling conclusion that Japan could be conquered only by direct invasion and the virtual extermination of her armed forces and population.

This assumption was incorrect. The Emperor and other high Japanese officials knew very well that they must soon capitulate. The Tojo government fell and was succeeded by a cabinet to whom the Emperor made known his desire for early peace negotiations. Yet so binding was the Japanese military code, so rigid the demands of Oriental “face,” that for a whole year no official in Japan could bring himself to initiate steps for ending hostilities. On the Allied side, the goals of unconditional surrender set by Roosevelt and Churchill at Casablanca forbade the proffering of terms which might have served as bases for negotiation. [Potter & Nimitz 1963: 95]

Although war crimes trials were conducted after the war from 1945 until 1949, it is worth discussing them here because, in a real sense, they are part of the war. There were 148 people who were tried for war crimes. Of those, 123 were Japanese military personnel. The civilians included women.

Of the 123 Japanese military personnel tried, 10 were acquitted, 36 were sentenced to life in prison and 30 got the death sentence — only 10 of these were actually hanged. All of the executions were conducted on Guam. Twenty-four were convicted of crimes on Guam, several for murders that involved cannibalism— eight of them were hanged.

A number of Chamorro interpreters from the Northern Mariana Islands were convicted of crimes ranging from beating prisoners to murder. Several Japanese residents of Guam were deported to Saipan. One Guam resident was convicted of treason.

He was Samuel Shinohara, a restaurateur who owned Shinohara’s Rooster Bar, a popular hangout for American servicemen. The specific charges included the striking of Gov. McMillin at the 1941 surrender. McMillin never confirmed the charge. Shinohara

had been a spy before the war and an active collaborator during Japanese occupation. Despite the fact that he was not a U.S. citizen, Shinohara was convicted of treason and sentenced to hang. The sentence was commuted to life in prison. He served eight years in Sugamo Prison in Japan before returning to live out his life quietly on Guam.

America's hard-won victory in the Pacific had rectified the strategic mistake of 1898. As Rogers says:

The geopolitics of the Pacific were thus transformed from the prewar situation, in which Guam was a lonely American outpost surrounded by hostile Japanese islands, to one in which Guam was the center of an American-dominated lake that encompassed the entire western Pacific Ocean. From the American military viewpoint, the strategic error in 1898 of not claiming for the United States all Spanish Micronesia, or at least all of the Mariana Islands, was at last rectified. [Rogers 1994: 207]

From the capture of Guam until May of 1946, Guam was governed by a U.S. military government. From then until 1 August 1950 she was again ruled by a naval government. One task of these military and naval authorities was to care for and rehabilitate the civilian population that had suffered so much during the war. To look at this care and rehabilitation we must back up a few days to the early days of the invasion.

Civil affairs was one of the first follow-on units to come ashore. Civil affairs are units designed to care for and govern civilian populations in battle and occupied areas. Civil affairs personnel landed on 21 July at Asan and Agat. These units had been patterned after similar units set up in the Gilbert and Marshall islands. Almost their first order of business was to issue a proclamation that declared that Adm. Chester W. Nimitz was the governor of Guam and that rescinded all Japanese laws and regulations. This proclamation reads:

I All powers of government and jurisdiction in Guam and adjacent waters, and over the inhabitants thereof, and final administrative responsibility are vested in me as Admiral, United States Navy, Commanding the forces of occupation,

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and as Military governor, and will be exercised through subordinate commanders by my direction.

II All powers exercised, and laws and regulations promulgated by the Japanese Empire and its armed forces are hereby rescinded. [Nimitz 1944: 1]

Historian, educator and eyewitness Pedro C. Sanchez says in *Guahan/Guam: The History of our Island*:

The 1944 proclamation was the second American proclamation of occupation since Captain Richard P. Leary issued his proclamation in 1899, and the fourth since 1565. The Spaniards had their own proclamation in January 1565, and the Japanese in December 1941. [Sanchez 1991: 244]

The civil affairs personnel set up a refugee camp in Agat. As civilians filtered through the lines or were found by U.S. troops, they were directed or transported to the Agat camp. The refugees soon overwhelmed the civil affairs facilities. In "Experience in the Pacific Islands as Illustrated by Guam," Edward G. Lewis says:

The camps were similarly run. The officers and enlisted men constituting the guiding agency were assisted in the actual work by the people, who were placed on a payroll, to be met later when cash for that purpose should become available. One camp, for example, was divided into areas, each presided over by an enlisted man and an appointed civilian leader. Mass feeding was necessary at first because of the lack of cooking utensils. As opened cans became more numerous, more enterprising civilians preferred to do their own cooking, thereby taking some of the burden from the hard-pressed community kitchens managed by a handful of service cooks and worked by experienced civilians. Guamanian steward's mates and cooks who had previously seen naval service were of great help. After some experimentation, a system of three meals a day for laboring men and two for the rest was worked out. The diet consisted largely of various sorts of rice dishes, supplemented with such canned meats, vegetables and fruits as were discovered in any quantity in Japanese caches.

Dispensaries were established in each of the camps. Navy doctors and corpsmen performed heroic works under the most difficult and primitive of conditions. Malnutrition was so general that resistance was low, and large numbers of people were found to have yaws and tropical ulcers. The sanitary inspections carried out daily by the corpsmen in each of the areas revealed that health habits strongly established during the previous American regime had broken down during the Japanese occupation and that the sanitary inspectors had to be vigilant in their work. The galley and water supplies were frequently inspected by the medical branch, in order to guard against the danger of epidemics. Sick call daily produced long lines of patients. The light of a



kerosene pressure lamp served at the delivery of many a baby, and often shone at night burials.

The spiritual life of the people was helped by Catholic chaplains, who came to the camps when time permitted to say Masses, to baptize babies, and to bury the dead. Sacristans of former times saw to the building of rudimentary alters and the preservation of the holy objects.

A small squad of Marines together with the former local policemen, acted as guards for the camps. At one camp Japanese snipers were active as part of several efforts made by the Japanese to get the food stocks of the camp. In the camps could be found guides for Marine and Army patrols in the backwoods areas and for military government and supply officers in search of hidden stores of food.

Shelter differed markedly at the different camps, depending upon available supplies of building scraps. At one camp, shelter halves, tarpaulins, and tents were supplemented by such little tin as could be found. At another, near the ruined city of Agana, where galvanized iron roofs and structures had been plentiful, the people constructed long community houses. At a third, the prevailing house style was that built out of indigenous materials (woven coconut palm fronds and the like) as directed by the Japanese when the area had been set up as a concentration camp just before the American reoccupation began. Nevertheless, the morale at each of the camps was uniformly excellent in spite of hardship. It was touching indeed to hear the people singing, when first gathered into American lines, a ballad composed during the Japanese times, "Uncle Sam Please Come Back to Guam." Equally moving was their singing of "America" as the Stars and Stripes rose over the different camps.

In spite of the assistance of military units in providing partially or fully for civilians in their employ, the officers and men in the military government headquarters found the supply problem a difficult one. Salvaged Japanese food was collected in a centralized depot, conveniently located in a bombed-out, reinforced concrete mansion which the Japanese themselves had used partly for food storage. On a day-to-day, hand-to-mouth basis, food was collected. For emergency feeding, military storage depots had made excess C and D rations available in limited quantities. As more and more Japanese rice was found, the supply depot became a mound of rice in various stages of freshness. Supply offices salvaged Japanese supplies wherever they could be found, using the captured Japanese trucks made available to the civil affairs officers. In addition to the salvaged operation, the supply personnel at the central supply dump distributed other essentials to the various camps. Because of the bad weather and the heavy military traffic, the road at one camp soon broke down so completely that supplies were sent for the last mile to the camp by carabao cart. At another camp, off the main road, the supplies were regularly brought in by the same method. It was to the great credit of the supply department that, although the supplies had mostly to be gathered by the hat-in-hand begging system from the military units, at no time did the people go hungry. [Lewis 1948: 298-300]

Schools were built and opened in the intact villages, in the villages that were being rebuilt and in the refugee camps. Unfortunately, the civil affairs planners had neglected to include school supplies in their planning. Paper, chalk and pencils were supplied but there was little else. Old magazines were collected and used as textbooks.

Lewis says:

The former civilian Superintendent of Schools became a member of the education office, as did also the former chief clerk of the department. Through the action of the superintendent and his assistants, the former teachers living in each community were located and assembled under the leadership of a principal. Each principal exercised his own ingenuity in outfitting the school beyond the essentials of paper, pencil, chalk and teachers. In one instance each child brought his own packing box as a seat. In another, the building was floored by the students, each of whom brought one board. Gay flowers filled the formerly deserted buildings and the schools assumed the lively air of a reviving community. They suggested a return of some sort of normal life after the immediate horrors of warfare had passed. [Lewis 1948: 304-305]

With the end of Japanese resistance, civil affairs ceased to exist. It became military government. On 17 August 1944, five days after Gen. Obata's last command post was overwhelmed, III Amphibious Corps commander Marine Corps Gen. Roy S. Geiger handed over command of Guam to Marine Corps Maj. Gen. Henry L. Larsen. On 1 October 1944 Larsen's command officially became the Military Government of Guam.

Larsen had a monumental task on his hands. The fighting had destroyed most of the buildings on the island. One of the first jobs of the military government, after immediate crisis-management tasks were in hand, was to reconstruct the island. But the war wasn't over. Guam was also being converted into a major forward base. Larsen set up his command post overlooking Agana. It was on the site of the present Naval Regional Medical Center.

He commanded a huge effort. Guam was a gigantic construction project involving 18 engineering and construction battalions and scores of support groups. By

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early 1945, five large air bases were in operation. From them B-29 bombers of Gen. Curtis LeMay's 20th Air Force flew daily raids to bomb targets in Japan. Guam was a massive military base!

Gradually the civilians were returning to their villages. Except for the southern villages of Umatac, Merizo and Inarajan, the villages had been flattened by bombing and artillery, and bulldozed away. The Americans had learned on Saipan how skillfully the Japanese could use villages as obstacles, cover and concealment. They had opted to pre-emptively destroy the villages.

Now Guam was secure. The people needed housing so military authorities put together construction groups to build "temporary" housing. Much of this "temporary" housing was still in use almost 20 years later when it was destroyed by Typhoon Karen in 1962. The first order of business was to clear the rubble of the villages. The refuse was used as land fill in most cases. In Agana, the debris was bulldozed into the bay creating an artificial enlargement to the island. This reclamation was later named the *Paseo de Susana* by the Guam Congress, in honor of Susana Dyer, Gov. George L. Dyer's first lady. Mrs. Dyer had been instrumental in bringing numerous improvements to the island, most notably, the women's and children's wing to the hospital.

Originally, post-War reconstruction planners had estimated that \$26 million would be needed for civilian rehabilitation. The executive branch and Congress squealed in pain so the estimate was recalculated to \$15 million. Congress appropriated \$6 million. Congress was later to supplement this with an additional \$1 million, but not until 1947.

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Congress didn't stint on appropriations for military facilities, however. This construction created a boom. Everyone who wanted a job got one. So a large part of the money that was spent for military facilities found its way into the hands of Guamanians. They in turn used it to build homes and businesses or put it into the bank where it was loaned to people who used it to build homes and businesses.

Gen. Larsen was the governor but it was only a part of his job. He was primarily the commander of all military and naval facilities on Guam. Day-to-day administration of the military government was handled by Cmdr. James Barton who was the deputy chief of military government. Several departments were organized. There were Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Education, Judiciary, Labor, Medical Services, Police and Public Works. Each was run by a naval officer except the Police, which was run by a Marine Corps officer. Guamanians who had worked for the government before the Japanese came were hired by the Military Government of Guam. They were given back pay for the entire period of Japanese occupation. This was done as a stimulus to get the economy moving.

The civil servants and all workers and the military were, of course, paid in American money. But there was precious little to buy. The military government was then faced with the task of seeding the island with small capitalists. Some of these, as one would expect, went broke. Others were successful. In *Guam U.S.A.: The Birth of a Territory*, Russell L. Stevens describes the methodology:

Following the war, some merchants were able to finance purchases interest free. Huge amounts of stores and supplies of all kinds were issued from Navy supplies and quickly turned into profits. In addition, war claims were paid out in the amount of several million dollars, and some individual's claims rose to very high figures. As a result of this large supply of circulating dollars, within a few years following cessation of hostilities, Guam had some merchants whose

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fortunes were almost beyond their own belief. For the most part, such persons had only minimum obligations to pay. Their houses and stores were constructed largely of salvaged material; their standard of living was not high; they paid no income taxes; and in general it was possible not only to make large profits but to retain virtually all of them. Most of the merchants kept their profits in cash rather than investing their surplus. [Stevens 1956: 119-120]

Remember Jose Rivera who had been given the job of gathering eggs for the Japanese? He was one of the successful postwar entrepreneurs — although on a modest scale.

Rivera had been a schoolteacher and Company Commander of the 5th Company, 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment of the Guam Militia before the war. During the war he was given the task of collecting eggs for the Japanese authorities. He was paid in yen for this work.

Rivera got into the merchandising business as a result of a note he saw on the village bulletin board.

“They put up a note that said that anybody interested in running a store, which would be opened by the government, should put in an application,” he said. “I was one of the applicants and I was fortunate enough to be the one chosen for the village of Agat. So I was told to start ordering the stuff that I would be needing. They did not give you as much of the stuff as you ordered but they divided up the goods that they had on a prorata basis, depending on the size of the village.”

A difficulty in starting any small business is where to get the initial capital. Rivera had this problem, too.

“You had to put down on the application,” he said, “how much capital you had available. I started out with \$500. I had exchanged my Japanese yen for American money. Not really an exchange. I would take a box full of one yen bills, 10 yen bills,



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and 50 yen bills down to the soldiers and Marines and they would give me what they could or would for it — it wasn't worth anything except as souvenirs. My father was working on one of the digging crews — digging latrines and cesspools and things like that — and he gave me some money. By October they were giving out the stuff that we ordered. I bought \$400 worth of merchandise and kept \$100 for my change. You didn't have to worry about being short of merchandise because if you sold out, you could go back the next day and buy some more. Some things, like rice and sugar, were rationed, but others, like Spam, you could have as much as you wanted.

“The store itself was built by the armed forces. It started out with a thatched roof and walls made from corrugated roofing tin. It had a gravel floor. The roof was supported by coconut tree trunks. It was nothing fancy but it served the purpose because people didn't come and stay — they came and got the item and they went.

“As the village grew bigger, the government opened up another store. The people on the outskirts of the island began to come into the villages because they were afraid of the Japanese snipers. The other store was opened by Mrs. Carbullido who had been a storekeeper before the war.

“Eventually, they began to bring in liquor and so I opened up a liquor store. Later they began to bring in contract workers from the Philippines. They were living in Camp Roxas near here and they became my regular customers. That was the time when my store was doing the best. Sometimes I would do \$500 business in a single day! Then a Filipino store owner came in and grabbed some of my Filipino customers,” Rivera lamented.

The store has been at two locations and its facilities have vastly improved. In the 1960s a supermarket opened up in Agat which hurt Rivera's business. Like most "mom-and-pop" stores, Rivera's store has been able to do little more than support the owner and his family. The store allowed Jose and Isabel Rivera to raise two daughters.

"I'm proud of keeping this store open," Rivera concluded. "Others have opened in other villages and then — bam; they close. But not mine."

Jose Rivera died in 1986. The store was run for a time by Jose and Isabel's daughter Maria Rivera Davis. It is still open but is being rented to other management.

During the final year of the Second World War, the military government encouraged farmers to work toward again producing sufficient food to satisfy the island's needs. This effort was hindered by the takeover of much of the best farm land by the military. Farmers soon learned that their land might be expropriated, almost without warning. At the time, most of the people of Guam were willing to make almost any sacrifice to aid in the war effort. In fact, at the time, less than half a dozen families objected to these military land acquisitions or to the compensation. In later years, however, these land acquisitions would be bitterly contested in the courts and in the court of public opinion.

It is worth remembering that when the United States took Guam in 1898, all of the land devolved from ownership by the Spanish crown to ownership by the U.S. Government. Congress, the only body with the authority to alienate U.S. property, had not given ownership of any of this land to anyone. So, in effect, the U.S. was paying month-to-month leaseholders and squatters to relocate.

In November 1945, in response to lengthy delays in getting Guamanians compensated for military land condemnations, the U.S. Congress passed P.L. 225, the Land Transfer Act. This law authorized the Navy to make federal land available to Guam residents in replacement for land acquired for military use. In 1948 and 1949, the Navy offered Guamanians in temporary communities the opportunity to buy their lots at bargain prices rather than wait to rebuild on prewar locations. Hundreds of Guamanians accepted this offer. These people became the only fee-simple landowners on Guam.

Further complicating the agricultural picture was the fact that immediately after the war, because of the availability of government jobs in the construction and military support industries, the island's economy reverted from its war-time agricultural base to its pre-war cash base. In addition, perhaps, the methods used by the *kaikontai* to increase agricultural production left the people of Guam with an unpleasant emotional response to agricultural work. Agriculture has, for the most part, remained a subsistence-type hobby for the retired or semi-retired who do not need or even wish to do it profitably.

On 15 August 1945, Japan surrendered. This had an immediate effect on Guam — exodus. Within a few months the military population was reduced from more than 250,000 to less than 50,000. To say the least, this caused a major disruption in the island's economy. Gone were many of the construction and administration jobs that the war had created. The military abandoned millions of dollars worth of camps, airfields, buildings and other war facilities.

As Sanchez says:

Millions of dollars worth of Quonset huts, from the small 20 by 40 foot variety to elephant Quonsets, were left behind, empty of contents, especially in Tamuning and along Route 8 from Mong Mong to Toto. Hundreds of barracks were left vacant from Agat to Yigo. A large complex of concrete barracks and support

facilities designed for a large contingent of Marines or an Army unit was left unfinished at the Torres (Aguilat) property in Yona, near today's Baza Garden.

In addition, the military left behind surplus jeeps, trucks, amphibious boats and other vehicles. Some were sold to island residents at very low cost. There also were millions of gallons of gasoline left behind in 55-gallon drums stacked neatly on private property. Civilian vehicles had all the gasoline they needed at no cost to owners. For months, the Chamorros had one long joyride, compliments of Uncle Sam. [Sanchez 1991: 261]

There are still a few Quonset huts around the island that date from this period. Two are historical sites and offices on Naval Facility, a few house small businesses and a couple are residences, but most are used for storage.

In May 1946, the Military Government returned authority to the naval government that would govern until 1950. The first post-War naval governor was Rear Admiral Charles A. (Baldy) Pownall. In his first official act he issued a proclamation declaring the re-establishment of the naval government.

On 30 May 1946 he made his inaugural address. In it he said:

Now today, by authority of the proclamations and appointments just read, we emerge from the necessities of war to the necessities, tasks and aspiration of peace.

First, let us remind ourselves, as we "turn to" on the job that lies ahead, that we have a new Guam to build; that the tragic insecurity and inadequacy of its pre-war naval military status find no place in our patterns for the future. From its battlefields and bloodshed, its shell-and-bomb-ridden villages and churches, from the steadfastness and loyalty of its people, there must come forth a new Guam with new mission and a new and greater destiny, not only for its glory, well-being and protection of its people, but for the flag it flies. Our honored dead, whose graves we decorate today, silently but firmly remind us of our exacting responsibilities. Guam threatens no one, but Guam serves supports and defends many. Guam must be strong. [Pownall 1946:1]

In other words, Guam's purpose was seen as strategic. But a little later, he demonstrated some appreciation of Guamanian traditions when he said:

It is the purpose of your Government to reactivate the hands and minds of those who aspire to a more useful and more fruitful life; not by breaking down, destroying, or interfering with Guamanian freedom, institutions and traditions,

which are good and beautiful, but through the furtherance thereof. [Pownall 1946: 2]

Like the pre-War naval governors, Pownall had supreme power. But his jurisdiction was greatly expanded. In light of his expanded jurisdiction, the new governor was an admiral. His power was still almost unlimited — he was judge, jury and executioner. In *Guam and Its People*, Laura Thompson explains:

When in May 1946, naval civil government was re-established on the island an admiral was made governor of Guam, whereas formerly no governor had held a rank higher than that of captain. Besides his appointment as commandant of the Guam naval station, the postwar naval governor of Guam was commander of the Marianas area. In his military capacity he exercises the authority of commanding officer over thousands of service personnel in the Marianas, Carolines and Marshalls. In his capacity as civil administrator, the governor of Guam exercises supreme authority over the civilian native population of the island (now numbering some 23,000) and the American civilian population, employees of the Navy, Army and construction companies, now numbering several thousands (the exact figures have not been made public). From the point of view of governmental structure, the dual function of the top island administrator reinforces his civil authority with military prestige and power obviously far greater than that of any prewar governor. [Thompson 1947: 75]

A bit later, Thompson continues:

The traditional American checks and balances concerning the exercise of political power being absent with regard to the natives of Guam, the postwar governor still had supreme control in all native legislative, executive and judicial matters. [Thompson 1947: 75]

One of the first actions of the new naval government was to change the official name of the Chamorro-Guamanians of Guam. A number of Chamorro-Guamanians expressed a desire to disassociate themselves from the Chamorros of the Northern Marianas, some of whom had collaborated with the Japanese in their harsh treatment of the Chamorro-Guamanians. Since Guam was an American territory and the Northern Marianas were a United Nations Trust Territory administered by the United States, it seemed advantageous to some Navy personnel to distinguish between the two.

So in 1946, informal polls were taken throughout the island. Students, government workers, village commissioners, the Guam Congress and the general population were polled. The population passed up the traditional name “Chamorro” for “Guamanian.”

Pownall’s military duties, as Commander, Naval Forces Marianas — popularly known by its military acronym COMNAVMAR — took up a lot of his time. So during his administration the day-to-day governance of Guam was done by “civil administrators.” Capt. Milton H. Anderson was the first civil administrator. Anderson was followed by Capts. Paul Tambling and A.B. Mayfield.

From its inception, the post-War naval government considered itself an interim government which was to exist only until Congress should establish a proper civilian government. In a paper, issued in 1945 on the role of U.S. Naval Military Government in the Pacific Ocean area, Adm. R.A. Spruance says:

**With the cessation of hostilities, Military Government continues to administer the occupied territories until such time as a permanent civil government has been provided by duly constituted authority. During the interim, it shall be the mission and duty of the United States Naval Military Government to give effect to the announced policies of the United States by:**

- (a) The physical restoration of damaged property and facilities.**
- (b) The continued improvement of health and sanitation.**
- (c) The early establishment of self-governing communities.**
- (d) The institution of a sound program of economic development of trade, industry and agriculture along lines which will ensure that the profits and benefits thereof accrue to the native inhabitants and which will assist them in achieving the highest possible level of economic independence.**
- (e) The establishment of an educational program adapted to the native capabilities and to local environments and designed to assist in the early achievement of the foregoing objectives. [Spruance 1945: 516]**

To facilitate the requirement to establish self-government, naval government brought Chamorro-Guamanians into the governmental process from the outset. Directly under the governor there were two governing organizations for Chamorro-Guamanians.

First there was the Guam Congress. It had been suspended during the Japanese occupation but when the island was retaken it reconstituted itself. But it did not function as intended until after the election in July 1946. Secondly, each of the 13 villages had a village commissioner who was appointed by the governor to serve as a liaison between the government and the people.

The naval government had twelve departments and agencies all headed by a naval officer. The Department of Law was the government's attorney. The Judiciary Department ran the courts. The Department of Internal Affairs encouraged and to some extent controlled, the economy and agriculture. The functions of the Departments of Education, Health, Public Works, Civil Police, Records and Accounts, the Fire Department and the Bank of Guam are obvious.

In addition to these departments and agencies, the U.S. Post Office was reestablished. It was under the control of the governor but followed U.S. postal regulations.

There was also a Land and Claims Commission that administered the Meritorious Claims Act. As an aid to rebuilding the Japanese economy, the American government forgave Japan all debts to Americans caused by them in the war. America felt obligated to assume those debts. The Meritorious Claims Act was created to compensate civilians for injury and loss of property caused by the war. It was the job of the Land and Claims Commission to process those claims. Sanchez says:

In 1946, 2,841 Guamanians filed claims for property loss and damage, amounting to \$7,859,770.55. The following year, the number of claims increased to 5,935 and the claims amounted to \$10,427,403.55. [Sanchez 1991:267]



It was claimed at the time, no doubt with justification, that many of these claims were fraudulent and the payments extravagant. But it is worth remembering that much of the intent of these payments was to inject cash into the economy.

In 1947, there were 711 injury and death claims filed for a total of \$1,396,005 for Guamanians who were killed or injured by the Japanese bombardment and invasion, Japanese atrocities or by the American recapture of Guam.

The Navy Department put a ceiling of \$4,000 on claims for loss of life. This was based on the value of government life insurance available to American servicemen at the time.

The post-war economy reverted to the wage economy that had flourished during parts of the first 40 years of the American period. Despite major efforts by several administrations, Guam did not become self-sufficient in agriculture or fishing.

The war and reconstruction caused an economic boom on Guam. Millions and millionaires were made. Pedro Ada had the distinction of becoming Guam's first Chamorro-Guamanian millionaire.

Although the U.S. government had no compunction about condemning land on Guam, Haole-Guamanians were forbidden from purchasing land or opening any business. Some Haole-Guamanians got around this by going into partnership with Chamorro-Guamanians. The most successful of these Haole-Guamanian and Chamorro-Guamanian partnerships was Jones and Guerrero. Ken Jones was Guam's first Haole-Guamanian millionaire. But the post-war boom made several other millionaires.

A major project of the naval government was reconstruction. It wanted to rebuild the temporary villages in the American image. This was not done without problems. The

government divided the destroyed villages into American-type lots and blocks without regard to previous property lines. This caused some major difficulties. As Stevens wrote:

One of the first phases of reconstruction was to lay out a system of roads and sidewalks together with utility facilities throughout the city. The entire area having been bulldozed and cleaned, it was a simple matter to lay out the street and sidewalk in perfectly straight, even squares in the fashion of our modern American towns and cities. The latest designs were used, streets were broad, blocks were of standard size, and the general pattern in which the city was laid out was one conforming to the most modern conception of city planning. In conjunction therewith, certain public buildings were planned and their construction started, including the buildings now housing the Guam Legislature and the police station, both of which are attractive structure of the most modern design, and substantially built of concrete.

In their effort to re-establish the city along accepted American lines of city planning, and to beautify and regularize municipal construction, the authorities overlooked the legal chaos which they were creating. [Stevens 1956: 107-108]

A bit later Stevens concludes of Agaña:

Although this city has one of the greatest potentialities of any city in the Pacific today, its development is proceeding laboriously, and it is an open question whether it will ever be completely built up. [Stevens 1956: 110]

During this frantic construction, Guam suffered a severe labor shortage. Between the end of the war and 1950, the Navy alleviated this shortage by importing contract laborers from the United States and other Pacific islands, primarily the Philippines. This practice, once started, was difficult to stop. Hence, even today, industries use cheap foreign labor rather than local workers. This practice has led to effectively cutting young Guamanians out of some industries — particularly construction — and has contributed to a rather distinct class stratification. Chamorro-Guamanians developed a preference for white-collar government jobs, while Filipinos and Filipino-Guamanians were relegated to manual labor and low-paying service jobs.

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At the time the naval government was re-established in 1946, the Guam population numbered 23,136. It was comprised of 22,628 “natives” and 508 other residents. The population figure did not include the transient population, estimated to be between 30,000 and 40,000 including military personnel. Among the transient population were several thousand Americans and Filipinos brought to Guam to work in various military construction projects. Filipinos were housed in two camps, Camp Roxas in the Naval Station area and Camp Edusa south of Yigo in what is now known as the Marbo area. Many of the Filipino workers who came to Guam for temporary jobs eventually found Guam to their liking and remained as residents. Unlike the Filipinos who came during the Spanish period and during the first 40 years of pre-World War II American administration, the post-war Filipinos did not assimilate readily into the Guamanian population except for those who married into local families or engaged in business in the civilian sector. [Sanchez 1991: 268]

During this time, political development reestablished itself with the embryonic development of political parties. In a personal interview, Rogers said, “We had the emergence, after the war, of two groups — not political parties.”

In 1946, Antonio B. Won Pat formed an organization called the Guam Commercial Corporation. It’s stated intention was to break an oligarchy of five prominent families. Won Pat identified the five families as those of the B.J., Thomas and Carlos Bordallo, who owned various enterprises; Chester C. Butler, the owner of the Coca-Cola bottling franchise; E.T. Calvo, the owner of an insurance agency; Pedro Martinez, the owner of the ice plant; and J.M. Torres, a wholesaler. Won Pat claimed that these families maintained an interlocking directorate of island business and politics through intermarriage. After an impressive start, the corporation went bankrupt in 1954 but its principals maintained a dominant position in Island politics for 20 years. They, in essence, became the Popular Party which later affiliated with the Democratic Party to form the Democratic Party of Guam.

“The Guam Commercial Corporation,” Rogers said, “was made up of the former ‘have nots’ who worked with the Navy to develop things. They would develop into the Popular party that would become the Democratic Party of Guam.”

The naval government returned to its pre-War policy of using Guam as a Naval base while, in its spare time, improving social conditions and “Americanizing” the island. Perhaps their most immediate effect was in public health. Even during the American invasion, military medical personnel had been treating sick and injured Guamanians. This continued throughout the Naval administration and after. Sanchez says:

The general health picture of Guam greatly improved between liberation day in 1944, and the end of Naval administration in June 1950. The picture changed from an undernourished and disease-prone population in 1944, to a generally healthy people in 1950. Hookworm infestation and tuberculosis, the dreaded problem of prewar days, came gradually under a vigorous program sponsored by the island government’s Department of Public Health. [Sanchez 1991:282]

In an effort to prepare Guam and the Trust Territories to be self sufficient in health care, the Navy established a number of medical training schools.

In 1945, the Navy re-established the school of nursing that had originally been founded in 1909. The course ran for three years. It was modeled on U.S. nursing schools. And it had students from all of the trust territories, American Samoa and Guam. Intensive instruction in English and mathematics was offered to students who were deficient in either of these areas. A number of the school’s graduates went to work for the Department of Public Health, the Guam Memorial Hospital or continued their nursing education in colleges on the U.S. mainland.

In 1946, the School of Medical Practitioners started with 40 students. The four-year course trained medical practitioners in diagnosis and treatment of diseases indigenous to their local areas. The program was patterned after the British School of

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Medical Practitioners in Suva, Fiji. While they were not as well-trained as medical doctors, the graduates were expected to be able to conduct a general practice and do minor surgery on their home islands.

In 1947, the School of Dental Practitioners was established as a specialty of the School of Medical Practitioners. In 1948, the first class started with 10 students from the Medical Practitioners School.

With the end of naval government, both the Medical and Dental Practitioner Schools were closed. The School of Nursing also died but was resurrected in 1966 as a two-year program that gradually evolved into the College of Nursing at the University of Guam.

The Navy's primary effort to improve the social conditions of Guam was in the area of education. Before the war, only 30 to 40 students a year were admitted to high school. After 1944, any student who satisfactorily passed the eighth grade was admitted to high school.

The Naval Administration also gave Guam its first post-secondary education. The Navy had been bringing in university trained teachers to teach in Adelup Elementary School where Navy dependents and a few carefully selected nonHaole-Guamanian students attended class and at George Washington High School. In the 1946-47 school year, the Navy established a full-time normal school to prepare high school graduates to be teachers. It offered courses that paralleled first year instruction at American teachers' colleges. In its first year it had 20 students. But by its second year, graduating high school students had ample job opportunities and those who were really interested in education could find ways to go to mainland universities, so the school closed.

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The naval government kept the door open to post secondary education by inviting professors from the University of Hawaii to conduct an annual summer teacher's institute. The program stopped in 1948 when misunderstandings caused the University of Hawaii to cancel the 1949 summer program. The Navy suggested that the University conduct full-time year-round classes on Guam but the University feared that it could not support the financial burden. Guam had no higher education program until 1951, when arrangements were made for teachers to take courses at Andersen A.F.B. through the University of California's extension division. Although mistakes were made, it would be difficult to seriously fault the Navy's post-War rehabilitation of the island. Sanchez says:

Social conditions on the island improved markedly during the first four years after liberation. This reflected a major credit upon the naval government which spared neither funds nor personnel available to it, in its efforts to improve the health, education and general social conditions of the island and its people. [Sanchez 1991:282]

During the immediate post-War years, the churches also rehabilitated themselves. At the end of the war, as at its beginning, the Catholic Church dominated spiritual life on Guam. During the War, the two Chamorro-Guamanian priests and the Chamorro-Guamanian Protestant minister had been the leaders of much of the passive resistance to Japanese rule. Just 10 days before the American landings, one of the priests, Duenas, was executed. This left the Rev. Oscar L. Calvo as the only priest on the island. American bombing and shelling destroyed or irreparably damaged all of the churches on the island except those in Inarajan, Umatac and Yona. As soon as the concentration camps were liberated, Catholic chaplains began offering their services.

In March 1945, Bishop Miguel Angel de Olano y Urteaga, the Bishop of Guam, returned from internment in Japan. Although his country was a supporter of the Axis, he had been forced to leave Guam in January 1942. He was to be last Spanish Bishop of

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Guam. On 25 October 1945, he was relieved by Bishop Apollinaris William Baumgartner, O.F.M., Capuchin. The next day when Olano left for Manila, an era came to an end. For 277 years, Spaniards had dominated the spiritual life of Guam.

Baumgartner was the first and last Bishop of Guam to come from the U.S. mainland.

Baumgartner began a campaign of constructing churches. He did this by collecting donations from on and off island, by getting contributions of material from local businesses and by getting donations of labor, called “happy labor,” from the parishioners. By 1950, most of the temporary facilities that had been used as churches had been replaced by bigger, more comfortable and more permanent structures.

He sent a number of young men to seminaries. One of them was Felixberto C. Flores, who would become the first Chamorro-Guamanian bishop.

He strengthened Catholic education by opening the Father Duenas Memorial School and by inviting the Sisters of Mercy of Belmont, N.C., to open a community on the island. By 1950 they had opened the Cathedral Grade School and the Academy of Our Lady of Guam, a girls high school.

Although Catholicism was the dominant faith before the war, there had been a small but vigorous Protestant community. At the outbreak of war of they numbered about a thousand. They belonged to the General Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. Joaquin Flores Sablan, a Chamorro-Guamanian. Like the two Chamorro-Guamanian priests, Sablan had no reliable means of transportation and too much ground to cover.

Preinvasion bombing and shelling also destroyed the Baptist Church. After Japanese resistance was broken and servicemen were allowed to socialize with the Guamanians, the Chamorro-Guamanian Baptists were joined by Haole servicemen.

Because of the relative majority of Protestants in the U.S. Armed Forces, the Baptists had an easier time reconstructing their church. They built it in Agana Heights. Because of the numbers of Baptists in the military, Sablan had to build another church in Yigo. Other Baptist churches were built in Agat and Talofofo.

The influx of Haole-Guamanians brought other denominations to the island. The first of these to become active among the Chamorro-Guamanians was the Seventh-Day Adventists. The church was established on Guam by a navy Chief named Henry Metzker. It attracted a prominent Chamorro-Guamanian family, Juan and Maria Ulloa. The church membership slowly grew until 1948 when they got their first minister, Rev. R.E. Dunton. In 1949, he was joined by Rev. Raymond Turner. A disaffected group left the General Baptist Church and established a second Adventist congregation in Talofofo.

Chamorro-Guamanians had been agitating since early in the American period for U. S. citizenship. With liberation and Japanese surrender, the Chamorro-Guamanians renewed the cry. Because of their courage and tenacity during the war known largely because of Tweed's book and lectures, this time the Guamanians had much more support. Sanchez says:

With liberation and the Japanese surrender behind them, the Guamanians once again took up the cry for American citizenship. This time they were not alone in the pursuit of their cause. Considerable support came from varied sources in the States. These included, for the first time, some high ranking Navy officers who had been to Guam since its recapture, as well as other key Navy and civilian officials in the Navy Department who expressed their personal positions on the subject. The Guamanians also found strong support for their drive from officials in the Interior Department and from prominent American individuals in both public and private lives. Stateside magazines and newspapers, including the *New York Times*, came out in support of American citizenship for the islanders. All praised the loyalty to America shown by the people of Guam during the Japanese occupation as reason enough to bring them into the American family as full-fledged citizens. [Sanchez 1991: 296]

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Encouraged by the support they were getting from various sectors, Guamanians began to agitate for self-rule. This was apparently not a reaction to Navy rule. According to Sanchez, Guamanians were largely satisfied with naval government and expected that even if they got self-rule it would be under the paternalistic jurisdiction of the Navy.

Just two months after the Japanese surrender, President Harry S. Truman instructed the Secretaries of State, War, Navy and Interior to study the administration of Pacific territories. In February of 1947, Secretary of the Interior Harold S. Krug visited Guam as a part of this study. He determined that the Territories of Guam and American Samoa had developed sufficiently to begin the process of administering themselves. At the same time, the Secretary of the Navy sent a committee to review the administration of the islands. This committee recommended that full citizenship be given to both groups and that personal liberties of these citizens be protected by an organic act.

Interestingly, at least one prominent Guamanian was opposed to the whole concept. Antonio Borja Won Pat complained that Guamanians would not be ready for American citizenship until they had a self-supporting economy. Proponents of citizenship were outraged.

The president's committee recommended citizenship, a bill of rights, and legislative authority be given to Guamanians.

Although legislation to enable these goals would be years in coming, the naval government immediately began to implement the expected legislation. Sanchez says:

Shortly after the Cabinet Committee presented its recommendations, the Navy Department began to take steps to implement the part pertaining to self-government. Upon the recommendation of Governor Pownall, Navy Secretary John L. Sullivan issued a proclamation on August 7, 1947, granting certain home

rule powers to the Guam Congress. This proclamation, called the Interim Organic Act, provided that henceforth, changes in the then existing laws could be made only by the Guam Congress. For the first time since the first Spanish governor assumed office in Guam, the governor's absolute authority had been curtailed. Under the Interim Organic Act, the governor had a veto power, but his veto could be overridden by a two-thirds vote in each of the two houses of the Guam Congress. After a measure had been overridden, the governor could accept the override or submit the measure to the Secretary of the Navy for final action. [Sanchez 1991: 297]

The Interim Organic Act also gave the Guam Congress the right to approve the naval government's budget. Gov. Pownall's administration cooperated fully with the Guam Congress. Department heads testified before the budget and finance committees to justify their budgets.

In 1949 three events took place that were to pave the way for American citizenship for the people of Guam.

Everything had been going along swimmingly with the Interim Organic Act. The Administration and the Guam Congress were getting along famously. Then in March of 1949 a Haole-Guamanian civil service official refused to cooperate with committee of the House of Assembly, the lower house of the Guam Congress. He was subpoenaed to testify but he refused to answer the subpoena. Gov. Pownall supported him. The Assembly got up on its hind legs — all but one of the members walked out. Pownall called them back into session. They refused. He dismissed the Assembly. Of this incident Sanchez says:

The walkout and subsequent dismissal of the Assemblymen received widespread publicity throughout the United States. The incident generated a great deal of support for the Guamanian cause. Proponents of American citizenship and self-government bombarded the White House, members of the United States Congress and members of the Executive Branch with strong appeals to expedite home rule for the people of Guam. By the time Governor Pownall and the Guamanian assemblymen settled their differences, granting home rule and U.S. citizenship to Guamanians through an organic act was a foregone conclusion. [Sanchez 1878: 299]

This uproar caused Truman to transfer the administration of the island from the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior. This change was to take effect on 1 July 1950.

Gov. Pownall retired on 1 September 1949. Because of his difficulty with the Guam Congress, he generally gets mixed reviews as a governor.

Rogers says:

Governor Pownall retired on 1 September 1949 and grandly departed Apra Harbor on the U.S.A.T. *General Butner* beneath a farewell flyover by B-29s and Navy Aircraft. Pownall, a respected Naval aviator and commander of an aircraft carrier task force in World War II, was somewhat a victim of circumstances as the last Naval governor of Guam. From the military viewpoint, he fulfilled his mission as COMNAVMAR. During his fateful three and a half years on Guam he ably supervised construction of vast installations that turned the island into a key link in the worldwide U.S. defense system. Unfortunately, the same trait of assertiveness that made him a fine Naval officer prevented him from being flexible in civil matters, where patience and subtlety were needed. [Rogers 1994: 221]

On 7 September 1949, Truman formally transferred the administration of Guam to the Department of the Interior effective 1 July 1950. Truman appointed Carlton S. Skinner, a civilian journalist and public relations man to be the last Naval governor of Guam.

In a personal correspondence, Skinner says:

To understand the history of Guam during my administration as governor, it is necessary to keep in mind that it was part of President Truman's civil rights program of 1946. In addition to the aim of ending the injustice of segregation of a large part of our population, Truman's Civil Rights Commission found the continuation of military rule in the United States dependencies of Guam, American Samoa and the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) to constitute a blatant violation of the civil rights of the inhabitants in these areas. This was particularly outrageous in the case of Guam, the only inhabited area of the United States seized and occupied by the enemy in World War II and in which the people had remained completely loyal to the United States. Thereafter a cabinet committee recommended to the president that the Pacific dependencies be transferred from military to civil government on a progressive basis. Guam was to be the first and the procedure was to appoint a civilian as



governor within the Navy Department and responsible to the secretary of the Navy Department and responsible to the secretary of the Navy but charged with the duty of converting the local government into a civilian administration, which involved replacement of military (naval) personnel by civilian, to be completed by June 30, 1950, at which time responsibility would move from the Navy to the Interior Department. While, because of the Korean war, the transfer was postponed to July 31, 1950, it went through as planned.

I was chosen because I had accomplished some of the staff work on the proposal and, more, had, in World War II, carried through the first integration of Negro and White warship crews in the history of the U.S. Navy and Coast Guard, commanding two U.S. Navy ships, the U.S.S. *Sea Cloud* and the U.S.S. *Hoquiam*. I was not chosen because of my naval career. [Skinner 1997: 1]

A civilian functioning in what was still a military command — a military command reluctant to relinquish control — must have been uncomfortable. Skinner says:

Of the three admirals serving as Commander Naval Forces Marianas, during my incumbency, the first [Rear Adm. Edward C. Ewen, August 1949 to July 1950] accepted without enthusiasm, the second [Rear Adm. Osborne B. Hardison, July 1950 to July 1951] cooperated and assisted, the third [Rear Adm. Ernest W. Litch, July 1951 to February 1954] participated reluctantly and only when unavoidable. However, it was the president's program, mandated by law, so it could not be stopped. Of course, there were problems for a civilian functioning in what had been a military organization, but since the proposal was to make the transition to civil government, they could be solved. There was no confusion. I was directly responsible to the secretary of the Navy, not to the chief of naval operations, the commander in chief, pacific fleet or the commander naval forces, Marianas. I was not in the military chain of command. [Skinner 1997: 2]

The Navy, of course, had a number of housekeeping chores to perform in anticipation to the transfer of authority. As of 1950, it owned the Bank of Guam and the island's only newspaper. Until 1947, it had been called the *Navy News* when the name was changed to the *Guam News*. It sold the Bank of Guam to the Bank of America despite the fact that there were several Guamanians who wanted to take it over. The Navy apparently felt that the bank needed to go to someone with the financial wherewithal and the experience to run a bank. Even though it had more lucrative offers from off-island, the Navy sold the *Guam News* — to Joseph Flores. Gov. Skinner and

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Navy officials felt that, as a successful newspaper publisher in San Francisco, Flores was competent to run the local newspaper, and since he was a Guamanian, it would not be an absentee owned organization. It was promptly renamed the *Guam Daily News*.

Of the sale of the *Guam News*, newspaper columnist Joe Murphy says:

The *Daily News* itself was war-born. Several hundred thousand GIs were on Guam in 1944-45 as the U.S. prepared to strike at the Japanese heartland. These men were news hungry, and the Navy brought in the linotypes, and presses, and began a daily newspaper. Flores was qualified, and able to purchase the paper, but it was difficult keeping the paper running because Guam didn't have adequate business to justify the advertising that such a paper required. [Murphy 19940202: 23]

Meanwhile, U.S. Rep. J. Hardin Peterson introduced H.R. 7273 on 13 February 1950 and on 26 July the U.S. Senate approved it with one major change — it made the Guam Legislature unicameral. On 1 August 1950, President Harry S. Truman signed it into law. It took effect retroactively on 21 July 1950 to coincide with the sixth anniversary of the American invasion.

Skinner was reappointed to be the first civilian governor when the Department of Interior took over the next year. The last naval governor said in his *Annual Report of the Governor of Guam to the Secretary of the Interior* as the first civilian governor:

The year began auspiciously for Guam with the passage by the United States Congress of organic legislation establishing Guam as an unincorporated Territory of the United States, a status similar to that of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. The law created a legislature with full legislative powers, established a District Court of Guam with jurisdiction in matters arising under both Federal and Territorial law, enacted a bill of rights for the people of Guam, and granted them United States citizenship.

On August 1 1950, President Truman signed the bill, and at the same time assigned the supervision over the relations of the Guam Government with the Federal Government to the Department of the Interior.

By these acts, Guam acquired for the first time in 300 years, a civilian administration and the powers of self-government. The period of tutelage and guidance which began with Spanish occupation in the early 1600s and continued through Spanish, American, Japanese and, again American military government had terminated. [Skinner 1951:1]

Rogers takes a more jaundiced view. He says:

The eight years from 8 December 1941 to 1 August 1950 had been a period of the most traumatic involuntary changes for the island's people and environment since the Spanish-Chamorro wars. Although Guam was still bound by the old colonial dogma of the *Insular Cases*, the year 1950 marked the beginning of a new era for the island, an era of gradual decolonization, rising material standards of living and peaceful social transformation for the people of Guam. [Rogers 1994: 223]

# Sorta Self-rule in Paradise — Guam Under the Organic Act

The Organic Act has been amended by Congress a number of times. It is now known as Title 48 of the *U.S. Code Annotated* — The Organic Act of Guam. The following discussion is of the act as it stands now.

No doubt the most important provision of the Organic Act, to most Guamanians, was that it bestowed United States citizenship on them. Everyone born on Guam after 11 April 1899, or who was residing on Guam on that date, and their descendants, were eligible to become United States citizens. It did not force anyone to accept citizenship, however. Anyone of another nationality who wished to retain his citizenship or a Guamanian who wanted to take steps to establish citizenship with another nation had a two-year window of opportunity to do so. Note that the wording specifically excluded visitors and contract workers present on Guam in 1950.

Some have attempted to support the contention that Guamanians were given “second-class citizenship.” Rogers, for example, says:

The Organic Act did not confer on Guamanians who remained on the island all the traditional functions of American citizenship, such as full political participation in the national government (e.g. permanent residents of Guam cannot vote for the U.S. president or vice president), protection from federal power, and access to all federal economic and social benefits. It took a while for Guamanians to understand these anomalies, and many now consider themselves “second-class” Americans. [Rogers 1995: 225-226]

The problem here is that it is not the citizenship that is second class; it is the location. Like citizens residing in Washington D.C., Guamanians (even native-born Haole-American citizens) cannot vote for president, vice-president or any voting national

legislator. The reason for this is that when residing on Guam or in Washington D.C. one is not residing in a state. According to the *U.S. Constitution* only residents of states can vote for these officials. While Guam has a delegate to Congress who is allowed to call himself “Congressman,” he is not a congressman and cannot vote or cannot vote where his vote would be decisive.

The vote of the delegates, of which there are five from American Samoa, Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Washington D.C., is a political bone that was thrown to the largely Democrat territorial delegates by the Democrat controlled 103rd Congress (1992-1994), but in compliance with the *Constitution* their vote never counts when it would be decisive. In the years that they had this privilege there was no case in which the delegate votes would have been decisive but sometimes their votes made a decision seem more lopsided than it really was.

The Organic Act declared Guam to be an unincorporated territory of the United States. This means that unlike the then incorporated territories of the Hawaiian Islands and Alaska there was no intention of making Guam a state.

As a political entity, Guam is a creation of the U.S. Congress. Theoretically, Congress can sell or give Guam away. The *U.S. Constitution* applies to Guam only as stipulated by Congress. But again, it is the location, not the citizenship that is “second class.”

The Organic Act provides that the capital and seat of government is Agana. And that the territory is under the supervision of the Department of the Interior.

The act set up a three-part government with an Executive Branch headed by a governor who was appointed by the president but is now elected, a unicameral

Legislature that is elected and a judicial branch that is appointed by the governor and confirmed by the Legislature. The scheme was intended to carry on the traditional checks and balances included in federal and state governments. But since the governor was appointed by the president, he was given a much stronger voice than his “coequals.”

As Rogers says:

In the federal and in state constitutions of the United States, the legislative branch of government which is the most representative of the people, is first in sequence and shares power equally with the other branches. The Organic Act reverses this traditional pattern by placing Guam's executive branch (section 6) ahead of the legislature (section 10), both in sequence and in power. What the act did was to carry over much of the old naval governor's powers to the appointed civilian governor. The effect was to perpetuate U.S. control of Guam through the executive branch. [Rogers 1995: 227]

When the governor's office became elective, in 1971, its lopsided power was conferred on the elected official.

The unicameral Legislature has the power to do virtually all of the things that a state Legislature can do. Its laws are subject to the veto of the governor. But it can override the veto by a two-thirds majority vote. Until 1968, the governor could submit overridden vetoes to the U.S. president for a final determination — a presidential veto that could only be overridden by an act of Congress.

The Judicial system, which is still in a state of flux, has the authority to rule on the constitutionality and organicity of Guam law.

A bill of rights was included, which was patterned after the U.S. Bill of Rights.

This section is worth quoting:

**§1421b. Bill of Rights.**

(a) No law shall be enacted in Guam respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of their grievances.

- (b) No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.
- (c) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrant for arrest or search shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized.
- (d) No person shall be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of punishment; nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.
- (e) No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.
- (f) Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.
- (g) In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial; to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation and to have a copy thereof; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.
- (h) Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
- (i) Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in Guam.
- (j) No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be enacted.
- (k) No person shall be imprisoned for debt.
- (l) The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion or imminent danger thereof, the public safety shall require it.
- (m) No qualification with respect to property, income, political opinion, or any other matter apart from citizenship, civil capacity, and residence shall be imposed upon any voter.
- (n) No discrimination shall be made in Guam against any person on account of race, language, or religion, nor shall the equal protection of the laws be denied.
- (o) No person shall be convicted of treason against the United States unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.
- (p) No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, supplied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, sectarian institution, or association, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary as such.
- (q) The employment of children under the age of fourteen years in any occupation injurious to health or morals or hazardous to life or limb is hereby prohibited.
- (r) There shall be compulsory education for all children, between the ages of six and sixteen years.



(s) No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the government of Guam.

(t) No person who advocates, or who aids or belongs to any party, organization, or association which advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the government of Guam or of the United States shall be qualified to hold any public office or trust or profit under the government of Guam.

(u) The following provisions of and amendments to the Constitution of the United States are hereby extended to Guam to the extent that they have not been previously extended to that Territory and shall have the same force and effect there as in the United States or in any State of the United States: article I, section 9, clauses 2 and 3; article IV, section 1 and section 2, clause 1; the first to ninth amendments inclusive; the thirteenth amendment; the second sentence of section 1 of the fourteenth amendment; and the fifteenth and nineteenth amendments.

All laws enacted by Congress with respect to Guam and all laws enacted by the territorial legislature of Guam which are inconsistent with the provisions of this subsection are repealed to the extent of such inconsistency. [U.S. Congress 1996]

Note that the Bill of Rights does not provide specifically for the right to own and bear arms or to trial by jury, but the first nine amendments to the U.S. Constitution are made applicable to Guam in section (u). The act does, however, provide a couple of antidiscrimination measures that the U.S. Bill of Rights neglected.

The most beneficial provision of the Organic Act to the Government of Guam is “Section 30,” as it is usually called in reference to its placement in the original act.

“Section 30” provides that all federal income taxes or other taxes collected on Guam be returned to the Government of Guam. This includes all income taxes collected from military or other federal employees on Guam and from military or other federal employees who claim Guam as their home of residence. It says:

**§1421h. Duties, taxes and fees; proceeds collected to constitute fund for benefit of Guam; prerequisites, amount remitted prior to commencement of next fiscal year. All customs duties and Federal income taxes derived from Guam, the proceeds of all taxes collected under the internal revenue laws of the United States on articles produced in Guam and transported to the United States, its Territories, or possessions, or consumed in Guam, and the proceeds of any other taxes which may be levied by the Congress on the inhabitants of Guam (including, but not limited to, compensation paid to members of the Armed**

Forces and pensions paid to retired civilians and military employees of the United States, or their survivors, who are residents of, or who are domiciled in, Guam), and all quarantine, passport, immigration, and naturalization fees collected in Guam shall be covered into the treasury of Guam and held in account for the government of Guam and shall be expended for the benefit and government of Guam in accordance with the annual budgets; except that nothing in this chapter shall be construed to apply to any tax imposed by chapter 2 or 21 of Title 26. Beginning as soon as the government of Guam enacts legislation establishing a fiscal year commencing on October 1 and ending on September 30, the Secretary of the Treasury, prior to the commencement of any fiscal year, shall remit to the government of Guam the amount of duties, taxes and fees which the Governor of Guam, with the concurrence of the government comptroller of Guam, has estimated will be collected in or derived from Guam under this section during the next fiscal year, except for those sums covered directly upon collection into the Treasury of Guam. The Secretary of the Treasury shall deduct from or add to the amounts so remitted the difference between the amount of duties, taxes and fees actually collected during the prior fiscal year and the amount of such duties, taxes and fees as estimated and remitted at the beginning of that prior fiscal year, including any deductions which may be required as a result of the operation of Public Law 94-395 (90 Stat. 1199) or Public Law 88-170, as amended (82 Stat. 863). [U.S. Congress 1996]

The governor of any state would kill for such a provision!

Another huge boon to GovGuam was the transfer of millions of acres of federally owned property to GovGuam. Under the provisions of the act, the federal government reserved a huge proportion of the Island's real estate to itself. GovGuam reserved some of the land that it got for itself and auctioned some off. With the exception of some small house lots that the naval government was authorized by Congress to alienate shortly after the war, all legal freehold titles to land on Guam originate from the Organic Act.

The act established Guam as the United States' only free port. Goods are imported into Guam duty free and goods manufactured or "significantly altered" on Guam enter the U.S. duty free. The part of the Organic Act that established the duty free importation of goods from Guam to the U.S. was repealed and is now found in *Volume 19 United States Code Annotated* §1202, Headnote 3(a). Hence they are commonly referred to as "Headnote three (a) provisions."

In the 1950 version of the act, there was a famous Section 25(b) which stipulated that laws written by Congress that did not specifically mention Guam or possessions did not apply to Guam. This section was later repealed.

There is one other important and controversial part of the act:

**§1421k. Naval and Military Reservations.** Nothing contained in this chapter shall be construed as limiting the authority of the President to designate parts of Guam as naval or military reservations, nor to restrict his authority to treat Guam as a closed port with respect to the vessels and aircraft of foreign nations. [U.S. Congress 1996]

Sanchez assesses the importance of the Organic Act:

The passage of the Organic Act of Guam ended 278 years of military control of Guam and her people under three governments: Spanish from 1672 to 1898; American from 1899 to 1941; Japanese from 1941 to 1944; and American from 1944 to 1950. It also ended nearly 50 years of fervent appeal for United States citizenship on the part of Guamanians. Most important of all the act opened a new social, political and economic era for the territory of Guam. [Sanchez 1991: 304]

Rogers gives a more detailed analysis:

Overall, then, Navy and Air Force officers had little to be unhappy about the Organic Act. On Guam, the military still retained a massive presence and broad authority to accomplish its missions. The geopolitics of national defense remained paramount in U.S. policy toward Guam, as in the surrounding T.T.P.I. [Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands], and the federal government was still in firm control of the island government to ensure order and stability. The priority on military matters whenever Washington looked at Guam and the western Pacific would endure for the next forty years until the end of the Cold War in the 1990s.

Most Guamanians were also pleased with the Organic Act regardless of its anomalies. The islanders were Americans at last, they were participating in their own government, and military authority was curbed even though still present. Guamanians tend not to measure progress by stateside standards, as mainland Americans often do. Rather, islanders compare new conditions against what existed on the island in the past, and in that respect the quality of life for Guamanians from 1950 on was clearly better than before the Organic Act. [Rogers 1995: 230-232]

In “Fortress — Guam? Guam’s Post War Military Government, naval government and Civil Government,” that was published in the *Guam Panorama Tribune Weekender*, Paul B. Souder describes Guam in 1950.

**What was Guam like in 1950? A dozen elementary schools and [a high school in] two Quonset huts. Nearly half of the residential housing was of a temporary nature, made from surplus military materials, largely rusty and dilapidated corrugated iron. Electric power and modern sanitary facilities were limited to a few homes in Agana, Sinajana and Tamuning, telephones were found in but a handful of private businesses and a few homes. Telephone service to Hawaii, the mainland or Japan was non-existent. Facilities included several general merchandise establishments and Mom and Pop stores, a few grocery stores, no drug stores, one dry-cleaning plant, two bakeries, three law firms, one doctor, no dentist, no veterinarian, no florist, one construction company, one bank and no hotels. All civilian cargo came through the Navy port and was trucked to one of several warehouses in Asan. Guam was not a self-reliant community, it was an appendage of the naval establishment. [Souder 19830603: 12a]**

The first governor under the administration of the Department of Interior was also the last naval governor. He was Carlton S. Skinner. The official transfer of administration took place on 1 August 1950.

Of Skinner, Souder says:

**Guam was indeed fortunate in having in Governor Skinner a man involved in drafting Guam's Organic Act, a man who understood what was involved in the momentous transition from the old to the new, a leader whose interest in Guam continues to date.**

**In 1950, when the Organic Act was passed, every other Pacific island was governed from overseas, with the possible exception of Tonga, who had given Great Britain many powers. After Guam attained self-government, she was followed by Cook Islands, in 1956, Western Samoa in 1960, after that Nary, Fiji and Papua, New Guinea. But Guam was the first. [Souder 19830603: 12a]**

During the tenure of Skinner's second administration, Guam was a major support base for the Korean War. In a personal correspondence, Skinner says that the Korean war had little effect on his administration:

**The Korean War had no effect on my tenure as Governor. I had been appointed by the president and, after the adoption of the Organic Act, was reappointed as governor and unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate for a four-year term. [Skinner 1997: 2]**

It was Skinner who organized the first civilian government. In his first year in office, he created an office of land management that dispersed legal freeholds. He

created an immigration service and a budget office. He prepared and submitted a 10-year plan to complete the rehabilitation of Guam. He reactivated the Guam Militia. And he created the Food Defense Council devoted to encouraging agriculture. It is Skinner who must be credited and blamed for the system of bloated, bureaucratic governance that exists to this day.

Probably the most significant thing that Skinner did was to successfully work with the First Guam Legislature. Skinner modestly disagrees. And in the reasons he cites for disagreement is the explanation for his success. He says:

**I doubt that my relations with the legislature were that different from those of other governors. I respected the legislature as an equal branch of government and worked as closely as possible with it, particularly in helping it to organize, securing a legislative counsel, etc. [Skinner 1997: 3]**

This Legislature wrote a uniform wage law that did away with the practice of paying off-island recruits almost twice as much as locally recruited workers for the same job. This law did not eliminate the territorial pay differential that offered a bonus of 25% per year for off-island recruits. Nor did it eliminate the tradition of providing free housing for off-island recruits. These were seen as necessary perquisites to attract employees. But it did eliminate pay differentials for the same job based on race or cultural heritage.

The Legislature abolished customs duties. It also began studies for a judiciary act, a public land law, a shipping and motor boat control law and a government employees retirement law. It ordered the Board of Education to study ways of providing post-secondary education to high school graduates. This led to the establishment of the Territorial College of Guam in 1952 which became the College of Guam in 1959 and the University of Guam in 1968.

The Legislature also reinstated the traditional pre-contact Chamorro form of government — as an elective office. The pre-contact Chamorros had never developed a national or even island government. Power emanated from the district/village chiefs or *Chamorris*. The Spanish had maintained these positions under the names *gobernadorcillo* (minor governor) or *principal del pueblo* (village principal). The American's had maintained the positions as appointed representatives of the administration except for a brief period between 1931 and 1933 when they were elected. During the early part of the Japanese occupation the positions were held by a Japanese military civil affairs organization called the *Minseisho*. They ruled with the aid of Japanese-Guamanians who were locally referred to as “big shot Japs.” Later civilian administration was conducted by the *Minseibu*, a civilian administration. They used influential Chamorro-Guamanians to assist them. These were called *Kucho*. Whether Chamorro, Spanish, Japanese or American; the continuous line of this prehistoric tribal political office is clear and unbroken.

Skinner appointed several Chamorro-Guamanians to cabinet posts. He appointed Joaquin C. Guerrero as director of Agriculture, Dr. Jose R. Palomo as director of Education, Jose D. Leon Guerrero as director of Commerce, Peter C. Siguenza as director of Labor and Personnel, and Richard F. Taitano as director of Revenue and Taxation.

Skinner was blind-sided by the Commander Naval Forces Marinas Rear Admiral Ernest W. Litch. As a part of fulfilling a campaign promise President-elect Dwight D. Eisenhower visited Korea. On his way home he made a secret visit to Guam. Litch claimed that Skinner was interfering in Navy operations. Skinner was off-island and his

deputy was not invited by Litch to meet Eisenhower. Eisenhower decided to fire Skinner when he took office.

When Eisenhower was inaugurated president, Skinner started a tradition that was followed by all appointed governors after him. Although his term still had more than a year to run, he tendered his resignation rather than be fired. This established the office of governor of Guam as a position of political patronage.

Skinner says:

**My resignation when President Eisenhower took office was in the customary pattern of presidential appointments to policy-making positions and in his thank-you letter accepting my resignation, President Eisenhower referred to this custom. [Skinner 1997: 2]**

Many consider Skinner to be Guam's best and most effective governor. His greatest triumph was his establishment of a modern civilian government where none had ever been. And he helped nurse the infant Guam Legislature through its formative years.

Sanchez says:

**By all standards of measurement, Governor Skinner achieved outstanding marks for his cooperation with the Guam Legislature. Outstanding because none of the governors who followed him through 1985 had even come close to matching his working relationship with members of the Guam Legislature individually and collectively.**

**Several factors contributed to this. Among them was Governor Skinner's genuine respect for the legislature and its place in the American system of government. He never was known to take an adverse position vis-a-vis the legislature even in situations where individual members or the body as a whole took different positions from his. He exhibited genuine cooperation rather than confrontation and as a result he was able to work harmoniously with the legislature. [Sanchez 1991: 320]**

Skinner himself says:

**My purpose in accepting the post of governor was to bring civil government to a peaceful, capable people of the United States who had demonstrated their commitment to freedom and loyalty to their country and their capacity of self-government.**

**The two accomplishments of which I'm most proud are the firm establishment of civilian government under which the people of Guam make their own political decisions and the establishment of the University of Guam so that boys and girls born in Guam have an opportunity for careers equal to those for children born in other parts of the United States. [Skinner 1997: 3-4]**

Skinner left on 20 February 1953. Secretary of Guam "Pat" Herman took over as acting governor until 23 April.

From 1953 until 1956, Seattle attorney Ford Q. Elvidge, served as governor. He improved housing construction by getting Guam included in the Federal National Mortgage Association program. As a cost-cutting measure, he instructed his staff to buy as much military surplus property as could be profitably used.

Elvidge was offended by the number of eyesores he noticed on the island. In his 1954 annual report he says:

**From the time of his arrival on Guam in the Spring of 1953, Gov. Ford Q. Elvidge became increasingly aware of the necessity for an island-wide cleanup program. Scattered over the island were all kinds of abandoned surplus material, wrecked automotive equipment, indiscriminate dumps and other eyesores. Property owners and business enterprises were careless about trash and garbage disposal and improper methods of sanitation and sewage disposal constituted a definite health menace. [Elvidge 1954: 1]**

In October 1953, Elvidge began a major clean-up campaign supervised by the Public Health Service and the Department of Agriculture. Village commissioners lead the campaign in their villages.

**The results of the campaign were most gratifying: extraneous dumping grounds were cleaned up, outdoor toilets were properly constructed and screened, assorted trash was removed and the general health menace was greatly abated. [Elvidge 1954: 1]**

Elvidge was a conservative but the Legislature tended to be liberal. They clashed frequently. After considerable wrangling with the Legislature, Elvidge managed to get a new nursing school at the Guam Memorial Hospital converted to a general hospital ward. He feared that the government might be unable to get the money to fund both the nursing



school and the badly needed ward. As a conservative, he preferred to insure that the money was available before he spent it. As a group largely made up of liberals, the Legislature's philosophy led them to spend the money then worry about where to get it.

One significant achievement of Gov. Elvidge's administration was the passage of a bill to provide trial by jury. This was brought to a head by an event during the administration of his predecessor. In On 13 December 1952, George B. Hatchett was arrested for involuntary manslaughter. He was arraigned before the U.S. District Court because there was no grand jury system on Guam. He was tried and convicted by the District Court because the Legislature had not enacted a jury system. Hatchett appealed his conviction to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. His grounds were that the protections of the first nine amendments to the *U.S. Constitution* had been applied to the Organic Act by Congress. The Fifth Amendment guarantees a grand jury indictment and the Sixth guarantees a jury trial. The conviction was overturned. The Legislature immediately began working on a provision for jury trials. Elvidge had the honor of signing Public Law 42 which provided for jury trial on Guam.

During Elvidge's term the Korean War came to an end but not Guam's military significance. In fact, Guam's role was expanded under the strategy of deterrence based on the threat of destruction by long-range nuclear bombers. The Third Air Division moved to Andersen in 1954.

Souder the author of "Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post War Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government," is no admirer of Elvidge but he grudgingly admits:

Elvidge's relationship with the Guam Legislature was not as successful, for he ran a rugged administration. But taxes were collected, the telephones

were made to work, juvenile delinquency was reduced, the police became efficient and he got things done. [Souder 19830603: 14a]

Elvidge resigned before his term or the Eisenhower presidency ended. On 19 May 1956, he was succeeded by William T. Corbett, the Secretary of Guam. Acting Gov. Corbett served until Gov. Richard Barrett Lowe arrived in November.

Lowe brought some experience in island government with him. He had served on Tinian near the end of World War II. When Eisenhower nominated him, he was the governor of American Samoa.

Lowe reorganized the governor's office. He knew that there were numerous demands on a governor's time so he delegated a good deal of authority. He gave Corbett, a major part in the day-to-day operation of the government. He also appointed Manuel Flores Leon Guerrero as assistant secretary.

When Lowe arrived he walked into Guam's first partisan election — the first election in which two political parties were competing for seats. Just before the election of 1956, eight senators from the Popular Party had broken ranks and joined three independents to form the Territorial Party. The Popular Party was what was left of the Guam Commercial Corporation. This majority dominated the Third Guam Legislature. The spark that set off the fireworks was the speakership. Eight members of the Popular Party claimed that there was a "gentleman's agreement" that no one would occupy the powerful speakership for more than two terms. Speaker Won Pat refused to step down. The eight joined forces with the three independents and unseated Won Pat. When it became obvious that the Popular Party would never trust the eight renegades again, they joined with the three independents and formed the Territorial Party.

Rogers discussed the Territorial Party. “The other group was the old *Manak’kilo*, the 15 or so Agana families who the Spanish had replaced the old *chamorris* with. That was the Perezes, the Camachos, the Bordillos, and a number of others. This group gradually evolved into Republicans.”

All this was in the middle of the 1956 campaign — a campaign that was a bloodletting. Sanchez describes it:

The 1956 election was the first time that a real contest for legislative seats was experienced on Guam. The control not only of the legislature but the political life of the island was at stake. It was a hard-fought, bitter and dirty campaign. The Popular Party out-maneuvered and out-gunned the Territorials, and ran away with the crowd. Upwards of 5,000 Popular Party members and supporters attended Popular Party mass meetings nightly while Territorial Party meetings attracted at the most 200 people. Popular Party meetings went into the wee hours of the morning. They stayed until they heard Senator James T. Sablan of Agana Heights deliver his nightly “bombshell” blasting the leaders of the Territorial Party slate. His attacks ranged from hilarious use of the Chamorro and English languages to malicious attacks on his opponents. But the crowd loved it and would disperse only after he was finished at 2 or 3 o’clock in the morning. Feeding the nightly crowd of thousands presented no problem. Popular Party supporters brought food and drinks each night, spread in fiesta style. [Sanchez 1991: 330]

The election was a rout. The Popular Party got a “black jack” — it won all 21 seats in the Legislature. This election was a watershed. It established politics as the dominant form of recreation on the island. Guam is probably the most political place in America. Everything, it seems, revolves around politics — the economy, education, medical care — everything. Talk-show host Jon Anderson said, “You can’t not talk politics on Guam. Get three adults together and within five minutes they are talking politics.”

Lowe had the misfortune to fall into this fray. The Populars were vicious in victory. When Lowe took over as governor he kept all of the incumbent directors. Several members of the new Legislature demanded that he submit all of his directors for

reconfirmation. They were out to get not only those that they identified as supporters of the Territorial Party, but anyone that they did not see as strong supporters of the Popular Party.

Lowe refused to submit his cabinet for reconfirmation. He says in his book

*Trouble in Paradise:*

**It was not only the efficiency of my own administration I was called upon to protect, but any new governor who might succeed me could find himself stripped of his trained staff at the beginning of his term, when continuity is especially important, in a territory where there was a shortage of trained personnel. Statesiders would have to be recruited from 6,000 miles away. Here was a sort of "Supreme Court Packing" idea in reverse. If such a bill were to become law, the legislature would have projected itself into the executive business, and the spleen of the bitter political campaign would have been injected into the body politic. [Lowe 1967: 320]**

While Lowe was in Washington, D.C., the Legislature passed the bill. Acting Gov. Corbett vetoed it. The Legislature overrode the veto. Lowe sent the overridden vetoed bill to the president. Eisenhower upheld the veto.

Despite his problems, Lowe functioned better with the Legislature than Elvidge had. He held regular executive-legislative conferences and he used Assistant Secretary Leon Guerrero as a liaison with the members of the Legislature. Of Leon Guerrero, Sanchez says:

**The Assistant Secretary was a member of the First Guam Legislature and an influential and respected leader in the Popular Party which controlled the legislative branch. [Sanchez 1991: 328]**

Lowe did, however, have trouble with his second-in-command. Secretary Corbett was a very gregarious man and during his time as acting governor he had made many friends. He was extremely popular with members of the Legislature, businessmen and the populace in general. He was also used to thinking and acting independently. It did not take long for the Lowe-Corbett relationship to sour. Lowe began bypassing his

secretary and working directly with Assistant Secretary Leon Guerrero. Other government functionaries followed suit.

Corbett and some of his friends decided to embarrass the governor. At a luncheon for a congressional delegation, when Corbett was introduced he got a rousing welcome. When Lowe was introduced he was welcomed with polite applause. Corbett was fired, or actually, asked to resign. He was replaced by Marcellus Boss, a friend of the secretary of the interior.

Souder discusses the economic situation on Guam near the end of the Lowe administration:

By 1958, Guam was well on its way to becoming an economically balanced community. In 1959, a cement plant was in operation, Telephone service was made available to the last five unserved island villages, linking the entire community together. Guam's crime rate was not exceptional in relation to the increase in population, though a trend toward juvenile burglary and theft showed an increase, and there were 5,085 citations given for hazardous traffic violations. [Souder 19830617:4a]

After three years as governor of American Samoa and three as governor of Guam, Lowe had had enough. He told Secretary of the Interior Frederick A. Seaton that he wished to resign. He recommended Joseph Flores for the job. On 15 November 1959, Lowe officially resigned. Secretary Boss became the acting governor.

Now Boss really wanted the governorship and he knew that Flores had turned it down when it was first offered so he spent much of his time as acting governor lobbying for the position. But when Lowe had left American Samoa he had left a Samoan in charge and when he left Guam it seemed time to leave a Chamorro-Guamanian in charge. Flores was that Chamorro-Guamanian — the first to hold the position of governor.

Flores had been born an American national — he was born on 12 August 1900. After finishing intermediate school, he worked for a while as a messenger for the naval

government and later at the cable station as a telegraph operator. In 1917, he joined the Navy. He was assigned to a supply ship. After five years he resigned and took a job as a civil servant at Fort Mason in San Francisco.

Later, he went to work for the Santa Fe Railroad and then for an advertising agency. While he was working for the agency, he opened a small print shop and published the first edition of *The South Market Tribune*. It made a profit. He quit the ad agency and became, publisher, editor, advertising salesman, printer, distributor, cook and bottle washer for the *Tribune*. Eventually, he built Flores Press into a chain of five weekly newspapers.

In 1947, he returned to Guam to go into business with his brothers. In 1950, he was the successful, although not the highest, bidder for *The Navy News*.

Gov. Joseph Flores was sworn in on 9 July 1960. In his Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior he summarized the conditions on Guam and describes a very modern American community:

Although Guam is relatively poor in natural resources, it is one of the important military bases of the United States in the Pacific, thereby providing an important wage economy for civilian residents, as practically the entire economy is based, directly or indirectly, upon such wages.

Agriculture is the other principal element in the economy but ready employment by military or the civil government at relatively good wages continues to handicap agricultural development and production.

The economic condition of the territory continues to be good, as illustrated by high retail sales, tonnage clearances at the Commercial Port, construction of private and commercial buildings and bank clearances. Banking facilities are provided by a branch of the Bank of America and Guam Savings and Loan Association.

Social conditions on Guam are good. School attendance is compulsory for all between the ages of 6 and 16 inclusive. Enrollment in the territory's public and private elementary and high schools is nearly 17,100. Total enrollment at the Territorial College is nearly 900. The government also maintains a vocational school.

The Department of Medical Services includes the facilities of the new Guam Memorial Hospital, which has 161 beds for general use, 160 beds for tuberculosis, 30 bassinets, and 16 health centers throughout the various villages of the territory.

The Commercial port of Guam at Apra Harbor has experienced a steady increase in trade. Principal imports, mainly from the United States, include foods, vehicles, petroleum products, construction supplies and alcoholic beverages. The principal export is scrap metal. The Commercial Port occupies an area of 24.5 acres with sufficient waterfront facilities to berth three large cargo vessels, or a total of 2,400 linear feet frontage of deep water docking and 110,400 square feet of warehouse space.

Guam is port of call for two major shipping lines: The American President Lines with an average of 18 arrivals a year; and the Pacific Far East Lines with an average of 6 arrivals per month. Guam is also home port of the Pacific Micronesian Lines and Jones and Guerrero Lines. The island is a regular stop for two major airlines: Pan American World Airways with eight flights weekly; and United States Overseas Airlines, which makes two weekly flights to and from the United States and Okinawa. Pan American World Airways also serves the U.S. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands whose headquarters are located on Guam. Local transportation consists of buses and taxicabs. The civilian population has practically no transportation problems as most people have cars of their own.

The Radio Corporation of America has established a branch office in Guam and serves the needs of the population in overseas telephone and radio dispatch facilities to and from practically all points of the free world. The government operates a telephone exchange at Agana which serves 1,976 telephones. News media for the territory are provided by the *Guam Daily News* and the *Territorial Sun* and *Umatuna Si Yuus* published Sundays, as well as K.U.A.M. radio broadcasting and television station. [Flores 1960: 3-4]

Even though it jeopardized his own Guam Savings and Loan Association, Flores signed into law a bill that allowed off-island banks to set up branch offices on Guam.

Because of the timing of his appointment Flores spent less than a year in office. While he was in office he made contributions to education, medical services, the infrastructure and, most impressively, he reduced the cost of government. He persuaded the Navy to relax the requirements for the security clearance that was necessary to visit the island and to shorten the process of getting the clearance.

On 20 January 1961, John F. Kennedy was inaugurated president of the United States. Flores tendered his resignation. Kennedy asked him to stay in office for the time

being. Although a Territorialist, the precursor of the Republican Party, Flores had some powerful Democrat supporters — among them Gov. Skinner. The Popular Party, that would become the Democratic Party of Guam, did not see fit to nominate a candidate. So Kennedy appointed Texas Democrat William P. Daniel.

“Governor Bill” as he likes to be called, is the most misunderstood and maligned governor in Guam’s history — maligned by a petty subordinate and a vengeful political enemy and misunderstood largely because most historians have no sense of humor and are too lazy to check the facts. For this reason more space is devoted to Daniel than any other governor of Guam.

Daniel may well be the best governor in Guam’s history. He was certainly the most dynamic. He is, in fact, reminiscent of Gov. Mariano Tobias.

Charles Beardsley was on Guam researching *Guam Past and Present* when Daniel was Governor. He had no particular ax to grind so his assessment is more balanced than the others we will see. In fairness it is worth a rather long quote.

When Governor Bill Daniel took over the reins of the government of Guam in May 1961, many of the ambitious and wholly admirable plans of former administrators had been only partially activated due to inertia, and what Guam needed as much as the completion of unfinished projects was the kind of social adrenaline that the new governor brought to his assignment. First of all, he was deeply impressed by the island's beauty and land potential, as were his wife and their four children, and he found it easy to identify his social commitment with a people and a land so delightful. He promptly tightened up and corrected many administrative procedures, becoming personally involved in long-reaching studies to benefit the 70,000 people living in Guam. As he was a Texan with roots in the soil, agriculture was one of his prime interests. He planted his own garden at the Governor's Palace to show the island people what could be done, and today there are over 2,000 new gardens growing by his example across the island, some on soil reclaimed from jungle.

Governor Daniel discovered that improvement of Guam's cattle herds could only be achieved by import, so he initiated this project through a gift of one of his own blue-ribbon bulls from his Texas rancho. This began Operation Guam Friendship, which has handled the import to Guam of seven different breeds of



herd bulls registered stallions to upgrade the island's inbred Spanish ponies used in cattle handling and pleasure riding, and several breeds of registered boars, as well as prime-quality milk goats. This generous and laudable undertaking was financed entirely by the governor and a few of his friends. Among contributors were then Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, former Navy Secretary John Connally, Governor Bill Daniel's brother, ex-Texas Governor Price Daniel, and Governor Buford Ellington of Tennessee. These distinguished men were expressing through their gifts a sincere and heartfelt wish for the improvement of Guam.

Robert Fears, a young Texan on his way to a two-year tour of duty with the Guam Department of Agriculture, shepherded the assorted consignment of animals from Texas to Guam, arriving in February 1962. He brought with him a pair of armadillos to help fight the Japanese snail that had plagued Guam since World War II, as well as thirty-nine quail and four peacocks.

The first item on Governor Daniel's clean-up campaign was the rank growth of tangantangan that had covered a large part of the island for many years, often blotting out vistas and obscuring beauty spots. Agaña has now been cleared of such growth, and it is anticipated that other island communities will perform similar improvements.

The list of projects the governor lined up included (1) a federal park or national monument, since Guam is the only State or territory without one; (2) a large public auditorium where the general public may assemble for social events of all types, and also a new court house building; (3) a fish cannery which will perhaps end the ridiculous practice of eating frozen imported fish in Guam, whose island shores are abundant with some of the most delicious sea food in the world; (4) a greatly needed four-year college which will graduate teachers for Guam itself, as well as prepare students who wish to go on to stateside graduate institutes for advanced degrees; (5) a tourist industry, as Guam can most certainly be considered a potential resort area.

In the past few years since the U. S. government has relaxed visitor restrictions, there has been much speculation about turning Guam into a miniature Hawaii. Although such development seems highly unlikely because of Guam's remoteness, her topography and climate are ideal for this, and if travel restrictions are one day permanently lifted a certain amount of tourist trade will naturally flow through the island. Governor Daniel also became interested in the alluring proposition of tax-free small industry, which could be developed on the island. But whatever the governor and citizens of Guam may gain for their community, they are now hoping that its slogan will be changed from "Guam is Good" to "Guam Is Better" — which it is! [Beardsley 1964: 150-152]

Daniel is the kind of fascinating and wonderful character that most of us associate with Texas. He is an archetypal Texan — he typifies what most Texans like to think a Texan is. He is what Texans call a gentleman and a scholar. He is an extremely dynamic personality — the kind of person that petty bureaucrats and narrow-minded scholars hate.

Daniel came to Guam to rock the boat and rock the boat he did. In the process, he infuriated a few entrenched politicians and bureaucrats.

That he is a gentleman will be demonstrated below. As a scholar, he is one of Texas' most prominent lawyers — he has been the lead attorney in several landmark cases that went before the Texas Supreme Court. Although he has never argued a case before the U.S. Supreme Court, he has served as a principal scholar on several cases that made it to the U.S. Supreme Court — most notably “The Tidelands Case.”

But he is almost universally misunderstood by historians who don't appreciate Texas humor and never bothered to check the facts.

Daniel is a man who has always enjoyed life and doesn't take himself too seriously. To understand him, one needs a sense of humor and an appreciation of the particular form of panache and braggadocio that Texans call “style.”

It is alleged that Flores would have been reappointed governor had it not been for events in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

According to most of the historical accounts, Kennedy offered to appoint Daniel governor of the Virgin Islands. But the people of the Virgin Islands refused to accept the Texas Democrat so Kennedy quickly appointed him governor of Guam. As a sop to the Chamorro-Guamanians, Richard F. Taitano was appointed director of Territories in the Department of the Interior.

Daniel, who was present, remembers his appointment differently. He said that Kennedy offered him the governorship of the Virgin Islands but he turned it down because he didn't think he could do anything significant there.

Daniel's severest critic and the source of the Virgin Islands story is Paul Souder.

Souder was a petty (in both senses of the word) bureaucrat with GovGuam. He took an almost instant dislike to Daniel. When Daniel moved into his office, he asked that a spittoon be placed near his desk. Souder told him that spitting was not socially acceptable to Guamanians. Apparently Souder had never seen a Guamanian chew betelnut.

Whether this was the reason for the Daniel-Souder conflict or not, Souder admits that he was an extremely disgruntled member of Daniel's staff. Twenty years later he wrote "Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post war Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government." In the concluding piece of this series he initiates the allegation that Daniel was sent to Guam because of the displeasure of politicians in the Virgin Islands:

He was reported to have been promised the governorship of the Virgin Islands, but the Democrats of that territory forced the Kennedy administration to reconsider, aided perhaps by Drew Pearson in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" when he mentioned Daniel's attitude towards people of a different complexion. So Guam got Bill Daniel, which is just about as far away as you can get a political appointee from the U.S., and distance lends enchantment to those who knew Bill. [Souder 19830624: 4a]

From this single series much of the misunderstanding of Daniel springs. David B. Gracy II, the Governor Bill Daniel Professor in Archival Enterprise at the University of Texas has been writing a book on the 16 month Daniel administration for 12 years. He traces Rogers' less than flattering portrait of Daniel in *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* to three highly prejudiced sources. In a letter he says:

It is important to observe that the only precedents for Rogers' derogatory allegations appear in Sanchez, Souder, and the *Guam Daily News*. No similar contentions appear in any other source, primary or secondary, including the records of the Office of Territories in the National Archives, the papers of Manuel Guerrero and Antonio Won Pat at MARC, and the records of the office of the Governor, some of which are in the Nieves Flores Library and some of which are with Governor Daniel in Liberty, Texas. [Gracy, 1998]

Since Daniel's appointment was the product of a single conversation with Kennedy there was no opportunity for the Democrats of the Virgin Islands to react.

"Most politicians and political volunteers are looking for a job," Daniel said, in an interview conducted for this project. "I didn't need a job. I don't like to say I'm rich. What is rich anyway? I'm comfortable. I'm a rancher. I've got the biggest ranch in this part of Texas. I'm a successful businessman and I have a good law practice.

"My brother Price was the politician — I was the campaigner. This is a big state — one man can't campaign in all of it. When he would run for office, I would campaign for him. When he would get elected, he would go to Austin and I would go home and manage both of our affairs.

"I liked President Jack and he liked me. He said he wanted to do something for me. He wanted to express his gratitude but I didn't want anything. My brother, the Governor of Texas, was in Austin and I had to take care of his business and mine. Mr. Eisenhower had offered me a job as a U.S. Attorney then as a federal judge. I couldn't see being tied to a desk. Does that sound like somebody who wants a political job? I didn't want no damn job! Excuse me. I didn't want no blank blank job.

"President Jack also offered me several of those jobs. I didn't want to hurt President Kennedy's feelings but I didn't want any of those jobs. He asked me about the Virgin Islands and I wasn't interested in going to the Virgin Islands because I didn't think I could do any good there. He said, 'Well, what about Guam?' I said, 'Mr. President, you don't want me to go to Guam.' And he said, 'Why not?' I said, 'You're a big Navy man and if I was governor of Guam I would break up the Navy's playhouse.' He said, 'Well, go knock it down!' and I did!"

Kennedy appointed him governor of Guam. Daniel was inaugurated on 20 May 1961.

It was widely believed by “experts” that the population of Guam would object to the appointment of a Haole governor after the experience of having a Chamorro-Guamanian governor. According to *John F. Kennedy and the New Pacific Community, 1961-63* by Timothy Mega, this was not the case. Mega reports that Daniel’s appointment was greeted with enthusiasm not only on Guam but throughout Micronesia.

“The funny thing about me being the governor of Guam” Daniel said, “was that Price was the sitting governor of Texas. We were the only brothers who were simultaneously sitting as governors of American jurisdictions.”

Daniel didn’t walk into a pleasant situation. Richard Taitano, the director of Territories in the Department of the Interior the liaison between Daniel and Interior, disliked him and would have preferred to have the job of governor to the ostensibly higher position he held. Gov. Flores, although a Territorial Party member, would like to have continued as governor. He took an immediate dislike to Daniel and his newspaper reflected this dislike throughout Daniel’s tenure. The powers-that-be in the Navy soon figured out that they did not have a toady in Daniel so there was resentment there. And a large part of the Haole-Guamanian population who got their privileged status as a reflection of the privileged status of the Navy resented his pro-Chamorro attitude.

Years later, on a visit to Guam, Daniel and Flores were reconciled. Daniel was invited to Flores’ home.

“He took my hat,” Daniel recalled, “and I’ll never forget it, he put his hand on my shoulder and this is what he said, ‘You know, when I look back on the past when I was

younger and you were younger. We didn't see eye-to-eye. But I want to tell you that I believe that God prepared you and placed you on Guam to be governor.'"

Greg Sanchez the brother of one of Daniel's other severe critics, Pedro Sanchez disagreed with his brother's assessment: Gracy says:

During my 1989 visit to Guam, on July 6, I taped an interview with Pedro Sanchez's brother, Greg, who, in discussing the political controversies in which his brother became embroiled, totally repudiated his brother's treatment of Governor Daniel. Indeed, Greg characterized Daniel as "the most dynamic" of the governors. Pedro's downfall, Greg said, was allowing himself to become too closely tied to Governor Flores, whose partisan actions came back to haunt him and many of those close to him. What makes Greg Sanchez's statement especially telling is that his assessment was based on what he learned from reading about the Daniel period and from talking with Chamorros, as Greg was not on island during the Daniel period. Clearly, his own study and consideration of his brother's interpretation of the Daniel period led him to reject his brother's position. [Gracy 1998]

Since World War II, Guam had been a closed port. Ships were admitted only with the permission of the Navy. Everyone on Guam had to have a Navy security clearance. The upside was that during the days of the naval administration, the authorities had used this provision to selectively screen those who were allowed to come to Guam. A Chamorro-Guamanian who left the island had to get a security clearance to return. The downside of the security clearance policy was that it created a severe strain on economic development and due process.

Of course, the security clearance requirement also applied to members of the government. During the time of the naval administration, there was no problem. All military personnel have security clearances. Daniel, however, did not.

Daniel had had a run-in with Guam's security restrictions before.

"We made *The Alamo* in 1959," he said. And it was quite a success. I not only furnished the horses but I roped them and handled them. I had done it since I was a boy.

I got to know the producers and they heard me say that I had roped everything on this hemisphere. But there was one more thing that I would like to do before I died. I'd like to rope a rhinoceros. Well, that was the inspiration for a movie starring me called *Kwaheri!* We went to Africa where I roped almost every ropeable animal in Africa. So I finally roped a rhino — roped and hog-tied two of 'em in a single afternoon. My wife and I stayed in Africa for four months — that was in 1960.

“We'd been around the world before but we decided to go home by continuing on east. We made our way to Sydney, Australia. We were both homesick so I went to the American Express office and asked for the nearest American soil. We just wanted to get down on our knees and kiss the good ol' U.S.A. They said. 'It's only about 1,500 miles. It's the island of Guam.' So I said, 'Well, book me a ticket.' They laughed. They said, 'You can't do that — it's a closed port.' I said, 'I'm an American citizen, traveling on a diplomatic passport. I should be able to go to any part of America.' Well, they finally convinced me that I couldn't go. But I didn't forget about it.”

The Daniels went to Hong Kong and stayed in the Imperial Hotel where they saw a T.V. report of the Kennedy-Nixon debate. Just as the report ended the telephone rang. It was Gov. Price Daniel calling from Texas. He said that the Kennedy-Johnson campaign was in trouble in Texas. He asked Bill to come home and run the campaign. Daniel did and Kennedy-Johnson carried Texas and won the election.

Now, back to the Daniel appointment.

Upon first coming to Guam, Daniel had one final run-in with Navy security.

He understood that he could not be nominated until he passed an F.B.I. background check. He was angered when he discovered that he could not land on Guam

until he had a Naval security clearance. Although the Navy clearance was automatic for him as a presidential appointee, it struck him as insubordinate.

“I told them,” he said, “I’ve been checked out by the F.B.I. I’ve been checked out by the Secret Service. And now you tell me that I have to get a security clearance from the Navy to go in there. Well, I won’t do it’ — and I didn’t.”

This, of course, got in the Honolulu papers and when Daniel went to the airport to fly to Guam he was met by a group of cheering Chamorro-Guamanians. Daniel went into the V.I.P. lounge at the terminal and sat down to await his plane. While he was waiting, a policeman came in and told him that a young woman was outside asking to talk to him.

Daniel got the opportunity to demonstrate that he is a gentleman — he rushed to the aid of a damsel in distress!

“So I went out,” Daniel said, “and met this very young girl with a baby and she was just crying her eyes out. She told me her story. She said, ‘I want to go home. I’ve got a pass to go but my baby doesn’t — he was just born. They will let me go but they won’t let her.’ Well this just tore my heart and my wife’s heart. I said ‘By God, she is going.’ The security officer said, ‘She is not going.’ He called the commander of the Pacific Fleet. The admiral told him that that was the law and they were to enforce it.

“So anyway, it was a standoff. I told this little girl to come wait with me in the V.I.P. room. The more I thought about it the more distasteful it became. When they called us to board the plane, I arranged everything. I told everybody what to carry and where to walk and I put that little girl on my left arm and I took that little baby in my left arm and I said, ‘Just stay with me. When I move, y’all move with me.’

“When we went out to board the plane we were met by a sailor with a rifle — it



seems to me like it had a bayonet on it, I think it did. He stuck the rifle up in my face and I just took my right forearm and pushed him out of the way and kept walking. I didn't know if I was going to be stabbed in the back or shot or what. And this poor sailor, he didn't know what to do. He turned red and backed off. We got on the PanAm plane and that little girl and her baby sat with my family all the way to Guam."

Daniel started the wheels in motion to get the security clearance requirement lifted. When this was finally accomplished in 1962, it proved to be a major boon to the island's economy. But it was not as easy as it sounds. The Navy establishment in Washington D.C. is very strong. Initially, even Daniel's friend, Secretary of the Navy John Connally, had been persuaded by Naval authorities to oppose loosening the restrictions. Eight months before the executive order was issued that finally eliminated the restrictions, Connally resigned and left office. Connally's successor, Fred Korth, opposed lifting the restriction. But he came around and signed it.

According to Souder and Sanchez, the term "governor's residence" did not suit the expansive style of a guy who rode as tall in the saddle as Governor Bill. One of his first official acts was to sign an executive order that renamed the governor's residence the "Governor's Palace."

"I didn't give a damn, excuse me, a darn, what they called it," said Daniel. "I wanted to preserve tradition. For a couple of hundred years, the Spanish governor of the Marianas had lived in the *palacio* in Agana. I think it is important to preserve these traditions. They are an important part of the heritage of Guam.

According to Gracy, before making this change Daniel consulted with Gov. Skinner and the Legislature. Both responded positively. The Legislature even adopted a

resolution.

Histories of Guam criticize Daniel for his braggadocio. After all, Daniel, in addition to being a multimillionaire rancher, cowboy and mover-and-shaker, claimed to be a movie star.

Sanchez says:

Before he was named as the island's chief executive, Governor Daniel played a bit part in the movie, *The Alamo*, which was popular with Guamanians. The brief scene had him coming to General Sam Houston with a message. It only lasted a few seconds, but he proudly bragged about being a "movie star." He insisted that it be included in any official introduction such as in high school commencement exercises.

To be sure that the children of Guam knew about it, he had the movie shown in a Tamuning theater and directed the Department of Education to bring all the school youngsters to view it. On the day of the showing, he was outside the theater greeting school children as they came in buses from all over the island. It was a great action movie which students enjoyed. Governor Daniel was thrilled with the student's response. [Sanchez 1991: 340]

According to Gracy, Daniel was transferring a family tradition. For years the Daniels had invited handicapped and orphaned children from the Houston area for a day at the ranch in Liberty. On Guam, he specifically targeted handicapped and orphaned children for a movie, popcorn and the attention of the governor.

Part of being an archetypal Texan is the ability to out brag anyone — particularly anyone from a lesser state — and every state is lesser. Texans know that Texas will soon be the largest state again — as soon as the Texans go up to Alaska and chop up all that ice to cool their whisky.

An important part of Texas style and humor is to claim to have been the best at anything one ever did. An archetypal Texan will claim that he can out ride, out rope, out shoot, out fight, out spit and out drink any lesser being. Daniel would reject part of that traditional claim.

“I have never drank or smoked —I don’t want you to think I’m a sissy, but I just never did,” he said.

Obviously, when an archetypal Texan claims to be a movie star based on a couple of bit parts in a major motion picture his tongue is firmly planted in his cheek. That is not to say that Daniel is not proud of his contribution to *The Alamo* and his starring role in *Kwaheri*!

He said, “I had three parts in *The Alamo*. Duke [John Wayne] himself said, ‘You should be proud of what you’ve done here — your acting.’ I also provided some longhorns — they couldn’t get them anywhere else. My family started preserving longhorns right after the First World War — not for money but for the heritage. And I took care of the cattle and horses and many of the props. I’ve been a rancher all my life — ridin’ and ropin’ are what I do. I hired out to them as a lawyer. I played a dialogue part and coordinated public relations. I spent two years on the road coordinating 11 premiers around the country. And I was also the historian. I even had to handle a murder trial! Two of the extras were after the same girl and one of ‘em killed the other.”

Let’s return to Daniel’s tenure as governor.

Daniel began a number of programs to benefit Guam. He instituted a program called “Operation Guam Friendship” under which Texas farmers and ranchers donated and GovGuam shipped stallions, bulls, boars and billy goats to Guam to improve the breed of Guam livestock. This is very reminiscent of Gov. Tobias’ initial importation of many domestic and some wild animals to Guam.

“They called it ‘Daniel’s Ark,’” Daniel said. “It didn’t cost the government a penny.”

A contributor to the operation, Melvin Bloom, of Houston, Texas, transported the stock free from Houston to San Francisco. The Pacific Far East Lines transported the stock free from San Francisco to Guam.

Nonetheless, Daniel's critics found ways to criticize this program. Sanchez says:

The governor was so proud of the program that when the livestock arrived, he had two bulls dragged up to his second story office in the Executive Chambers of the government. He had his picture taken sitting at his desk with a bull on each side and distributed to the local media. The picture was in the *Guam Daily News* the following day. It ultimately made its way into almost every newspaper in America. [Sanchez 1979: 340]

No doubt people who had never heard of Guam saw this picture. In addition to the publicity value of the picture, Daniel had another motive.

"I have my own breed of cattle. It has taken me 60 years to develop it. It is a breed that is resistant to flies. As a small boy, I noticed that the horse flies left Brahma cattle alone but attacked other breeds. I crossbred Brahma bulls with more traditional American breeds. I selected my males and culled my females to produce a breed of cow that is very resistant to insects. This was the breed I introduced to Guam to increase the insect resistance of Guam's stock.

"When people heard that these were Brahma bulls they were afraid of 'em because of the Brahma's fierce reputation on the rodeo circuit. I thought that the picture of me sitting at my desk between these two bulls would make the people think 'If Governor Bill is willing to take these bulls into his office and sit down with them, maybe they are not as dangerous as we have heard.'"

As a sidelight to "Operation Guam Friendship," Daniel had a pair of armadillos shipped in. He was considering introducing them to control the giant African snail. He organized a big to-do and had the caged animals displayed in the farmers market. During

the first day, the display attracted curious onlookers. During the night it attracted thieves — someone stole the armadillos. No doubt someone wanted to know what armadillo tastes like.

According to Souder and his followers, Daniel went ballistic. He ordered a massive police search. He brooded over the theft for days. The armadillos were never seen again. It is difficult to understand what Souder bases this recollection on — he had been out of the cabinet for three months.

“I specifically ordered a normal police investigation,” Daniel said.

Daniel is accused of introducing political cronyism into the body politic of Guam. Although the word that Sanchez uses is patronage he means cronyism. During the naval administration, there was no hint of cronyism in the administration of Guam. In the 11 years since the Organic Act, none of the governors had indulged in cronyism. While they were free to appoint new directors, board members and commissioners, Govs. Skinner, Elvidge, Lowe and Flores had retained all of the incumbents. They appointed new functionaries only to fill vacancies. Daniel brought a Texan to replace Manuel A. Calvo as the director of agriculture, an Ohio Democrat to fill the position of director of education and later an educator from Texas as director of education and president of the College of Guam. He fired the people who held those offices. One of them was Sanchez. Actually, the legislature passed and Daniel signed a law that made the Director of Education the president of the College. This removed Sanchez from the presidency of the College of Guam. But Daniel doesn't deny that in effect, he fired Sanchez. He does refute the claim however that patronage or cronyism played and part in his appointments.

“This wasn't done for political patronage,” said Daniel. “I fired Pedro Sanchez at

the recommendation of Manuel Leon Guerrero. He [Sanchez] was actively working against my policies. The other two were unable to perform to my expectations. I appointed people to replace them from as near as possible. First, I looked on Guam then Hawaii, California and finally the rest of the United States. The only one of these people that I personally knew was Frank Anderwald who I appointed as the director of the Department of Agriculture — he did an outstanding job.” If Daniel were introducing cronyism, it seems that he would have fired all of the incumbent directors.

With Guam’s Chamorro and Spanish heritage and considering Lowe’s experience with the Third Guam Legislature, political cronyism was inevitable. Sanchez says:

**It would have come sooner or later. But Governor Daniel had the distinction of opening the executive branch of the Government of Guam to the patronage system. [Sanchez 1979: 341]**

Even this equivocating statement is untrue. Governor Flores pursued Manuel Leon Guerrero until Leon Guerrero saw no course of action left to him but to “voluntarily” resign. He then replaced Leon Guerrero with a crony. So Flores was the one who “had the distinction of opening the executive branch of the Government of Guam to the patronage system,” not Daniel.

The final allegation of Souder and Rogers was of an attempt to extort two fur pieces from a local furrier. Souder says:

**Daniel left Guam in October 1962, to make a world tour as a good-will ambassador, receiving his \$19,500 annual Governor’s salary until January of 1963. His early departure was doubtless the result of a deal he tried to make with Peter Chang of the Siberian Fur Company. Daniel had selected three fur pieces for his wife, and in negotiating the price said he would pay for one, and the other two he would accept as gifts. Peter Chang said “no way.” Wild Bill grabbed him pulled on his necktie nearly strangling Chang, who departed, and took legal action. Bill Daniel resigned September 13th. The delay in his removal was presumably a face saving gesture, although no one was fooled. [Souder 19830624:6a]**

“That never happened” Daniel said. “Some salesman had made a deal with my wife Ms. Vera. She had selected a fur piece but he sold it to someone else. He wanted her to take something else. I told him that that was not very professional and he offered me three fur pieces for the price Vera had agreed to pay for one. To me, that sounded real close to a bribe. I know that is the way they do business on Hong Kong but this was not Hong Kong. So I felt like this guy needed a lesson. I grabbed his shirt and pulled him right in my face and asked, ‘Are you trying to bribe me?’ He backed off. I never heard of legal proceedings. I was on Guam for several months after that and nothing came up. Even after I left, I returned to a U.S. jurisdiction — I was subject to U.S. law. If he did make a police report it was just because the best defense is a good offense. He may have been afraid I would prefer charges.”

On 21 August shortly after the incident occurred, at Daniel’s request, Manuel Guerrero wrote a letter to Richard Taitano reporting the incident and the rumors about it. Either the *Guam Daily News* did not hear the rumors, heard the rumors and didn’t investigate or investigated and found that there was nothing to the incident. It is extremely unlikely that the *Daily News* found any substance to the allegations and didn’t publish. Remember, the newspaper belonged to Flores. Whatever the reason, it published nothing about the incident until a story was published in the *Houston Press*. The story was written by a reporter in Washington D.C. It was obviously leaked by someone. According to the newspaper article, Richard F. Taitano leaked it. This in spite of the fact that Taitano knew that the incident was untrue.

The *Houston Press* ran stories on the incident on 30 November, 1 December and 5 December 1962. The *Guam Daily News* repeated the *Press*’s allegations on 8

December. There was not the usual crowing associated with anything about Daniel that the *Daily News* did not approve of. It did not even write its own story or add an editorial. As Gracy says in personal correspondence:

It is inconceivable to me that, if Daniel's resignation were a face-saving maneuver and everyone knew it (as Souder asserts), the *Guam Daily News* remained totally silent on the matter. The island newspaper throughout Governor Daniel's term not only seized every opportunity, but frequently manufactured opportunities, to try to embarrass and harass the Governor by twisting his words and editorializing on events out of context. The impact of the furrier incident as Souder relates it would seem to be ready-made for the newspaper. Indeed, in more than one issue at the time of and following the announcement of Governor Daniel's resignation, the newspaper gloated unreservedly. But the first and only time that the island newspaper reported anything about the furrier incident occurred on December 8, 1962. And then it did no more than carry a story written by a reporter in Washington. [Gracy 1998]

It is also telling that with a story as juicy and gossipy as this involving scandal on the part of a public official, aside from the *Houston Press* and the *Guam Daily News*, no newspaper followed up the story or even reprinted it.

It is almost a certainty that the Chang incident played no part in Daniel's departure. As Gracy says:

President Kennedy and Secretary of the Interior Udall both issued releases on December 5, 1962, that denied that Governor Daniel's resignation was forced. Obviously, if the resignation were not forced, then the Chang incident could not have caused it. Further, in interviews with me, neither Secretary Udall nor Assistant Secretary Carver mentioned the incident at all, and certainly not in connection with Governor Daniel's departure. [Gracy 98]

Daniel said he left early because he had done what he promised to do.

"I told President Jack when I took the job," he said, "that I would not stay for four years. I would just do the things I went down there to do and then he would have to find somebody else. He wrote me a letter asking me prepare a Guamanian to take over — a Guamanian who would follow Democratic Party ideals. I had prepared Manuel Leon Guerrero to govern. He was one of the best fellers I ever met. I never told him that I was



plannin' on leaving the governing of Guam in his hands. I just did it.

“I had contributed to Guam’s agriculture — I was proud of that. I got the two-year College of Guam upgraded to a four-year university. I had also gotten laws pushed through Congress and signed by the president that gave Guam an elected governor and an elected delegate to congress. Most important I had gotten rid of the Navy’s security restrictions. When that became official in August, I resigned in September.”

Actually, Gov. Flores had declared U.O.G. a four-year university but it was for Daniel to get it upgraded to such a point that it could be considered for accreditation. It was not until the Leon-Guerrero administration that it was actually accredited.

While he was away, on 11 November 1962, Supertyphoon Karen struck the island — the most powerful on record. Daniel wanted to return. The Interior Department refused to allow it. The official reason was that he was needed to coordinate the overall rehabilitation from Washington D.C. But no doubt the Secretary of the Interior had seen that Acting Gov. Leon Guerrero was doing a fine job. Most likely Richard Taitano, the director of the Office of Territories in the Department of the Interior had some input — he and Daniel had a strong personality conflict.

Rogers, no admirer of Daniel, admits that Daniel’s tenure as governor was not a waste. He says:

A major accomplishment of Bill Daniel on Guam — in addition to comic relief — was to help get rid of the Navy security clearance. He requested Secretary of the Navy John Connally — a personal friend and fellow Texan — to lift the clearance. With the Korean War long over and the NTTU. [The Naval Technical Training Unit was the front for a CIA facility that trained foreign agents — primarily Taiwanese] base on Saipan closed, there was no further need for the clearance. On 21 August 1962, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 11045 which discontinued the security clearance for Guam. Finally free of this military shackle, Guam could begin normal development of its private sector. [Rogers 1995: 237]

To the idea that Daniel provided comic relief, Gracy responds:

This notion of humor and comic relief has been introduced by recent writers who claim to be serious historians but who failed either to maintain objectivity or to base their work on the only solid foundation of history — the archival record. Instead, what has happened is twofold. On the one hand, Sanchez and Rogers have so distorted history by producing accounts colored by vengeance (Sanchez) and based on shallow research (to be generous to Rogers) that the distorted facts and unfounded assertions they have penned provide the basis for making their contentions appear to be valid. On the other hand, the emphasis that authors have placed on Daniel's Texan characteristics, without identifying these characteristics with any precision, have given them the opportunity to poke fun at and to ridicule something different from themselves, their understanding of which they have failed to share with their readers.

The fact of the matter is that during his tenure, Daniel was taken quite seriously, and was widely appreciated, for the work that he did. If you go to the records of the Guam Legislature in the Nieves Flores Library, you will find that three separate legislative sessions of the Sixth Guam Legislature held during Daniel's administration adopted resolutions of praise for him and his work. [Gracy 1998: 6]

No previous Guam Legislature had ever done this for any governor.

Based on his accomplishments, Daniel was one of Guam's most effective governors. He was certainly the most dynamic.

He totally changed the relationship between the civilian government and military establishment, giving increased power to the civilian side. By eliminating the security clearance requirement he shifted the economic base. He obtained representation in Congress. And he got an elective governor. Although these either failed or provided transient success, he made major efforts to improve the island's ability to feed its population. Finally, there is the intangible contribution to the feeling of the population toward itself. Discounting the obviously biased reports, most first-hand observers of the Daniel administration recognized that the populace had generally good feelings about themselves and the governor.

When Daniel left Guam he took with him an abiding love for the Chamorro-

Guamanian people.

“Every night when I say my prayers, I pray for the people of Guam,” he said. “Those people are good people; they’re wonderful people; they’re Christian, hard-working people; they’re warm, they’re friendly.”

Unlike some historians, Guamanians appreciate a man with a sense of humor. Or perhaps their personal memory carries more weight than slanted historical accounts. By 1995, Daniel’s reputation had rehabilitated itself to the point that he was awarded Guam’s highest honor. He was officially presented The Ancient Order of the Chamorri. According to Gov. Carl T.C. Gutierrez this made Daniel a Chamorro-Guamanian!

Although Manuel F. Leon Guerrero was not officially sworn in until 9 March 1963, he served as acting governor from the time Daniel left in October 1962.

Super-typhoon Karen was the most destructive typhoon in modern history. Guam was still recovering from the war and many were living in the tin-roofed tipa frond-sided shacks that had been thrown up as temporary housing immediately after the war. Most of the permanent construction on the island was of wood with tin roofs. And it turned out not to be all that permanent. Karen’s winds, unofficially reported at 235 M.P.H., did not leave much standing. In his 1963 report to the Secretary of the Interior, Leon Guerrero says:

**Nine persons lost their lives and over 90 percent of the island’s buildings were destroyed or badly damaged. Schools, churches and public utilities were destroyed to a great extent.**

**Following the storm, the island defied description as every tree, every blade of grass had been beaten to brown, shriveled masses which greatly contrasted the usually verdant landscapes.**

**Damage from the storm ran well over \$100 million and extended to Naval and Air Force installations on the island. [Leon Guerrero 1963: 1]**

For the second time in a generation, Guam had been destroyed. Sanchez says:

Where W.W.II left parts of Guam untouched, Supertyphoon Karen spared no place. Upon the recommendation of Governor Guerrero, President Kennedy declared it a federal disaster area thus mobilizing the resources of the nation to the aid of the island and her people. This was the first time that Guam was ever declared a disaster area under the federal disaster program. [Sanchez 1991: 342]

Supertyphoon Karen was a watershed for post-War Guam. Mother Nature had provided an urban renewal program and Uncle Sam financed it. Leon Guerrero made sure that, unlike the post-War rehabilitation, the post-Karen rehabilitation would be planned. Karen had destroyed much of the ad hoc, slipshod post-War reconstruction. Leon Guerrero strengthened the planning division of the Department of Land Management.

For most of 1963 through 1965 Guam was a beehive of activity. Federal disaster relief funds and military reconstruction funds created a boom. Leon Guerrero says in his 1965 annual report:

Millions of dollars for disaster relief and rehabilitation made fiscal year 1965 a year of peak business activity that created a record \$127 million in gross receipts [by the island's business sector]. Construction projects added new electric power generation, and tapped new water resources; 14 school and college buildings were under construction at the year's end.

There were Government projects financed by Federal grants or loans, but there was much private construction as well. New homes dotted the island; one large-scale developer alone added more than a hundred typhoon-resistant, concrete houses. A 30-room motel was near completion and a 29-room hotel begun. The territory had well underway a program of reconstruction aimed not only at rebuilding or replacing typhoon-damaged structures, but also at providing the island permanent public facilities better than it had ever enjoyed. [Leon Guerrero 1965: 1]

It was Leon Guerrero who saw the risk of placing Guam's entire financial future in one industry — military support. He began the move toward tourism. In 1963, he formed a tourism commission to study Guam's potential as a tourist destination. He started the construction of new civilian air terminal facilities. In 1966 the 1,300

passenger *Himalaya* made a one-day port of call — the largest group of tourists ever to come to Guam. By 1967, the terminal was finished. That same year Pan American instituted air service between Guam and Japan. By the end of fiscal year 1967, 10 international flights per week were coming in to Guam and 14 were coming in from the Trust Territories. American Express opened an office on Guam and the Pacific and Orient Lines announced that it would increase its cruise ship arrival from one to two a year.

Leon Guerrero wanted to boost the standard of living on the island. He applied to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Affairs for admission to the urban renewal program. The application was approved but the Eighth Guam Legislature was reluctant to approve the program. The Eighth was controlled by a Territorialist majority. Their opposition was based primarily on two elements. They feared that the program would encourage people to saddle themselves with debt that they could not pay. And they objected that no provisions were made for people already living at the proposed sites.

Leon Guerrero got an extension from the feds and put the measure to a special session of the Legislature he had called. The Democrats — as the Populares were now called — supported the measure but again the Territorialists defeated it. Leon Guerrero did not give up. He submitted the bill to both 1966 sessions of the Eighth Legislature.

Urban renewal became a major issue in the 1966 election campaign. The Territorials misread the public. They were soundly defeated. The Democrats got another “blackjack.” They promptly pushed through an urban renewal bill which used a total of \$12.5 million in federal funds and \$4 million from GovGuam to build two projects. Leon

Guerrero also contributed to traditional forms of housing development by selling government land to developers at nominal cost.

He got a bill through that established the Guam Economic Development Authority. GEDA generates new businesses through direct loans, loan guarantees, and tax rebates. Remember, Guam is in the happy position of being able to, in effect, give a federal income tax rebate.

In 1968, the U.S. Congress took the next step on the road to full democracy on Guam. It passed a bill that required Guam's governors to be popularly elected after 1970.

No doubt, Leon Guerrero would have liked to have completed his term but the fact that the governorship of Guam was now an office of political patronage forced him to step down when Richard M. Nixon was inaugurated in January 1969.

On 6 May 1969, Nixon announced the appointment of Carlos Garcia Camacho as governor of Guam. Born on Guam in 1924, Camacho had graduated from secondary school before going to the mainland to attend pre-dental and dental school. He received his doctorate in dental surgery from Marquette University. He served two years in the Army Dental Corps. He returned to Guam to work on the staff of Guam Memorial Hospital and later the Catholic Medical Center.

He was elected to the Eighth Legislature on his first try at elective office. Following the Territorial Party's defeat in the 1966 election, Camacho and several other Territorial Party leaders formed the Republican Party of Guam. Camacho led the delegation to the 1968 Republican National Convention and gained affiliation with the national Republican Party.

Camacho was appointed governor and Kurt S. Moylan was appointed Secretary of Guam. In an effort to rise above partisan politics, Camacho retained many of his Democrat predecessor's appointed directors and commission chairs. He was most notable, perhaps, for his annual Christmas visit to Vietnam where he met Guamanian servicemen serving there. He made this trip during the Christmas season of all five of his years in office.

Camacho had the good fortune of inheriting an economy that was hot. The Vietnam War was percolating and military construction was cooking. He also inherited many military and federally financed projects from his predecessor.

Camacho's administration was less than two years old when Guam held her first gubernatorial election. As Sanchez says:

With the elective governor bill now law, aspirants for the governorship began to make their moves in earnest. By the last half of 1969 and throughout the year 1970, virtually the entire island population was preoccupied with the first gubernatorial election in its long history. [Sanchez 1991: 356]

Since Camacho had already decided to run, he had barely taken office when he had to begin campaigning.

The first thing he did was dump Moylan. Moylan had done the day-to-day gubernatorial work while Camacho had been the figurehead, grandstander and glad-hander. Everyone, including Moylan had expected Camacho to name Moylan as his running mate. Camacho saw Territorial Party Sen. G. Ricardo Salas as his most serious opposition to the Territorial nomination. In a surprise move he named Salas as his running mate. Moylan, who was en route from an official trip to Washington, D.C., discovered that he had been dumped when he arrived at the airport.

In his very first newspaper interview as a lieutenant gubernatorial candidate, Salas said that Camacho had chosen him as a political lifesaver. Camacho was furious. Without consultation, he dumped Salas and announced at the same time that Kurt Moylan would be his running mate.

The Democratic primary race had three main contending teams. There was former Gov. Manuel F. Leon Guerrero and Dr. Antonio C. Yamashita, the president of the University of Guam. There was Legislative Speaker Joaquin Camacho Arriola and Judge Vicente Bamba a very popular former senator who was then retiring from the Superior Court of Guam. And there was the reluctant team of Sens. Ricardo J. Bordallo and Richard Flores Taitano. When Bordallo and Taitano were first asked to run for governor, each man refused. Taitano said that he didn't have the financial resources and Bordallo said he preferred to stay in the Legislature and try to get the speakership that was being abandoned by Arriola. Bordallo recommended Taitano to Leon Guerrero as a running mate. When Leon Guerrero rejected him, Bordallo decided to run with Taitano as his running mate.

Since the Democrat Party held a solid majority on the island, it was assumed that the Democrat nominee would have a lock on the governor's office. The three-way campaign was bitter.

In the primary election, Camacho-Moylan were unopposed. On the Democrat side, Bordallo-Taitano surprised almost everyone but themselves by taking the nomination. But the viciousness of the campaign had severely damaged the party. Sanchez says:

The long and hard fought Democratic primary campaign left the Democratic Party bitter and divided. Some over-zealous Bordallo-Taitano



supporters, savoring their team's victory, harassed Guerrero-Yamashita and Arriola-Bamba supporters in various parts of the island. One group even dragged a dead rooster through the streets of Inarajan shouting "*talonan! talonan!*," a Chamorro term for a defeated fighting cock. That was all the excuse that Inarajan Commissioner Joaquin S.N. Diego and his followers needed to defect. The Commissioner, a prominent Democrat of long standing and a Guerrero-Yamashita supporter, denounced the harassment and turned his back on Bordello-Taitano, his party's standard bearers. [Sanchez 1991: 358]

That was all that was necessary to stampede numerous Democrat stalwarts into the Republican camp. The Democrats found it impossible to heal the wounds inflicted by the primary campaign before the general election. Camacho-Moylan gained a clear victory.

The Republicans were unable, however, to translate their success into success in the Legislature. The Democrats won 15 seats. Six of them were Bordello-Taitano supporters or "Bordalocrats." Bordalocrats were to dominate the 11th and 12th Legislatures.

This, the first gubernatorial election, was a watershed in Island politics. Sanchez says of the Republicans:

The 1970 election brought a major shift in the island's political life. On the Republican side, the Camacho-Moylan faction became the major force. Being the incumbent chief executive, Governor Camacho and his lieutenant governor, Kurt Moylan, controlled the party machinery. Senator Ricardo Salas, a very vocal adversary, popular with the rank and file Republicans, mustered enough support to keep Governor Camacho and Lt. Governor Moylan from completely dominating the party. [Sanchez 1991: 360]

And of the Democrats:

On the Democratic side, Bordello wrested control of the Democratic Party from the old leaders who opposed him. He purged the Democratic commissioners, officials and leaders who actively supported Governor Camacho in the 1970 election. Bordello exerted such a dominant influence on the Democratic Party rank and file and virtually total control of the party organization that he was the only Democratic gubernatorial standard bearer in the five consecutive general elections between 1970 and 1986. It is a record not likely to be matched, much less broken. [Sanchez 1991: 360]

Just as the last governor under naval administration had served as the first governor under Interior administration, continuity was maintained when the last appointed governor was chosen the first elected governor. He was inaugurated on 4 January 1971. The inauguration began with a Mass at the Cathedral of Dulce Nombre de Maria that was celebrated by Camacho's cousin, the Most Reverend Felixberto Camacho Flores, D.D., the first Chamorro-Guamanian bishop.

One of the first things Camacho did was to contract Standard Research Consultants, an economic consulting firm from New York, to prepare an assessment of projected economic growth and to project capital requirements for the period 1971 to 1977. The report was prepared by Dr. Ralph E. Badger. Badger noted that Guam's major advantage was its location. It is the only substantial land mass between Hawaii and Asia. It is centered in a location contiguous to what were the United Nations Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands and would benefit from development of those islands. From a military standpoint, Badger said:

From a military standpoint, Guam is situated much closer to such sensitive areas of the world as Indo-China and Asia than is any other area in the United States. As a result, Guam has played an increasingly more important role as a strategic military outpost. [Badger 1971: 7]

Badger predicted that because of her location, Guam would increase in military importance as well as as a tourist destination for visitors from Asia, particularly Japan. He was right on both counts.

The Camacho years were boom years for Guam. Between 1970 and 1974 passenger arrivals jumped from 111,374 to 261,575. This was encouraged by the administration's willingness to help the tourism industry with tax rebates, favorable land sales and Guam Economic Development Authority loan guarantees. Business was good.

Gross receipts rose from 189.1 million in 1969, Camacho's first year in office to \$620 million in 1974, his last year.

In 1972, two of the highest ranking officers in the Guam branch of the Bank of America, Jesus Sablan Leon Guerrero and Jose Untalan, quit their jobs. Remember, the Guam Branch of the Bank of America had previously been called the Bank of Guam. Leon Guerrero and Untalan quit their jobs and founded the Bank of Guam. To this day, the Bank of Guam is the only locally-owned, locally-chartered, full-service bank on Guam. Although the founders and investors didn't expect to show a profit for three or four year "*bankon ifit*," the ifil bank, as it is sometimes called showed a small profit the first year.

Spurred by tourism, employment was also booming. In 1970 total employment was at 25,340. By 1974, it was 38,480.

Throughout the Camacho years, the single largest industry on Guam was military support. In 1974, the military spent \$183.5 million on Guam. These were boom years. The infrastructure, sewer systems, roads, electric power and the telephone system, all improved rapidly. But despite these improvements, they were all taxed by the rapidly growing population. Despite the most generous revenue base of any political entity in America, in 1974, GovGuam went into deficit financing. This would seem to be a lesson to any who think government deficit problems can be solved by giving the government more money — there is no amount of money that will satisfy any government.

The early 70s was also a period of increased religious diversity. The lifting of the Navy's security clearance requirement in 1962 opened Guam to all of the religious denominations found on the mainland. Episcopalians, Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses

and others joined the General Baptists and the Seventh-day Adventists. *Iglesia Ni Cristo* came from the Philippines. While the Protestant denominations that established themselves before and immediately after the Second World War had catered primarily to the military, those that came later began to actively proselytize among the local Catholic population. Many of these religions were established by missionaries but most got their start by a few members establishing a group and inviting a minister.

The importance of Guam was also being recognized by the Catholic Church. In 1965, Guam and the Marianas were elevated from a vicarage to a diocese. The first bishop of Agana was A.W. Baumgartner. Upon the death of Baumgartner in 1970, Felixberto C. Flores was elevated to Bishop.

Sanchez:

As a footnote in Guam's history, Bishop Flores joined two cousins from his Camacho side, as the heads of major institutions in the territory — Judge Cristobal Camacho Duenas, Judge of the U.S. District Court, and Governor Carlos Camacho, the Chief Executive of the Government of Guam. It is to their credit that the trio diligently refrained from influencing or interfering with the work each of them carried within his separate jurisdiction. [Sanchez 1991: 374]

Political controversies in the early 1970s began to eat at the popular support of the Camacho administration. But Guamanians, like other Americans, vote their pocket book. The Camacho administration was defeated by something over which no one on Guam had any control — the Arab oil embargo of 1973. Oil and gasoline prices doubled, then tripled. The economies of the United States and Japan dipped. Air travel became more expensive. And the Japanese largely stayed home.

Rogers says:

With a recession under way, all elected incumbents on Guam found themselves in trouble in the 1974 elections. By this time, Governor Camacho was in poor health owing to the stress of the many problems that his administration had faced. [Rogers 1995: 250]

Other Republicans smelled blood. In the 1974 elections, Camacho and Moylan were challenged by the top vote getter in the legislative elections of 1970 and 1972; Sen. Paul M. Calvo and his running mate, Sen. Tony M. Palomo.

On the Democrat side, Bordallo picked Rudolpho (Rudy) Guerrero Sablan, a former executive assistant to former Gov. Guerrero as his running mate. Former Gov. Guerrero chose David D.I. Flores, a former agriculture director, when businessman Pedro P. (Pete) Ada turned him down. The third Democrat candidate, Pedro C. Sanchez, the retired president of the University of Guam chose Esteban U. Torres, a retired Navy commander. The fourth Democratic team was Juakin Arriola and Theodore S. (Ted) Nelson, a school principal.

The Democrats had learned their lesson in 1970. In 1974, they behaved like gentlemen toward each other and attacked the Camacho-Moylan administration. They didn't have much money so they relied on village meetings. They used advertising sparingly.

The Republicans, on the other hand, behaved like Democrats. Calvo-Palomo attacked the incumbents for the high crime rate, poor telephone service, frequent power outages and poor government services in general. All of these issues coincided with news reports in the *P.D.N.*, K.U.A.M. Radio and T.V., and Guam Cable T.V. on these subjects. Most devastating were allegations in the media of favoritism in the procurement of goods and services at the commercial port.

As Sanchez says:

The big attraction in the 1974 election centered on the campaign between Governor Camacho and Senator Calvo. Hitting hard on the issues of the worsening economy, favoritism in government employment and procurement contracts, and hint of corruption in high places, the Calvo-Palomo team gained

considerable popular support among Republicans and former Territorial Party stalwarts who were disenchanted with Governor Camacho for a number of reasons. The Calvo-Palomo team also attracted support from independents and from the business community where Calvo enjoyed a good reputation as president of the Calvo Enterprises, the island's most diversified business operation owned and run by Guamanians. [Sanchez 1991: 375]

The 1974 elections saw the first use of voting machines on Guam. But, of course, no one bothered to educate the electorate in the use of these machines prior to the primary. Consequently, it was not until 22 days after this election that the results were known.

Camacho-Moylan won the nomination by a hair! Only 261 votes separated them from Calvo-Palomo. In fact, it appears that quite a number of Democrats participated in the Republican primary. Democrats have always enjoyed a significant majority on Guam but in the 1974 primary, the Republican teams captured 2,000 more votes than the combined Democrat teams.

The Democrats rallied behind the Bordallo-Sablan ticket.

The Republicans, on the other hand, continued their cat fight. Prior to the general election, Calvo challenged the results of the primary. But the court ruled that they were valid. The Calvo supporters then organized the "Republican Write-In Movement." This was a well-organized and well-financed write-in campaign. They even provided rubber stamps for supporters who either didn't know how to write the candidates names or didn't want to take the trouble. The write-in campaign was unsuccessful but it denied either of the other teams the majority required by the Organic Act. Bordallo got 8,830 votes, Camacho came in second with 7,203, and Calvo received 6,311. The race was further confused by the fact that a printing defect caused the voting machine to reject 40% of the ballots. Those had to be counted by hand.

In the run-off election, many of the Calvo Republicans crossed over to the Democrats, who got 51.3 percent of the votes.

The election was a disaster for Democrat legislators, however. The previous two Legislatures had been strongly Democrat. In 1974, only two of the old-time Popular and Democrat senators were re-elected. The Republicans captured a solid majority in the Legislature. But the Republicans couldn't agree on a speaker so the issue was referred to a "committee of the whole" where with the help of three Democrats Joseph F. Ada was elected the first Republican speaker of the Guam Legislature.

Bordallo had his work cut out for him. But first there was a little matter of rubbing Republican noses in defeat. Remember the allegations of corruption that had come out in the campaigns? The Bordallo administration immediately began an investigation of the alleged improprieties of the Camacho administration. In April 1975, Camacho, Moylan and two other members of the administration were charged with misuse of funds and accepting kickbacks at the commercial port. But the charges were dropped because, according to Rogers, they were politically motivated.

This investigation established a precedent that was to have ironic consequences for Bordallo personally.

Now back to the work Bordallo had cut out for him.

Guam was already in the throes of recession. Bordallo imposed austerity measures on the government. He cut all departmental budgets by 25 percent. He froze GovGuam hiring. But again Guam's economy was battered by forces over which it had no control. Pan Am discontinued charter flights between Japan and Guam in April 1975. But the number of tourists declined by 16 percent in 1976.

There were very few new investors. More than 2,000 temporary laborers returned to the Philippines, thousands of Chamorro-Guamanians emigrated to the mainland and Haole-Guamanians returned to the mainland.

Between 1973 and 1976, Guam's consumer price index increased by more than 20 percent per year. The first time unemployment was measured on Guam was in May 1975 — it was 8.3 percent. By May 1976 it had jumped to 13.3 percent. There would have been dire consequences for GovGuam had it not been for federal largess.

Rogers reports:

Federal subsidies kept Guam afloat financially in the mid-and late 1970s. Direct federal rebates and grants-in-aid provided about 25 cents of every GovGuam budget dollar. Massive indirect federal funds subsidized Guam in everything from the crippled children's' service to spin-offs from construction contracts for military projects. [Rogers 1995: 252]

Joe Murphy says regarding federal expenditures on Guam in 1978:

The total federal monetary input into Guam in 1978 was an incredible \$424.3 million, or \$4,000 for every man, woman, and child on Guam. [Murphy 19790808: 23]

One of the few success stories on Guam in the early 70s is the business that benefited most from the Arab oil embargo. The Guam Oil and Refining Company was founded in 1970 with 10 stockholders and a GEDA approved 75% tax rebate — the largest allowable.

GORCO supplied fuel primarily to the Air Force, the Navy, and the Guam Power Authority. By supplying fuel to the Navy and G.P.A. GORCO had a strong financial base. Supplying fuel to the Air Force in the early 70s was a bonanza. Operations by B-52s intensified in 1972 with Operation Linebacker II, or the "Christmas bombing" of North Vietnam.



The temporary tax free status of GORCO was questioned by some in the late 1970s. It was continued due according to some, to a financial hardship. It claimed that it would suffer if taxes were imposed. If that is true, it must be the only oil refining operation that had financial difficulties in a period of record oil company profits.

Actually, in an interview conducted for this project, Gov. Calvo said that there was no real consideration on his part as to whether or not the company was making money. It was merely a matter of the government fulfilling its obligations.

“Maybe the commitment, for example, in GORCO was not initiated by my administration,” he said, “but it was initiated and they got a tax rebate. And I think that the biggest cry was that if the company is losing money it is all right to give a tax rebate. But I thought that the very purpose of the tax rebate was to encourage a company to come in, to create employment and succeed. I mean GORCO was a Chinese success. It employed people. It contributed to communities. It was very active in the communities. And it's the same way with some other companies. The hotels started to make money because tourism was picking up. But why should they be penalized — why should the government renege on its commitment just because they were making money?”

The “Christmas bombing” apparently worked. On 28 January 1973, a cease-fire was signed in Paris. The Americans had their “peace with honor,” so they left South Vietnam.

But the peace was short-lived. The South Vietnamese military was the fifth most powerful in the world. It was an experienced fighting force. The South Vietnamese national government, however, created by America, had been coddled for two decades. It had made no life or death decisions and was unprepared to make any. Almost entirely

because of cowardice, confusion and equivocation on the part of the South Vietnamese national government, by April 1975, North Vietnamese forces were at the gates of Saigon.

There began an exodus of panic-stricken refugees. On 21 April 1975, a plane belonging to Flying Tiger Airlines arrived unexpectedly at the Guam international terminal carrying a planeload of refugees. Bordallo immediately impounded the airplane.

After a week of bureaucratic shuffling, Washington authorized a massive evacuation from Vietnam through Guam. On 23 April, refugees began to arrive at Andersen A.F.B. A trickle soon developed into a torrent. In two days more than 14,000 South Vietnamese, Americans, French and other "third country nationals" had arrived by air. These were the well-to-do. Some arrived with suitcases full of gold, cash or other negotiable instruments. Despite the hundreds that were dispatched to the mainland daily, they soon saturated the lodging capacity. Seabees erected a tent city for 40,000 people at the old Orote airfield.

*In FY 1975 Annual Report: Territory of Guam, Bordallo reports:*

Meanwhile both the civilian and the military community of Guam amassed the necessary logistic support to meet the daily needs of the refugees. Acres of tents raised established the biggest city the island had ever seen, called Tent City. Orote Point and the abandoned World War II Japanese airstrips there were selected as the site for a large tent city. Approximately 500 acres of this land was cleared, and 3,200 tents were put up. One hundred ninety-one (191) wooden toilets were built, 300 showers installed, 51 cots were provided and 73,000 blankets were distributed. [Bordallo 1975: 36-37]

The flood continued. On a single day, 7 May 1975, 13,000 arrived. The Navy opened a second camp at the site of the Asan camp that had housed Filipino insurrectionists 75 years earlier. Ultimately 13 more smaller camps were set up. On 11

May, the carrier U.S.S. *Midway* sailed into port with over 100 South Vietnamese and Air America airplanes. She landed more refugees.

Then the “huddled masses” began to arrive in civilian ships and boats of all sizes and descriptions. No sooner did they arrive than many of them decided that they wanted to return home.

While the U.S. authorities waited for the United Nations to arrange transport, some of these refugees rioted, burning buildings and vehicles. The riots were put down with the first-ever use of tear gas on Guam.

It is impossible to determine all the reasons for this dissatisfaction. Most of them, no doubt, revolved around ungratified expectations. Many feared a blood-bath at the hands of the North Vietnamese and believed they were coming to the United States that was familiar to them in the movies. When a couple of months passed and they were still in refugee camps; with no high-paying job, no car, no home and no color T.V. set they were disappointed. When there were no reports of massacres at home they began to think they had made a mistake. This plus the ordeal of dealing with a government bureaucaracy drove some to desperation.

At Bordallo’s suggestion the most seaworthy of the Vietnamese ships, the *Thuong Tin One*, departed on 16 October with 1,600 returnees aboard. Upon their arrival in Vietnam they were immediately clapped into “re-education camps” where many of them languished for years.

Although “Operation New Life,” as it was called, tested the government and people of Guam because of its suddenness, both performed admirably. The government provided services to this group which at its height increased the population of Guam by

50 percent. In the period between the arrival of the first refugees and the time federal authorities had made preparations to care for the more than 110,000 refugees who would eventually arrive on the island, the people of Guam, both civilian and military, opened their homes and their hearts to these unfortunate people. Many of the refugees could not afford even the basic necessities for survival. There being no facilities on the island for the care of large numbers of homeless people, the immigration office paroled some of them into the care of civilian and military families who volunteered to care for them. Many charitable organizations, particularly the churches, offered assistance. By the time facilities had been prepared for the refugees, many of those who had been paroled had gotten employment and housing and were unwilling to leave Guam for new homes on the mainland. Many of them remain on Guam to this day.

During the nine months or so that the majority of the refugees on the island were housed in reconditioned military barracks and tents, there was a fear of natural disaster. It was assumed that the U.S. Government could prevent the collapse of the strained food supply, but a typhoon would have caused a tragedy. Mercifully, Typhoon Pamela was not born until a year after the tent cities were safely folded up.

When she hit, she hit with a vengeance. Pamela brought destruction, but no death when she passed directly over the island. Her 200 m.p.h. plus wind kicked up waves that parked two large Navy tug boats on Marine Drive.

Like governors before him, Bordallo saw the destruction of Pamela as an opportunity to improve the island's infrastructure.

Sanchez says:

Governor Bordallo saw in the post-typhoon Pamela rehabilitation an excellent opportunity to reconstruct Guam into an economically viable community

as a means of bringing all facets of life on Guam to standards higher than they were before Pamela. In a paper entitled *Guam: the United States Developing Territory*, presented to Federal officials in January, 1977, the governor outlined the problems the island faced and sought close to \$290 million in Federal funds for infrastructure and other development projects. [Sanchez 1991: 385]

Bordallo's had one truly ambitious development project — one that convinced even many of his supporters that he was a Quixotic dreamer. He went to Washington with a proposal that the federal government fund a grandiose 200,000 square-foot capital complex in East Agana Bay. It called for three glass-sheathed office complexes built in the shape of latte stones —one for executive offices, one for the Legislature and one for the courts.

Not unexpectedly the Legislature did not support this scheme — they preferred a more prosaic plan to build infrastructure and housing. When Delegate Won Pat sided with the Legislature, the proposal was doomed. Bordallo immediately revised his proposal and submitted it again. Still it didn't go anywhere.

Bordallo spent so much time trying to get funding for projects from the federal government that he became known in Washington as "Governor Ricky Dollar." But he was really quite successful in prying money out of the feds. Between 1975 and 1978, he got about \$367 million in federal funding — the highest funding for civil development in Guam's history. But it wasn't enough; he spent more than he took in.

Sanchez says:

Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo, imposed austerity measures immediately upon taking office in January 1975. At the close of F.Y. 1975, Governor Bordallo placed the general fund deficit by June 30, 1975, at \$39.3 million. He blamed the deficit on election year spending by his predecessor's administration and the 12th Guam Legislature. [Sanchez 1991: 390]

A bit later Sanchez concludes:

Lack of fiscal control on the part of both the Republican-controlled legislatures and the Democratic administration resulted in the government's deficit financing. The deficit increased to \$51 million by June 30, 1976 and \$56 million by June 30, 1977. By June 30, 1978, accumulated deficit totaled \$72 million of which \$16 million represented a cash shortfall in the general fund in that fiscal year alone. The balance of the deficit included amounts owed the territorial government retirement fund and monies needed for appropriation measures which went unfunded because of cash shortage. [Sanchez 1991: 391]

Although Bordallo was obviously responsible for most of this deficit spending, much of the blame can also be placed on the Republican legislature.

Fortunately, after 1977, Bordallo could take credit for an improvement in the economy — although he had nothing to do with it. Despite the economic good news, the Guam Memorial Hospital and the Guam Power Authority were on the verge of bankruptcy. After considerable wrangling, Bordallo got the Legislature to establish the Guam Community College, which he saw as growing into a Guam version of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. It actually became more of a vocational-technical high school. But still it was in competition with U.O.G. for students. Enrollment at U.O.G. dropped by nearly 50 percent.

On 4 September 1976, the Guam Political Status Commission held a referendum on political status. Almost 58 percent opted for commonwealth status disguised as “improved status quo.” Statehood garnered 24 percent. Maintaining the status quo got nine percent. Independence got six percent and “other” got three percent. In Washington, D.C., Won Pat, got a law passed allowing Guam and the Virgin Islands to create constitutional conventions. On 16 April 1977, a nonpartisan election was held that chose 32 delegates. From July to December 1977 the convention hammered out a constitution. It was approved by Congress and signed by President Jimmy Carter. But to

take effect it still had to be approved by the people. It was slated for a plebiscite shortly after the next elections.

Bordallo, with 14 years experience as a senator, thought he could handle the Legislature — he was wrong. They passed bills for which there was no money. With 15 Republicans in the Legislature, they could override vetoes at will. But the power of the Governor of Guam is overwhelming. If the Legislature passes a bill for which there is no money, the governor can just put it aside until money becomes available. But Bordallo's administration was a four-year running battle with the Legislature.

Bordallo also had a four-year running battle with Rudy Sablan, his lieutenant governor. It was this personality conflict that caused Sablan to challenge him for the Democratic Party nomination, in 1978.

Bordallo chose retired University of Guam president Dr. Pedro C. Sanchez, a co-author of *A Complete History of Guam*, the author of *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam*, and *Guahan/Guam: The History of Our Island*, as his running mate. They were challenged by the team of Sablan and attorney Jose Iglesias Leon Guerrero.

The Republicans presented a united team. They ran businessman and former senator Paul McDonald Calvo for governor and Speaker of the Legislative Joseph F. Ada for lieutenant governor.

There was also an independent team of president of the constitutional convention Sen. Carl T.C. Gutierrez, a Democrat, and his running mate former U.O.G. political science professor and staff director of the constitutional convention, Dr. Josue Dizon.

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Gutierrez-Dizon was knocked out in the primary because they only got 757 votes. Guam's election rules stipulate to go on to the general election a team must garner at least 20 percent of the votes cast in the primary.

The general election was a free-for-all. Sanchez says:

**For the second time, Governor Bordallo found himself the victim of a divisive Democratic primary campaign. Key leaders and supporters of Sablan Leon Guerrero deserted the Democratic Party and openly campaigned for the Republican team of Calvo-Ada. [Sanchez 1991: 394]**

As had happened to the Camacho-Moylan administration, there were embarrassing allegations of misuse of funds and graft in the Bordallo administration.

Even though that the economy was improving and unemployment had decreased during the last half of Bordallo's administration, the people of Guam decided that they had had enough of his Quixotic management style and far-out ideas! They opted for the experienced business team of Calvo-Ada.

In the first legislative election in which legislators were elected by district, the Republicans retained veto-proof control with 14 G.O.P. senators. Sanchez:

**For the third consecutive term, Republicans controlled the Guam Legislature. And for the first time Guam had a Republican in the governor's office and a Republican majority in the legislature at the same time. [Thomas V.C.] Tanaka was elected speaker. [Sanchez 1991: 395]**

In order to prevent Bordallo from taking any last minute action as governor, Calvo and Ada were both sworn in at a secret midnight ceremony. Bordallo was so offended that he boycotted the public inauguration ceremony later that day at the Plaza de Espana.

Calvo's first order of business was to rub the Democrat's nose in their defeat. He launched several investigations into high-ranking Bordallo administration officials. The

new attorney general, Kenneth E. North, immediately began high-profile investigations into the Guam Police Department among other agencies.

Crime wouldn't pay if the government ran it.

On 19 June 1980 the *Pacific Daily News* carried a story that G.P.A. officials admitted that they had been tampering with hundreds of meters. The story was that several hundred power meters were adjusted upward by two percent so that G.P.A. could compensate for older meters that they thought may have been running too slowly.

G.P.A.'s attorney claimed that it is all perfectly legal — under G.P.A.'s regulations. G.P.A. allows itself a two percent error in the accuracy of power meters. Authority officials admitted that the meters were set at 102 rather than the normal 100. Despite the G.P.A. attorney's claim of legality, it was expected that felony charges would be brought before the grand jury by the attorney general.

One hour before G.P.A. officials were to answer the charges Attorney General, North, was abruptly fired by the governor. The previous administration had been thoroughly embarrassed but North apparently failed to understand that actual prosecution would set an unpleasant precedent.

Calvo's major goal was to establish Guam as a self-sufficient economy. He was interviewed for the March 1979 issue of *Hawaii Business*:

**Calvo sees as one of his major tasks making Washington understand Guam's peculiar position and thereby its problems. "The people in Washington have to be made to realize that they should either expect us to continue asking for handouts or allow us to do the things that will help make us self-sufficient," he declares. [*Hawaii Business* 197903: 48]**

Remember the Guam Constitution that the convention had written, the U.S. Congress had approved and the president had signed? On 4 August 1979, the voters went to the polls to approve it. Since Congress had passed and Carter had signed the

constitution, opposition had grown. Chamorro-rights activists objected to the fact that it did not halt Filipino immigration or return land condemned by the military and the Department of Interior.

It was opposed by attorneys because it provided for a Guam supreme court.

It was opposed by many non-Chamorro-Guamanians because of special rights it gave to Chamorro-Guamanians. Many people, including some prominent Chamorro-Guamanians, said that they objected to the special privileges granted to Chamorro-Guamanians under Article XI.

Although the article only permitted the future passage of laws that would be beneficial to Chamorro-Guamanians and did not grant such rights in itself, it sounded discriminatory. As Rogers and others pointed out, such a law if passed would be unlikely to survive court tests. Nonetheless, many people are not knowledgeable enough in law to know that such a law, regardless of provisions for it in a territorial constitution, is going to be in violation of the *U.S. Constitution*. The article seems to have been taken from a provision for Amerindians, Eskimos and Aleuts in the Alaskan Constitution and applied thoughtlessly to Guam where it does not apply and would not be appropriate. There are no Chamorros anymore and Chamorro-Guamanians do not depend on subsistence fishing for their livelihood.

But perhaps the main reason for the failure of the constitution is as Rogers said procedural. "They went to the people and for the first time they asked the people not 'do you want a constitution?' but 'Do you want this constitution that we have already written?' So the people said, 'No!'"

Calvo ran on a promise to use his business expertise to reduce government spending and reduce the deficit. In his first year in office, he managed to keep expenditures below revenues by \$8 million. By 1979, the general fund's accumulated deficit had dropped from \$72 million to \$53 million. Rogers describes Calvo's technique:

The new governor promptly canceled twenty-six last-minute contracts that Bordallo had signed. Calvo, an experienced and capable manager, lowered GovGuam's deficit by a respectable \$27 million in 1979, but thereafter it began to climb once more to the highest point in history by 1982. [Rogers 1995: 263]

One reason for the deficit was the government's inability or reluctance to collect taxes. This is a continuing problem caused by political and family influence in the Department of Revenue and Taxation. It has improved a little with computerization but federal auditors still complain of it.

Another reason for the growth of Guam's debt was that G.P.A. was again at the point of bankruptcy. But Guam's civilian economy began to regain health under Calvo.

One of the provisions of the 1977 Omnibus Territories Act, was to amend the Organic Act to allow the District on Guam to review compensation for private property condemned after World War II. So the issue of post-World War II military and naval land condemnations came again to the forefront. Interest was particularly aroused when Delegate Won Pat estimated that the 1980 value of the land taken could be \$3.5 billion.

The first major case, *Stanley Castro Limtiaco versus The United States of America* was dismissed by District Court Judge Cristobal C. Duenas. But the Ninth Circuit Court saw it differently — it reversed Duenas' decision and sent it back for reconsideration. This victory caused a flood of claims that eventually reached a total of

1,377 claims for 3,525 parcels of land. All of the cases were combined into a single class-action suit.

On 25 May 1983, the Justice Department and the plaintiffs' attorneys led by John Bohn negotiated a settlement to all the claims out of court for a total payment of \$39.5 million. The attorneys accepted this offer.

The "original landowners," now a political group known as Guam Landowners Association, were outraged — they had been promised \$3.5 billion! They immediately fired Bohn and challenged the fairness of the settlement. The question of fairness was reviewed by District Court Judge Robert Peckham who decided that the settlement was fair. Most of the claimants accepted the judge's decision and accepted their share of the settlement. Evaluations were made of the value of the land in the late 1940's and the money was prorated among the 5,200 former owners and their heirs.

But 200 of the claimants — those with the largest parcels — refused to accept the settlement. So about \$6 million of the award sits in the bank while litigation continues.

GovGuam itself sued the federal government under the U.S. Quiet Title Act to recover excess land owned by the Navy. The case was dismissed in 1986 because it was 12 days beyond the statute of limitations. But by then the Navy had begun to release excess land. Despite this, the federal government still owns about one third of all the land on Guam and the territorial government owns even more.

While all this was going on, GovGuam, the largest employer on the island was in the throes of a labor dispute. In 1980, full-time government employees represented 27 percent of the work force. The biggest union on Guam was the Guam Federation of Teachers most of whose members were Haole-Guamanians. The G.F.T. represented

about half the teachers on island. The G.F.T. sponsored a petition to place a referendum on the next ballot giving all GovGuam employees a 30 percent cost-of-living increase. The petition drive failed but since it was an election year, the Legislature passed a modest GovGuam pay increase that the governor signed.

Although this did not satisfy the three unions on island — the G.F.T., the Operating Engineers Local 3 and the Chamorro Employees Labor Union (the acronym CHELU means sibling in Chamorro) — it defused the situation. It defused it until the Legislature did something totally stupid, which it is wont to do. The lame duck Fifteenth Guam Legislature gave themselves, their staffs, GovGuam directors and judges generous raises without a floor debate or public hearing. They increased their salaries by 27 percent to become one of the best paid state legislatures in the country of which they are not a state.

“Double-cross” the unions screamed! They called a meeting in the Paseo that was attended by 1,000 people, according to the G.F.T., or by 350 according to the police. However many there were, they voted overwhelmingly to strike unless they got a 30 percent pay raise. The same day, Calvo vetoed the pay raises for directors, senators and judges.

But the Legislature overrode the governor’s veto. Calvo warned the teachers that it is illegal for government workers on Guam to strike. The G.F.T. held a written ballot and by an overwhelming majority voted to strike. Calvo got an injunction. The G.F.T. ignored the injunction. Although a small walkout had taken place in 1975 over class size, Guam had her first real strike!

The Calvo administration and G.F.T. President Conrad Stinson began negotiations. Stinson suggested that Bishop Flores mediate. Flores declined. Calvo said there was no money for a raise. Stinson said find some. Of the strike, Rogers says:

The situation turned into a clash of values between Statesiders (the majority of strikers) on one side and Chamorros and Filipinos (most of whom stayed on the job) on the other side. [Rogers 1995: 267]

The walkout pitted the Democrat strikers against the Republican administration and Legislature. Bordallo, who was campaigning to regain the office, and his wife Sen. Madeleine Bordallo went to G.F.T. rallies to show support.

In the middle of all this Pope John Paul II dropped in for a day during an Asian tour. On 22 February 1981 he stepped off a Philippine Airlines jet, kissed the ground and said "I love you all!" in Chamorro. The next day he celebrated an open air mass for a crowd of up to 25,000 people and unveiled a street sign changing Saylor Street to Chalan Santo Papa Juan Pablo Dos. He ignored the teachers' strike. Then he left.

Attention returned to the striking teachers. The American Federation of Teachers sent advisers and provided some interest free loans. GovGuam talked, but offered no concessions. G.F.T. talked but offered no compromises. The schools stayed open the whole time, taking all pressure off the government. But gradually, the strikers used up their savings and they began to drift back to school. On 11 March 1981, the *P.D.N.*'s headline announced:

**It's over: G.F.T. Calls it Quits. [Linn 19810311:1]**

Of the strike, Rogers says:

The futile strike of 1981 damaged Guam's educational system and the G.F.T. The union never regained the influence that it possessed in late 1980. In 1984, the G.F.T. claimed a membership of about 800, but an economic directory that year reported that it was a mere 535. Eight years later, membership reached about 1,400, far less than in 1981 and still largely statesiders.

Uncertified teachers hired temporarily in the strike were grandfathered into D.O.E. with provisional certifications and became permanent hires. Striker versus nonstriker antipathy persisted for years, and the quality of public education on Guam suffered. This deterioration was evident when Guam's public high school students repeatedly scored lower than most students elsewhere in the nation on Scholastic Aptitude Tests for years following the strike. [Rogers 1995: 269]

A clarification is in order here. There are two standardized tests given to high school juniors every year. One, the Scholastic Aptitude Test, or S.A.T. I, is an aptitude test — an I.Q. test if you will. Guam's children average exactly average on this test. S.A.T. II, the Scholastic Achievement Test, tests what a student has learned. It is this test that Guam's school children were significantly below average on. To be fair, even before the strike Guam's high school students performed worse than those from other areas on S.A.T. II.

The teachers' strike had political consequences. Many senators who had caused the strike with their pay raises were re-elected again and again while Calvo who was probably least responsible but managed to keep the schools running and break the strike, was voted out.

But Calvo had more problems than the teacher's strike. The business community was disappointed in his results. The GovGuam payroll that Calvo had promised to shrink had risen by 22 percent. The debt that he promised to eradicate swelled to \$83.3 million — almost \$11 million more than when he inherited it. When financing for an ocean thermal energy conversion electric generation plant fell through, no provisions were made to provide for future power demand increases. And, like Bordallo, he couldn't get along with his lieutenant governor.



In the runup to the 1984 election, Calvo dropped Ada from the ticket and chose Peter F. (Pete) Perez. Sens. Kurt Moylan and Frank F. Blas opposed them. Calvo-Perez won by a 12 percent margin.

The Democrats chose between by the team of Ricky Bordallo and Edward Diego (Eddy) Reyes a retired Air Force colonel; and Rudy Sablan and Joe Leon Guerrero. Bordallo-Reyes handily won with a 35 percent margin.

The race for Guam's delegate to Congress got interesting for a change when Won Pat was challenged by retired Marine Brig. Gen. Vicente Garrido (Ben) Blaz. Won Pat had been challenged before but this time the challenger was a man with contacts in the Reagan administration — a man calling for new blood in Washington.

The primary campaigning tactic of the Calvo-Perez team was to use the power of the governor to pave roads all over the island — including private roads belonging to supporters. This got sticky when the federal inspector general, whose job is to oversee the use of federal funds, discovered that some federal highway funds had been used for private roads and driveways. Some contractors overcharged GovGuam and others were not paid at all.

These charges rocked Calvo but Bordallo's aggressive campaigning style destroyed him. Rogers says:

The charges hurt Calvo's image, and the aggressive, unpredictable Bordallo put the moderate, reserved Calvo on the defensive. Bordallo had political talents that other candidates on Guam lacked: a keen awareness of public opinion and the ability to attract — and manipulate — the media. He also had the capacity to surprise, which drew large crowds to hear him. For example, as a dramatic campaign climax, the Bordallo-Reyes ticket rented the entire amusement park of entrepreneur Mark V. Pangilinan in Yigo with free rides and fireworks, attracting a huge and happy crowd. [Rogers 1995: 271]

Calvo tried to use the power of incumbency to shift the balance in his favor. He hired 1,427 temporary workers at a cost to the taxpayers of about \$4 million. But it didn't work — Bordallo's recession had become Calvo's Recession and it was still on. Bordallo-Reyes won with almost a 5 percent margin. And they brought 14 Democratic legislators in on their coattails. Won Pat even squeaked by. The people of Guam again voted their pocketbooks.

Now that Bordallo's recession was Calvo's recession, Bordallo gave the biggest inaugural party in Guam's history. It included food, Guam's first inaugural parade, food, orchid leis, food, singers, food, musicians, food, dancers, and food. The free meal included about 7,000 pounds of chicken, 2,000 pounds of rice and 10 cases of soy sauce.

One of the first events of the new Bordallo administration was to again stagger toward a firm political status with the United States. There was supposed to have been a political status election in September 1981 but the political status commission couldn't complete the preparations. The ballot was actually held on 12 January 1982.

The people were presented with seven options—statehood, independence, free association, incorporated territory, commonwealth, status quo and other. Only 37 percent of Guam's normally conscientious electorate showed up. A plurality of 49 percent chose commonwealth over the next most popular option of statehood, that got 26 percent. None of the other options got more than 10 percent.

Since Bordallo was now governor, the political status commission took on a whole new complexion — the Republican controlled commission dissolved and a Democrat commission took its place. Unlike most of the other people who were interested in Guam's political status, Bordallo had a strategy in mind. First he wanted to

**establish** Guam as a commonwealth — a status which the Northern Marianas already had as **the** Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. The Commonwealth of Guam **would** have a constitution very similar to the *Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands*. Then he wanted to merge Guam and the C.N.M.I. into a **single** commonwealth under a single constitution. This would give Chamorro-Guamanians and Chamorro-Marianos a firm majority. Then he wanted to get the Commonwealth of the Marianas admitted to the United States as a state — a state dominated by Guam. Of this strategy Rogers says;

Bordallo knew that this long-range strategy on political status faced formidable obstacles. Therefore, he revealed his vision only to a few advisers while he undertook the process one step at a time. As a beginning, he convened a working group to expand an informal draft version of the commonwealth act written by Charles Troutman. While that draft was being written, he decided to initiate talks with Interior to lead to formal negotiations as had taken place with the Northern Marianas. In June of 1983, Bordallo wrote a letter to the head of O.T.I.A. [the Department of the Interior's Office of Territorial and International Affairs], Pedro Sanjuan with a list of issues as the basis of talks. Sanjuan politely acknowledged the letter then did nothing. [Rogers 1995: 272]

Because of the tepid response of Interior, Del. Won Pat introduced a resolution calling on President Ronald Reagan to designate an official to negotiate a status change with Guam — it went nowhere. In July 1983, Won Pat led a congressional delegation of five to Guam. Guam's long-time ally Phil Burton of California had been killed when Korean Airlines Flight 007 was shot down by the Soviet Union on 1 September 1983. But Won Pat had established a close working relationship with Manuel Lujan Jr., a Republican from New Mexico, the vice-chair of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee who was to become secretary of the Interior under President George Bush.

At the suggestion of Lujan and Rep. Morris Udall, a Republican from Arizona, the chair of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Bordallo, Won Pat and

**Sen.** Carl T.C. Gutierrez decided to follow the legislative route rather than attempt to **negotiate** with the executive branch.

On 7 December 1983, a bipartisan delegation of Guam's leaders met with Lujan in **Albuquerque**, N.M. The delegation committed Guam to produce a working draft of a **commonwealth** act by June 1984. This was a draft in which Lujan recommended that the **Guamanians** include everything they wanted including "the kitchen sink" but to be **prepared** to negotiate and compromise.

In January 1984, the Eighteenth Guam Legislature established a bipartisan **commission** with members representing all three branches of government, the village **commissioners** council and the public to draft a Guam commonwealth proposal to submit to **Congress**.

Meanwhile Bordallo was tilting at windmills. This was not a new thing. In 1979, **while** an ex-governor, Bordallo promoted a plan to use Guam's constant wind to produce **electricity**. He wanted to build a windmill system on the island. If the windmills proved **successful**, the government would have had to agree to buy the system for \$400 million. **As** governor, one of his first policy initiatives was to buy 500 tall propeller turbines for **\$400** million. If these were successful, they would be followed by 4,500 more to be **scattered** all over the island. The Legislature's reaction was cool. The project died for **lack** of interest.

One of Bordallo's more successful projects was the renovation of an elementary **school** on Adelup Point, which had been condemned for structural problems, into an **executive** branch office complex. The jumble of Spanish-style white buildings with red

**tile** roofs fronts a parade ground. Of course the Republicans criticized the whole project **but** the succeeding Republican governor happily moved in.

The Bordallo administration had another inherited problem — inherited from **itsel f**. In 1977, Bordallo had appointed Dr. Rosa Carter president of U.O.G. Also in **1977** he had created G.C.C. In June 1978, U.O.G. got an “A” rating from the Western **Ass**ociation of Schools and Colleges. But U.O.G. was in trouble. G.C.C. was draining off **s**tudents and revenue. When Carter approved only two of 27 recommendations for **prom**otion the morale of the faculty collapsed. The firing of 15 Professors for a light-**hearted** picket of Government House in full academic cap and gown during the teachers’ **strike** added to the dissatisfaction.

There were reported accounting irregularities and management problems. The **real** problem with U.O.G. was that like the public school system it was run by a highly **Pol**itical administration that took priority over teaching and research. In June 1981, after **another** Western Association of Schools and Colleges inspection, Carter received a **w**arning for 10 deficiencies. Little was done to correct the problems. U.O.G. lost its **con**tracts to conduct off-campus classes at the military bases to the University of **M**aryland overseas program. The Navy and Air Force were unhappy with U.O.G.’s **stand**ards.

At the request of three courageous professors, the Board of Regents fired Carter **and** replaced her with Dr. Jose Q. Cruz. Carter promptly sued for \$2 million, lost but **acc**epted a generous financial settlement the university offered.

In 1984, after another inspection, the Western Association of Schools and **C**olleges dropped the university to “show cause” status — meaning that unless the

**un**iversity could demonstrate within a year that it was deserving of accreditation, **ac**creditation would be withdrawn. This action lit a fire under the faculty and **ad**ministration to fix the school's management and academic deficiencies. The **Le**gi slature put the Board of Regents on six-year staggered terms to prevent a governor fro **m** changing the entire board in a single term. These reforms did not eliminate **man**agerial or academic problems at U.O.G. nor did they eliminate political influence, but **they** improved the situation enough to move the university back to "probation."

There was major movement in Guam's Roman Catholic community. The 1981 **visi**t by the pope had been the high point of Bishop Flores' stewardship of Guam's **dom**inant religious institution. On 20 May 1984, Flores was installed as the first **me**tropolitan archbishop of the newly-created Archdiocese of Agana. The Vatican also **up**graded Agana's Dulce Nombre de Maria to a cathedral-basilica. On 6 October 1984, **in** an elaborate ceremony in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, Padre Sanvitores was beatified **as** Blessed Diego of the Marianas.

In the mid-1980s Guam's economy was gaining momentum. The upturn was due **main**ly to a massive increase in Japanese tourism and a simultaneous increase in Japanese **in**vestment on the island. By 1984 private sector employment on Guam had jumped **near**ly 28 percent over 1982. There were 14 banks, three credit unions and two savings **and** loan associations. The island was served by Northwest Airlines, Continental-Air **Mi**cronesia, Japan Airlines and All Nippon Airways. Braniff and Pan American airlines **wi**thdrew from the Guam routes as they sank into bankruptcy. By 1985, tourism was **add**ing \$200 million a year to Guam's economy. Property values started to rise first in

**T**umon then islandwide. Guam's economy ignored the stock market crash of October 1987.

The tourism boom created a construction boom. "Temporary" alien workers flooded the island. This time they came from China, Korea, Taiwan and even Malaysia in addition to the Philippines. All this growth led to problems for Bordallo. Rogers says:

To finance infrastructure to support economic growth, the Bordallo-Reyes administration turned to bond issues. These alluring bond initiatives, along with the growth of corruption from tolerable small-time bribery of officials for favors — a long-established practice on Guam — to metapolitical big-time venality at the highest GovGuam levels, would lead to a tragic end for Ricky Bordallo. [Rogers 1995: 277]

In 1986, the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands changed their statuses. The Northern Marianas became the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. The Marshall Islands became a "freely associated state" under the name Republic of the Marshall Islands, Palau became a freely associated state called the Republic of Palau and all the others became the Federated States of Micronesia — also freely associated states. All of these have gone from being, in essence, colonial possessions of the United Nations administered by the United States to being semicolonial supplicants to the United States.

People of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas are U.S. citizens. Citizens of the two republics and the federated states have the right, under their covenants, to freely immigrate to the United States. Guam is the closest developed area to these largely undeveloped areas. Guam was also experiencing a boom. There was an almost immediate exodus from islands all over Micronesia of people seeking a better life on Guam. This was accompanied by a similar influx of people from Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China and the Philippines. Guam's social infrastructure was severely taxed.

**H**ousing, social welfare agencies and law enforcement agencies were sometimes overwhelmed.

Before the 1986 election, accusations of impropriety began to surface. This was no **d**oubt intended to be the traditional pre-election smear campaign. The smear would be fol**l**owed, if a Republican were to be elected governor, with a criminal investigation. The crim**i**nal investigation would continue until the Bordallo administration had been thoroughly embarrassed. Then the whole issue, criminal investigations and all, would be summarily dropped.

But something happened. No one took into account K. William (Bill) O'Conner, the tough and experienced U.S. Attorney on Guam.

The taint of corruption was already on the Bordallo administration. This was due to investigations, arrests and trials of lesser GovGuam officials, Bordallo family members and business associates. Corruption had evolved from what Rogers calls:

. . . tolerable small-time bribery of officials for favors — a long-established practice on Guam.... [Rogers 1994: 277]

**I**t had become big-time. Among the trials was the conviction of D.O.E. Director Katherine Aguon on extortion charges. Aguon ended up serving 18 months before her sentence was overturned on appeal. She was not retried and returned to work on Guam as an educator.

In 1986, there began to be rumors of a federal criminal investigation. By mid-1986 there were news reports that the governor and other high officials were the target of a federal grand jury.



Bordallo and Reyes had worked well together so they decided to run again as a **team**. They were challenged in the primary by Carl Gutierrez and Sen. John Perez **Aguon**.

The Republicans were also offered two tickets. Sens. Tommy Tanaka and **Antonio R. (Tony) Unpingco** against Sens. Joe Ada and Frank Blas.

Democrats and Republicans were challenged by a lighthearted Haole-Guamanian **independent** team of Jeff Pleadwell and Bill Roth, the owners of Jeff's Pirate Cove, a **restaurant** and bar in Talofofu.

Three days before the primary, on 3 September, Bordallo was summoned before **the** federal grand jury to testify. Bordallo read the grand jury a prepared statement that **claimed** that the investigation was a "Republican conspiracy to oust him from power." **He** refused to answer any questions and stalked out. The grand jury immediately indicted **him** on 11 counts including bribery, extortion, obstructing justice, witness tampering and **various** conspiracy and wire fraud charges.

The indictments had little effect on the primary elections. Bordallo-Reyes easily **defeated** Gutierrez-Aguon. And Ada-Blas defeated Tanaka Unpingco — although not **quite** so easily. Pleadwell-Roth did not garner sufficient votes to go on to the general **election**.

The primary results and polls taken the first week after the primary showed that **Bordallo-Reyes** would easily defeat Ada-Blas. But the lead evaporated as reports of new **investigations** and accusations began to surface. On 12 September, Bordallo pleaded not **guilty** to all charges. His attorneys asked that the trial be delayed until after the general **election**. The request was denied when O'Conner revealed that threats had been made on

**the** life of a witness. The trial was set for 22 October — 13 days before the general **election**. It was later postponed until January 1987 when the F.B.I. uncovered other **alleged** bribes to Bordallo in connection with the \$300 million bond issue.

The Guam F.B.I. office was beefed up to handle the investigations. Rogers **de scribes** the primary investigative technique used:

In the Aguon and other cases, the prosecutors employed an investigative **method** used on the mainland in which the F.B.I. first nailed lower officials, go-between and vendors with evidence of wrong-doing, then pressed them into gathering evidence against unsuspecting higher officials in conversations by **wearing** hidden tape recorders and using bugged telephones. In return for **informing** on higher-ups, suspects were not indicted, or they plea bargained for **reduced** sentences in their own cases (one exception, Bordallo business **associate** Danny Leon Guerrero, steadfastly refused to compromise himself or **the** Governor and went to federal prison as a result). [Rogers 1995: 279-280]

Bordallo was in many ways his own worst enemy. In a lecture at U.O.G. and **again** at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon he blurted out that he had received a \$10,000 **gift** from businessman Ken Jones. Jones later paid a \$20,050 fine for exceeding **campaign** donation limits.

Not surprisingly, Ada-Blas won the election — but only by a 7.6 percent margin. **The** Democrats kept control of the Legislature and Blaz was re-elected to Congress.

Bordallo was out so by tradition the investigation should have continued until **everyone** had been shown that the previous administration was a “bunch of low-down **crooks**” and then quietly dropped. But this was a federal investigation and O’Conner was **not** a man to drop an investigation just because the subject was suitably embarrassed.

On 20 November, the federal grand jury handed down a superseding indictment **of** Bordallo on 17 counts. The new counts included Jones’ “gift,” bribes relating to the **\$300** million bond project and a new extortion charge. Bordallo pled not guilty and **claimed** that the charges were politically inspired and that O’Conner was overzealous.

All observers of Guam recognize that corruption is commonplace. Some of this **can** be traced to the Spanish heritage, some to colonialism, and some, no doubt, to the **Chamorro** tradition of accepting and giving favors as a part of the political process. **Political** influence is gained in all cultures by gaining the power to ration goods and **services**. Many would claim that a primary purpose of all government is to redistribute **wealth**. Whether this is a purpose of government or not there is no doubt that it is one of **government's** primary activities.

Back to the bonds.

The bond scam is so sweet that it is definitely worth a few of paragraphs. In **March** 1985, a prominent Washington Attorney referred Dr. Frederic L. (Fred) Mann to **Bordallo**. Mann was a Toronto banker with a Ph.D. from the London School of **Economics**. He had set up a bank on Saipan in 1984. He and his partners, Matthews & **Wright Inc.**, a Wall Street investment firm, were trying to package a multimillion dollar **bond** issue for the Northern Marianas Housing Authority.

According to Matthews & Wright, Guam was in need of 4,000 such units. Mann **suggested** to Bordallo a \$300 million tax-exempt bond issue to finance the construction **of** housing units on Guam. According to Mann, the money could be invested in an **escrow** account where it would draw interest in excess of the interest that would accrue. **This** is a finance technique called arbitrage. Mann estimated GovGuam's profits on this **stage** of the operation at \$25 million.

Arbitrage bonds were due to become illegal under federal law on 1 September **1986**. So if Guam was going to get on this gravy train Bordallo had to act quickly. **Bordallo** was warned by O.T.I.A. head Richard Montoya that Mann and the bond scheme

were questionable. But politicians love to borrow money. They can finance projects that are sure to get them re-elected and when the “chickens come home to roost,” they roost on someone else’s porch — usually. In October 1985, the Legislature authorized a nonrated municipal bond issue of \$300 million. Matthews & Wright also agreed to finance a \$1.85 million computer factory through GEDA. On Halloween night Bordallo and other GovGuam officials met in New York to sign the deal with Matthews & Wright executive Arthur Abba “Abba Dabba Do” “Abba Cadabra” Goldberg and Edward K. Strauss, a bond counselor.

A consortium of 24 housing developers was put together on Guam to build the houses. Abba Cadabra magically arranged financing for the bonds through a New Jersey credit union; financing for the developers through the Pittsburgh National Bank. Abba Dabba Did arrange for the mortgages to be escrowed through the Puller Mortgage Company. All these companies charged very large up-front fees. These fees were paid by the developers.

In February 1986, Malinda Coats Leon Guerrero published “Bond-aid or a multimillion \$\$ mirage?” in *Guam Business News*. This article warned Bordallo again. For example:

**But [prominent businessman Alfred] Ysrael and other critics of the bond have one other point that even bond boosters don’t deny: the reputation and business history of some of the participants is spotty. Court records for several of the developers show a history of bankruptcies, foreclosures, and business failures. [Leon Guerrero 1986: 14-15]**

But to salve any fears on Bordallo’s part, Mann and Matthews & Wright made a secret “campaign contribution” by paying vendors in Hong Kong \$70,000 to for posters and other campaign paraphernalia. The F.B.I. stumbled across the Hong Kong payments while gathering evidence for an earlier bribery case.

It turned out that Fred Mann was really Manfred Lothar Mann, born in Leipzig, Germany before World War II, when Leipzig was part of Germany. He had been convicted of defrauding a dying Toronto widow in 1984. His Ph.D. was purchased from a Canadian Bible college. His Saipan bank was an unlicensed shell with no assets. The credit union in New Jersey was a front. They used it to “cash” fake checks. All of this could have been easily discovered with a routine background and credit check.

Before we conclude that Bordallo and GovGuam officials are unusually stupid, we must consider that this was a nationwide scam. Matthews & Wright was underwriting huge tax-exempt bond deals in about 30 U.S. cities. These bond deals amounted to a about \$2.3 billion!

In 1989, Goldberg would plead guilty to three counts of mail fraud. He would be ordered to pay \$300,000 (reduced to \$127,000 on appeal) in restitution to GovGuam, serve 18 months in federal prison and five years probation. Strauss was to plead guilty to misprision of a felony and be disbarred. The Matthews & Wright company would get off in its Guam trial because of clumsy prosecution. The company is still in business. Mann would flee to Toronto and fight extradition for years after being indicted on 53 counts. He would be extradited to New York in 1993 to plead guilty to one count of racketeering for bribery. He would be ordered to serve 5 months, pay a \$30,000 fine and \$62,500 in restitution.

At Bordallo’s trial, O’Conner presented more than 200 pieces of evidence. Bordallo was acquitted of charges relating to the bond deal but convicted of 10 other charges. He was sentenced to nine years in prison and ordered to pay a \$35,000 fine and \$79,600 in restitution. He appealed the conviction.

Through all of this, Lt. Gov. Eddie Reyes provided unwavering support for Bordallo but was never implicated. He emerged from four years of the second Bordallo administration with his reputation unblemished.

Meanwhile the Ada-Blas administration had taken office. According to Rogers, the island breathed a sigh of relief:

After the dramatic ups and down of the Bordallo-Reyes years, many Guamanians welcomed the passive conventionality of the Ada-Blas administration. Prior to the 1986 general election, Ada announced that the Commonwealth Act “is the agenda for 1987 and 1988.” [Rogers 1995: 284]

He reconstituted the Commission on Self-Determination in his own image. He appointed himself chairman. And scheduled a vote. The vote on the Commonwealth Act was held on 3 August 1987. Rather than vote for the whole act, voters were asked to vote on each of its 12 articles. Only 39 percent of Guam’s registered voters turned out. They approved 10 of the articles but rejected Article 1 that deals with the political relationship between Guam and the United States and “special” Chamorro-Guamanian rights; and they rejected Article 7 that deals with immigration.

The Commission did a quick minimal rewrite and put the two Articles to the voters again. This time they mounted a major education-publicity-advertising campaign. All Chamorro-Guamanian incumbent and former legislators supported the articles. This time more Chamorro-Guamanians showed up — 58 percent of registered voters cast ballots — both articles passed easily.

The act was submitted to Congress where it was referred for study to an interagency task force with representatives of 23 federal agencies. In December 1989, the task force released a long detailed and critical report.

In August 1989, the House Subcommittee on Insular and International Affairs held a hearing in Honolulu on the draft act. The chairman of the committee, Del. Ron De Lugo of the Virgin Islands, wanted to sit down and negotiate changes in the language of the act. Ada said there would be no compromise on the Guam side. De Lugo directed the federal task force to confer with the Commission on Self-Determination. Meetings were held but with one side unwilling to negotiate, no progress was made.

Rogers, who was one of the prime movers of the commonwealth movement and a witness to the whole commonwealth process, analyses the impasse:

In the meanwhile, Governor Ada and the Guam commission discarded the understanding at Albuquerque that commonwealth was intended to move Guam closer to the United States. Instead of Guam becoming a part of the federal system "in union" with the United States, Ada presented a new aim: commonwealth was to be, he said, a "partnership that respects our [Guam's] will." This unyielding stance was applauded by many Chamorros and would help Ada-Blas to win re-election in 1990. Partnership, however, implies equality of sovereignty between Guam and the United States. De Lugo warned that if Guam's new purpose was "really free association with a commonwealth label slapped on it...the whole process ends up, no matter what you do, as a bitter, sour process."

That is what occurred. While Ada and the Guam commission altered Guam's status goal and discarded Bordallo's negotiating scenario, they did not come up with a viable alternative strategy to attain their new goal. Some revisions in the act were agreed to in the BATFOG [an acronym created by the Guam media — Bush Administration Task Force on Guam] talks, but lack of agreement to some degree remained on nearly three-quarters of the act, and flat-out disagreement continued on over a third of the issues, including mutual consent, the E.E.Z. immigration, and the provision on the Chamorro Land Trust. By the end of the Bush-Quayle administration in 1993, and after ten years of effort and great expense (by 1993 Guam was paying a largely unneeded Washington legal counsel an overwhelming \$20,000 per month), Guam's quest for commonwealth was in serious doubt of ever being realized. [Rogers 1995: 284-285]

During the Ada administration, Guam's economy continued to boom. GovGuam, however, was unable to keep pace with the infrastructure requirements of all of the new construction. The Guam Power Authority was more and more inadequate. The Public

Utility Agency of Guam was less able to cope with the water and sewage treatment requirements. Other government services were similarly challenged.

But Ada had been elected on a promise to balance the budget — which he did. Even Democrats credited him with reducing the deficit. On 1 January 1988, the *Pacific Daily News* quoted Speaker of the Legislature Franklin J. Quitugua in its annual *Year in Review* magazine as saying:

Speaker Franklin J. Quitugua, a Democrat, said Ada has been “very serious” about cutting costs during his first year. But he added words of caution. In his 11 years of experienced in the Legislature, Quitugua has seen governors begin their administrations with fiscal austerity and “close to the end of the administration, they open the flood gates and there goes the savings,” he said. [Perry 19880101:8a]

Whatever happened to Ricky Bordallo?

In 1988, the Ninth Circuit Court overturned eight of his convictions but upheld the convictions for conspiracy to obstruct justice and witness tampering. Bordallo appealed these convictions to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case. In December 1989, he was resentenced in Guam’s district court to serve four years on the remaining convictions.

On 31 January 1990, Bordallo was to depart to California to serve his sentence in a federal minimum-security prison camp near Boron. He drove to the Plaza de Susana where there is an 11 foot bronze statue of Chief Quipuha. He placed four hand-lettered placards around, he chained himself to the statue, draped a Guam flag across his shoulders and, with a .38 pistol, he killed himself.

“We’re not that bad!” said Robert Prier, the public information officer for Federal Prison Camp — Boron. “This is minimum security prison. This is a camp there are no walls and no fences.” Although the prisoners work seven-and-a-half hours a day, there



are recreational facilities which include a multipurpose yard, basketball courts, 2 tennis courts, a track and weight-lifting facilities.

What did the placards say? According to the *P.D.N.*:

One cardboard read, "My only regret is that I have only one life to give to my people. I am most grateful to have had the honor to serve the people of Guam. Love and Affection, Ricky Bordallo.

A second one read, "*Adios Todos Taotao Guam*. May we all meet again someday. May God bless you all. Ricky Bordallo."

Another read, "To the people of Guam I choose death before dishonor. Your humble servant. Ricky Bordallo."

"Time can be influenced by mankind. It gives us a beginning and an end. This makes us questions of [sic] what comes in between. But if you can create something, time cannot erode something which ignores the eccentricities of particular eras and moments, something truly timeless...this is the ultimate victory," read a fourth. [Evans and Maddock 19900201: 2]

Rogers somehow interprets these ramblings as:

The signs called for justice and a halt to the deculturation of the Chamorro people. [Rogers 1995: 289]

To some of the people of Guam Bordallo immediately became a tragic hero, to others — a martyr to the Chamorro culture, to still others a fool or a coward. His supporters recognized an ethic in which honor is the overriding value. The law only has the ability to add shame. His detractors saw him as a fool who didn't have the courage to do a short stint in a "federal country club." But the government complex at Adelup point was renamed the Ricardo J. Bordallo Complex.

In 1990, Guam made national and international headlines when the Legislature passed and Gov. Ada signed the most restrictive abortion law in the nation — a law so restrictive that it could have been written with the intent of being found unconstitutional. The law made performing or assisting in an abortion a felony. It made having, seeking or even talking about abortion options a misdemeanor.

The bill inspired acrimonious debate. Numerous legal opinions, including that of Attorney General Elizabeth Barrett-Anderson pointed out that the law was unconstitutional. But Archbishop Anthony Apuron threatened to excommunicate any legislator who voted against it.

In some cases, the pro and con division was generational. Attorney Anita Arriola was to be one of the prime movers in challenging the constitutionality of the law. She is the daughter of Sen. Elizabeth Arriola who introduced it. A rider was added requiring the electorate to validate the law as an initiative at the next election.

The law was in effect for only four days when American Civil Liberties Union representative Janet Benshoof deliberately broke the provision against advocating abortion when she advised women to go to Hawaii if they needed an abortion. Benshoof was arrested that same afternoon. On 23 August 1990, District Judge Alex Munson declared the law unconstitutional. In 1992, the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with the District Court and the U.S. Supreme Court refuse to hear the case.

Meanwhile, peace was continuing to break out. By some reckoning support of the military was still Guam's major industry. Despite the fact that Guam was the only military location in America that is physically in Asia and the fact that America still has major strategic interests in Asia, American strategic thinkers began to dismantle America's military establishment on Guam.

On 22 November 1989, President George Bush had signed a bill withdrawing America's last B-52 wing in Asia — the 43rd Bombardment Wing. The last B-52G left Guam on 26 March 1990 destined for a museum in Australia. The last B-52 maintenance

squadron was gone by 30 June and deactivation was officially completed on 30 September. Guam's economy lost well over 1,000 high-paying jobs.

Ironically the deactivation had not yet been completed when Iraqi forces invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990 — demonstrating that despite the demise of the Soviet Union, the world was still a dangerous place.

Even with these momentous events, the big thing on Guam in 1990 was that it was an election year. The incumbent Republican team of Ada-Blaz faced off against the Democrat offering of Sen. Madeleine Z. Bordallo, the widow of Ricardo, and Jose “Ping” Duenas. No matter who won, the new governor would be a “first.” If Ada won he would be the first to win two consecutive terms as governor and if Bordallo won she would be the first woman governor and the first non-Chamorro-Guamanian elected governor. Her family immigrated to Guam in the late ‘40s.

Remember what Quitugua said about governors “opening the flood gates” near the end of their administrations?

In the election year 1990, Ada opened the flood gates. In 1990, Ada raised teachers' salaries by \$5,440 to match the national average. Then the nurses and other GovGuam workers demanded a similar raise. The day before the primary election, Ada signed a \$220 million appropriation bill that included \$5,440 pay raises for all GovGuam workers and a \$1,000 dollar tax rebate for each individual income tax filer.

With a record 86% of Guam's registered voters casting their ballots, Ada-Blas got 20,677 to 15,686 for Bordallo-Duenas.

Remember the Chamorro Land Trust that Bordallo had gotten passed in 1975? It still hadn't been implemented. According the act, a commission was to be appointed and

the act was to be implemented when the commission met. Shortly after the bill was signed into law, Bordallo appointed the members of the commission but they never met. Many observers concluded that the act was a public relations ploy and was never intended to be implemented. The act was included in the 1985 draft of the Guam Commonwealth Act. At the time the legal council for the Guam Commonwealth Commission claimed that no one had ever enforced the law and no one ever would.

In 1992, an activist organization known as Citizens of an Occupied Chamorro Nation was created. Its spokesman, Angel Santos, called a press conference and asked the governor to appoint a commission.

Ada said that feared that the act would be found inorganic or unconstitutional if it was implemented and challenged in court. He preferred to have it included in the Commonwealth Act where it would have the approval of the U.S. Congress.

The Chamorro Nation sued. On 25 March, Judge Benjamin Cruz ordered Ada to either implement the act within 60 days or tell him why he hadn't.

On 15 May Ada declared that he would not implement the act because it is inorganic. He claimed that parts of the act restricted land use in such a way as to keep everyone except Chamorro-Guamanians from operating businesses on Guam.

Ada cited the congressional insistence, in 1950, on the removal from the Organic Act of a provision allowing the Legislature to enact laws offering special protection to Chamorro-Guamanians. According to the *Pacific Daily News*:

**"It was the clear intent of Congress that the land transferred by the government of Guam be used to benefit all inhabitants of Guam, not just Native Chamorros," Ada's response stated. [Santos 19920516:1]**

On 9 June, Cruz upheld the act as organic and constitutional. The administration did not appeal the decision but at year's end the names of the selected commissioners had not been forwarded to the Legislature.

On 10 February 1993, Judge Cruz ordered Ada to submit the names of the Chamorro Land Trust Commission. On 8 March the five-member commission was sworn in.

The 1994 gubernatorial campaign was in full swing by 24 May 1993 when gubernatorial candidate Sen. Carl T.C. Gutierrez's niece, Melissa Torres, accused him of taking her to a hotel in Saipan where he raped her. At the time Torres was 17 years old. She said that she didn't report the incidents earlier because Gutierrez threatened to destroy her and her family. This was the worst of several accusations of sexual assault that would be made by Torres and others in the run-up to the elections. The *Pacific Daily News* called for Gutierrez's resignation. The F.B.I. did a brief investigation of a possible Mann Act (transporting a woman across borders for immoral purposes) violation but dropped it because the statute of limitations had run out. The Legislature briefly conducted ethics hearings but dropped them when an off-island attorney they hired to investigate the case said that it was a matter of private conduct over which the Legislature had no control.

Gutierrez later admitted to playing "sexual games" in the hotel room and on other occasions with Torres. No one seemed to notice that playing "sexual games" could be construed as child molestation and contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Primarily Gutierrez dismissed Torres' accusations as well as two accusations of sexual harassment

from campaign workers that surfaced later as “politically motivated.” Through it all, announced running-mate Sen. Madeleine Bordallo stayed with Gutierrez.

The year 1993 was a hard one for Guam’s economy. Military cutbacks severely damaged the economy. Four of five ships stationed on Guam were scheduled for decommissioning — two actually left in 1993. Japan’s recession caused a serious fall off in tourism beginning in the last half of 1992. August 1993’s great earthquake, measuring 8.1 on the Richter scale, so damaged facilities and frightened tourists that the bottom fell out of the visitor industry. Within the period of the two Ada-Blas administrations, government coffers went from a surplus that allowed \$5,440 across the board pay raises to a \$146 million deficit in FY 1993.

The campaign year of 1994 began well before 1994. In June 1991, Gutierrez and Bordallo announced that they would run as a Democratic Party team in 1994. Gutierrez had previously been defeated as an independent candidate by Ada in 1986 and Bordallo had been defeated by Ada in 1990.

Surprisingly, the campaign was interrupted by an event in 1994 that was even bigger than the gubernatorial election! It happened in the middle of the campaign and overshadowed it completely — it was the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Guam.

Says *P.D.N.* reporter Ryan Flynn:

There were glasses and T-shirts made to commemorate the occasion. Fiestas and fireworks went on nonstop. Long parades wound through the streets of downtown Agana, and hundreds of soldiers returned to a battlefield that wiped away their innocence before they even knew where they were.

This time around their steps were slower, their hair was gray and youthful faces were faded under wrinkles of age. But the soldiers were not alone in their graceful growth.

Stepping off planes, the heroes of long ago found a new Guam — one that bore virtually no resemblance to the scene of victory years ago. [Flynn 19950101: 3]

Old soldiers, old sailors, old airmen, old Marines, old Guamanians and old enemies visited old battlefields, told old stories and remembered old friends and old deeds of derring-do. After a week most of the visitors had gone home and the political campaign resumed.

In the primary election Gutierrez-Bordallo faced former Sen. Edward Reyes and Gloria Nelson. Gutierrez-Bordallo got 9,555 votes while Reyes-Nelson got 6,450.

In the Republican primary Sen. Thomas V.C. Tanaka and his running mate Sen. Doris Flores Brooks faced off against Lt. Gov. Frank Blas and businessman Simon Sanchez. Tanaka-Brooks garnered 10,454 votes to 7,442 for Blas-Sanchez.

Gutierrez-Bordallo ran a campaign based on improving the schools while Tanaka-Brooks stressed fiscal responsibility. The campaign was hard-fought but relatively clean — Gutierrez and Tanaka are boyhood friends and partners in crime!

“Carl and I used to poach deer up on Andersen A.F.B. with a jacklight when we were kids,” Tanaka said. Tanaka maintained a significant lead in the polls until 19 October when Gutierrez made an impressive performance in a Chamorro language debate and largely closed the gap. On Election Day, 8 November, the election-eve polls were too close to call. Gutierrez-Bordallo jumped out to an early lead in the exit polls that were held throughout the day. Gutierrez-Bordallo won with 23,405 votes to 19,281.

How could Gutierrez overcome the severe allegations of sexual impropriety and be elected governor? How could a known womanizer, like William Jefferson Clinton be elected twice to the most powerful office in the world?

Publicly, we all expect our elected leaders to be above reproach. The conventional wisdom has always been that scandal rings the death knell to a politician's

career. But what if the popular wisdom is, as usual, wrong? Perhaps the phenomenon is explained as simply as the common knowledge that women are attracted to a man with a goatish reputation and men admire a rake. While in public we decry promiscuity, in the privacy of the voting booth we indulge our fantasies and vote for whoever turns us on or whoever we admire. Perhaps, after the experience of the 1990's, politics can be called the profession of the cocksman!

Also in 1994, the tourism industry recovered sufficiently for the Guam Visitors Bureau to officially welcome the millionth visitor for the year on 7 December 1994. On Guam this is not the “date that will live in infamy” — 8 December is!

Finally to demonstrate conclusively that there is not enough money to satisfy a government, the richest principality in America, the government whose coffers had been so full that it could bestow a \$1,000 gift to each of its taxpayers and give across-the-board \$5,440 pay raises to all of its employees, had to borrow money to pay its income tax refunds.

During the Gutierrez administration, the first slow progress was made toward implementation of the Chamorro Land Trust. But at the end of 1996 no land had actually been leased out.

Guam's infrastructure continued to be inadequate. The Guam Power Authority continued to be unable to provide reliable power. The Guam Water Works Authority continued to be unable to provide reliable water. And the Public Utility Agency of Guam continued to rack up fines from the Guam Environmental Protection Agency for pumping raw sewage into the ocean. The road and highway system continued to remind one of the third world.



In a huge blow to Guam's military-support industry, the Base Closure and Realignment Commission, known as BRAC, decided to close two of Guam's largest naval facilities — the Ship Repair Facility and the Fleet Industrial Supply Center. This decision caused major concern about how the island would handle the loss of nearly 5,000 high-paying jobs. On a per-capita basis, Guam was the hardest hit part of the United States by post-Cold War cutbacks. Most disturbing to the governor was the fact that the Navy decided to mothball the facilities rather than turn them over to GovGuam. The governor squealed and BRAC sent two officials to investigate. At BRAC's urging, the Navy decided to turn the facilities over to GovGuam.

On a related subject, on 31 March, the Navy lowered the flag at Naval Air Station Agana. By that time, naval operations had largely been moved and much of GovGuam administration had moved to the facility now named Tiyan after a pre-war village that had once occupied part of the site.

As if to soften the blow, Guam's visitor industry was cooking. By year's end, 1,300,000 tourists had visited the island.

Again, GovGuam had to borrow money to pay its income tax refunds.

There were two events of major significance in 1996. The first was the arrival of the first batch of Kurdish refugees on 17 September 1996 as a part of an evacuation dubbed Operation Pacific Haven. The second was the Republican take-over of the legislature.

The year 1997 also had three events that dwarfed all others. The first chronologically and emotionally was the crash on Nimitz Hill of Korean Air flight 801. This is the worst airline crash in Guam's history. Two hundred twenty-eight passengers

and crewmembers were killed; 26 survived. The cause of the crash is reportedly pilot error caused by fatigue.

The second major event possibly began in October 1997 when Guam Concrete Builders, a construction company owned by Tommy Tanaka was awarded a \$660 thousand loan and a \$900 thousand line of credit by GEDA. On 4 December 1997, Tanaka bought a full-page ad in the *Pacific Daily News* endorsing Gov. Gutierrez for a second term as governor and encouraging all of his supporters to work for Gutierrez and Bordallo's re-election. GEDA said that the loan was not politically motivated and Tanaka said that it had no bearing on his endorsement.

"I am impressed with Carl's performance," he said in an interview conducted for this project. "He has made the hard choices necessary. And I don't think the island can survive another Ada administration." There was also some bitterness in the lack of support by Ada for the Tanaka-Brooks ticket in the 1996 election.

The third major event was the arrival of Supertyphoon Paka.

On 16 December 1997, Supertyphoon Paka struck Guam. The National Weather Service no longer measures wind speed — it estimates it using Doppler radar. N.W.S. estimated Paka's sustained wind speed at 146 m.p.h. with gusts to 173. The Air Force, however, still measures wind speed. It measured a gust of 236 m.p.h. — a world record — before its anemometer blew off the roof. N.W.S. felt that its turf was being invaded and immediately declared that the Air Force reading was wrong. While admitting that its Doppler radar was down at the time of the Air Force reading, it still insisted that the Air Force reading is wrong. Right or wrong, N.W.S.'s estimate is official. But fewer and fewer people trust its predictions.

It is difficult to imagine the destructive force of the wind unless one has witnessed it. A typhoon, with winds from 75 to 149 miles per hour, can easily push cars off the road. A supertyphoon, with wind speeds of 150 miles per hour or more, can throw them off. A typhoon can devastate a home, tearing off the roof and sometimes knocking down the walls. A supertyphoon can make a house explode. A typhoon usually causes a lot of damage, but the people of Guam know how to handle it — there is rarely loss of life. No one on Guam has been killed by any typhoon since Karen.

In general, typhoons are an adventure for everyone and not much more. Most people are adequately insured against financial loss. And the reconstruction — mostly financed by the federal government and insurance companies — gives a boost to the economy to the point that Guam's economy has been referred to as a disaster economy. If a few years go by without a major destructive typhoon, Guam's *Annual Economic Review* will begin to bemoan the dwindling of disaster relief funds.

The election year of 1998 saw the beginnings of a downturn in the economy caused by the Asian financial crisis.

The roots of the crisis were in the bursting of Japan's economic bubble in the early 1990s. With Guam's heavy reliance on tourism, the recession in Japan meant that fewer Japanese could afford to travel. But there was a delay in the effect. Much Japanese tourism is booked years in advance. Tours are frequently a job benefit arranged by the employer who may buy many thousands of one or two week vacations to dole out to his employees. So for a few years Japanese still arrived. And employers looked for bargains. They didn't want to pay for trips as far as Hawaii or the United States mainland. Guam enjoyed a relative boom.

The immediate cause Guam's tourism downturn was the June 1997 currency crisis in Thailand. The crisis gradually spread to the other countries in Southeast Asia forcing many them to devalue their currency. In those countries that didn't devalue businesses reduced prices. This made Hong Kong, Bali the Philippines and Thailand travel bargains. Those Japanese who could afford to travel and those Japanese companies that still wanted to provide tours to their employees found bargains in the other countries of Southeast Asia. Guam's tourism slumped. And with it the rest of the economy.

The election of 1998 was one of the bitterest in History. The size of the legislature had been reduced by the 24th Guam Legislature from 21 members to 15. Because of the failure to change the election rules, the Democrat and Republican parties could field up to 21 candidates each for these 15 seats with no runoff required. The Democrats ran 16 and the Republicans ran 15.

Gov. Joseph Ada, who had served the maximum two consecutive terms from 1987-1994 was again eligible to run. He and running mate Felix P. Camacho, the son of the late Gov. Carlos G. Camacho were unopposed on the Republican ticket.

The Democrat team of Carl T.C. Gutierrez and Madeline Z. Bordallo were opposed by businessman Sen. Thomas P. Ada and Sen. Lou Leon Guerrero as well as the team or "Chamorro rights" activist Sen. Angel L.G. Santos and businessman Jose T. Terlaje.

In the primary, Ada-Camacho received only 4,517 votes. Obviously many Republicans felt that to vote for Camacho was a waste of a vote so they tried to influence or sabotage the Democrats.

Gutierrez-Bordallo got 16,794. Ada-Leon Guerrero got 6,360. And Santos Terlaje got 6,777.

So the race was between Gutierrez-Bordallo and Ada-Leon Guerrero. It had all of the hoopla of a Guam election. There were parties — political and otherwise. There were advertisements. There were parties. There were rallies. There were parties. There were processions. There were parties. There were parades. There were parties. There were speeches. There were parties. There were debates. There were parties. There was an election. And there were parties.

The next day there was a hangover. When the votes were counted the Republicans had won 12 of the 15 seats in the 25th Guam Legislature. Gutierrez-Bordallo had garnered 24,159 or 49.79 percent of the votes. Ada-Camacho had 21,147 or 43.58 percent. In an effort to encourage a two party system and prevent Governors who had received a plurality rather than a majority of votes, Congress had put a requirement in the Organic Act of Guam that if the winning candidate did not receive 50 percent of the votes plus one, there was to be a runoff between the two leading candidates. Gutierrez-Bordallo did not have 50 percent plus one.

This had happened several times in the past but the second place candidate had always seen the writing on the wall and conceded. Ada, apparently felt that his momentum was growing so he refused to concede.

The whole sorry mess was thrown to the Guam Election Commission. The Election Commission is made up of three members appointed by the Republican Party, three members appointed by the Democrats and one member appointed by the other six members of the Commission. The Commission had never seen fit to appoint that tie-

breaking member. So there were several Election Commission meeting at which tie votes were cast.

The issue boiled down to whether a blank ballot is a vote. The Democrats said it wasn't and the Republicans said it was. Gutierrez-Bordallo received more than the required votes if ballots that were unmarked were not counted as votes. In an almost identical case in the United States Virgin Islands, the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals had decided that blank ballots were not votes. Finally Leonila Herrero a Republican member of the commission voted to certify the election. She was immediately excommunicated from the Republican Women's Association and shunned by the party. The Republican's filed two lawsuits – one in the Superior Court of Guam and one in the U.S. Ninth District Court on Guam.

On 9 December District Court Judge John S. Unpingco ruled that the Democrats had failed to get a majority. He ordered a runoff election to be held on 19 December.

Gutierrez-Bordallo immediately appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. The Court of Appeals ordered a stay of the order for a December election.

Meanwhile in the Superior Court, the Republicans were attempting to prove that thousands of ineligible voters were registered by the Democrats. If they could tie this to the governor it would be a felony making him ineligible to hold public office.

Ada's attorneys were ordered by the court to turn over the names of alleged ineligible voters. The list they turned over was printed in the *Pacific Daily News* and it caused a firestorm. Dozens of eligible voters found their names on it. Most prominent was the name of Robert Underwood, Guam's Congressional delegate.

Eventually, on 16 February 1999 the Superior Court decided that although ineligible voters had cast ballots, not all of them voted for Gutierrez-Bordallo and, even if they had, not enough were cast to have changed the outcome.

But the federal case was still pending. On 9 March 1999, the lawyers presented their cases. On 19 April 1999, the Court of Appeals decided that Gutierrez-Bordallo did not receive a majority and ordered a new election. Lawyers for Gutierrez-Bordallo immediately asked for an *en banc* hearing or a rehearing by the full Ninth Circuit Court — all active justices in the Ninth Circuit would participate. This request was denied. So Gutierrez-Bordallo appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Supreme court is scheduled to hear arguments in the case on 6 December 1999.

In July, 1999, U.S. District Judge John Unpingco dropped a blockbuster. He was ruling in a case in which the government was trying to clear the title to some land that belonged to the Chamorro Land Trust. As a part of the ruling, he questioned the constitutionality of the law that created the land trust.

Here ends the history section of this work. Everything is history — even this sentence — but at some point one must stop writing history.

# Discussion

As we bring the history section of this work to a close, it seems worthwhile to consider the effects of the colonial experience of Guam. Guam has suffered under five, or perhaps six, human colonial incursions. The first was the Prelatte. Apparently they colonized an island with no human inhabitants. They just moved in. If the replacement of the Prelatte by the Latte was the result immigration, it was the second colonial incursion. It seems likely that this was the result of forced immigration or invasion and colonization. The colonization by the Spanish was either the second or third colonial event. This and all subsequent colonial events were the result of forced immigration. The taking of Guam by the Americans was either the third or fourth colonization. The Japanese occupation was either the fourth or fifth event. The return of the Americans was either the fifth or the sixth colonial incursion.

The effect of these experiences on the inhabitants varied according to the philosophical position of the colonists.

In America, political philosophies are usually arranged along a spectrum from left to right. Moral philosophies can be similarly arranged. Since the basis of political philosophy is morality, the two largely coincide. If we take this traditional left-right spectrum and, on the left, arrange all of the philosophies that assume humans to be innately good and, on the right, those that assume that mankind is innately evil, we have a continuum that conforms, largely, to the traditional left-right political spectrum. Well to the left, communism assumes that all men are innately good but corrupted by capitalism. In the Christian tradition, all men are born in original sin and are, therefore, innately evil. This arrays them, by denomination, along the right.



The left runs from the far left of those who do not have a clear concept of evil, like “new-agers” and other transcendentalists, to the near center — those who believe that children are born innocent but almost immediately begin to be corrupted.

On the far right were the Puritans who believed that all men are innately evil and unworthy of salvation despite anything they may do. Arrayed nearer the center are the kinder, gentler religions that recognize that men are born in original sin but that that sin can be expunged by good works or ritual. Also along this spectrum are various types of bigots who believe that only they and those like them, culturally, racially or religiously, are good and all other people are evil; this includes those who believe that people like them should have some special privilege or prerogative. There is another aspect of this left-right continuum. Those who believe mankind to be innately evil believe that he is also strong — there would be no reason to fear those who are evil but weak and the Right definitely fears its “enemies.” And those who believe that mankind is good also believe that he is weak — why would those who are good and strong need constant help? The Left wants to help those less fortunate than themselves by doing things to them “for their own good.”

At first glance it appears that racism exists only on the right. But both sides of the continuum exhibit racism — although of different types. The Right, believing that other races are strong but evil distrust, dislike or hate them. The degree of their hatred is largely determined by how far to the right of center they are. If the objects of their hatred are under their control, it is usual for the victims to reflect the views of their oppressors. Those on the left, believing that mankind is innately good but weak tend to assume that those who are different than they, or less fortunate than they, are victims.

Some among the “victims” will reflect the conclusions of the Left and begin to look upon themselves as victims. When they do, they make a sudden leap to the right — strong evil people are victimizing them. If they dislike or hate their “victimizers,” they move well to the right.

It is impossible to know where, on the continuum, the Prelatte people fell. If the Latte people were “maritime invaders” who oppressed the Prelatte people, there is little doubt that the Latte people were well to the right. In order to oppress someone it is necessary to convince oneself that that person deserves to be oppressed — oppressors on the right always dehumanize their victims. They must suppress these strong evil “others.”

Whether the change from Prelatte to Latte was the result of colonization, immigration or some combination of the two; there is no doubt that the Chamorro culture adopted a philosophy that was well to the right of center — most reports indicate that the *manachangs* were held in very low esteem. We have no way of knowing the reaction of the *manachangs* but presumably they developed the low self-esteem typical of the oppressed. It seems plausible that the *taotaomona* myth (remember the ugly dangerous bogeymen who hide in the jungles and help selected Chamorro-Guamanians) was originally a precontact mythology about the *manachangs*.

The Spanish were, with a few notable exceptions, also well to the right. They were supported by a religious establishment that was convinced that all humans are born evil and that non-European non-Christian humans are particularly evil. The Spanish, with the aid of the Roman Catholic Church, systematically exterminated all but the few Chamorros they needed to maintain the island as a resupply point. In fact, they killed

most of the Chamorro males and brought in docile Filipinos and Mexicans to replace them. They created a society that they found more malleable. Virtually all authorities agree that the *taotaomona* legends of Spanish times are a reflection of the Chamorro-Guamanian lack of self-esteem. The Chamorro-Guamanians under the Spanish created the *taotaomona* myth to reflect the Spanish view of themselves — the *taotaomona* were believed to be strong, ugly and evil. As a direct result of Spanish genocide, the population of the Marianas was reduced from perhaps as high as 100,000 to fewer than 4,000.

The first American period was characterized by Americans who, in general, believed that the Chamorro-Guamanians were reasonably good but not very strong. Remember, it is not only the Right that oppresses its victims. The Left recognizes the humanity of those who are “less fortunate” but it has to force them to comply with certain requirements for “their own good.” May God protect us from those who would do things to us for “our own good”! But, in general, this first American administration was an improvement over that of the Spanish. Under it, the Chamorro-Guamanian population rose to 22,000 by 1942.

During the Japanese occupation, the Chamorros were dominated by a culture that is absolutely certain that Japanese are innately good but weak while all other ethnic groups are innately evil but strong. From this leftist premise, the Japanese leap well to the right and conclude that they are threatened by strong evil people. Only the “superiority” of Japanese culture prevents them from being overwhelmed. This belief that they are good weak people threatened by strong evil people led them to fear and hate

non-Japanese. During the period of Japanese occupation, the Chamorro-Guamanians were horribly mistreated.

After the war, Guam was occupied by a series of administrations that increasingly believed and convinced the Chamorro-Guamanians that they were weak but good people who had been victimized. Again good weak people are being victimized by strong evil oppressors. On the Chamorro-Guamanian right, this victimization is seen primarily as victimization by the United States!

In spite of this “victimization,” the estimated Chamorro-Guamanian population worldwide has risen under American administration to the 1990 census report of almost 100,000! Laura Thompson downplays the significance of this in what, for a usually judicious researcher, is an unbelievably stupid statement:

In the broad historical perspective, therefore, there has been a fundamental difference in effect on native life and welfare between the Spanish and American administrations. The Spanish Catholic regime, although involving great initial loss of physical life, in general built up a new adjustment on the basis of the old, and while suppressing the indigenous religion, introduced new channels of native self-expression and spiritual growth. The psycho-cultural crisis which developed was eventually resolved in a relatively satisfactory manner and a new equilibrium was established. The American naval regime, on the other hand, while fostering population increase and physical development, tended to ignore the psycho-cultural realities and suppressed many channels of native self-expression and creativity, apparently without providing adequate substitutes. The crisis which arose gathered momentum for fifty years and has now reached an acute stage. [Thompson 1947: 300]

It is worth considering Thompson’s motive for making this statement. By 1947, she was no longer functioning as an anthropologist. She was an activist for an organic act.

The Spanish shared a religion with the Chamorros. Considering the cost this seems to be of rather dubious value. But it was not truly the Spanish Roman Catholic religion; it was a “syncretic” religion — a combination of two other “syncretic” religions;

one from Mexico and the other from the Philippines, superimposed on selected traditional beliefs of the Chamorro people.

The Americans, on the other hand, from the beginning of American rule laid open the whole alphabet of their culture to Guam. The primary means of dispersing culture is through education. One of the first things the naval governors did was encourage the opening of schools — to which, for the most part, Chamorro-Guamanians were welcomed. America introduced (resisting the temptation to catalogue from the entire alphabet here) automobiles, baseball, democracy, education, government, medicine, Protestantism, Spam, a whole range of technology and the zipper.

Well before 1947, Chamorro-Guamanians had attached themselves to all of these aspects of American culture and some had gone to major American universities to become masters of them.

For example, in 1919 Ramon M. Sablan won a scholarship to an American college. He attended Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College in Stillwater. After graduation he returned to Guam until the early 1930s when he again went to the United States to continue his education — this time at the University of Louisville Medical School. In the late 1930s Ramon M. Sablan, M.D., returned to Guam and set up a medical practice that he maintained until his retirement in 1951. He even practiced during the Japanese occupation.

Sablan was but one early example, Chamorro-Guamanians have embraced and excelled in every theater of American culture. They have become top international models; internationally recognized athletes, artists, entertainers, captains of industry; and have risen to the highest ranks in military and government.

But there are some who have bought into the victimization philosophy. They have taken the leftist belief and inverted it into a right-wing philosophy. Some of them have established and joined “Chamorro rights” organizations dedicated to securing special rights and privileges for Chamorro-Guamanians. A small number of them have moved even farther to the right by coming to hate America and Americans.

Many Chamorro-Guamanians consider this philosophy insulting. They recognize that it assumes that those of Chamorro descent are less capable than other people. But even some of these are willing to accept any largess the philosophy brings.

The “Chamorro only” philosophy expresses itself most vociferously in the issues of land ownership and political status.

Before discussing land ownership on Guam, it is necessary to introduce another concept — social stratification.

The remainder of this work will discuss present-day Guam. The major thesis of this section of the work is an investigation of the social structure of Guam.

Guam is in every way America. The people of Guam are American in every sense of the word. The culture of Guam is the culture of America. Guamanians share all of the traits that make up the American culture. In addition, there are several subcultures — additional suites of cultural traits shared by an identifiable group. One of those subcultures is the Chamorro-Guamanian.

One aspect of this suite of cultural traits is the system of social stratification. The current social structure of Guam is, in many ways analogous to, and may well be directly derived from, the pre-contact Chamorro social structure. It is probably worthwhile for the reader to refer to the discussion of pre-contact social structure on pages 63-70.

We are not speaking here of any conscious attitude of most Guamanians. We are discussing those aspects of culture that are primarily subconscious — covert culture.

Bernard Bowron, Leo Marx and Arnold Rose discuss this in an essay called “Literature and Covert Culture.” They say:

By covert culture we refer to traits of culture rarely acknowledged by those who possess them. In any society men tend to ignore or repress certain commonly learned attitudes and behavior patterns, much as an individual may ignore or repress certain personal experience or motives. In the case of covert culture, the repressed traits are more or less common to members of a society, and they probably are transmitted in the same informal ways that the basic elements of the overt culture are transmitted. The covert traits are not more “true” than the overt traits; they are equally representative of people’s attitudes and behaviors. The distinction lies in the degree of acknowledgment (to self and to others) and the degree of repression. If one were to suggest to a representative member of a society that his behavior, or that of his community, exhibits a particular characteristic of covert culture, he might be expected to scoff at the idea, even to reject it heatedly. [Bowron, Marx and Rose 1960: 84]

An aspect of culture that is frequently covert is social stratification. In his seminal work *Social Stratification in Polynesia*, Marshall D. Sahlins discusses the difficulty of determining precisely how a social structure is arranged. He says:

Two or three categories of social standing, status levels, can be distinguished in most Polynesian societies. One cannot necessarily rely on the native’s distinctions of social grade or even the ethnographer’s — although both of these may provide valuable clues. [Sahlins 1958: 5-6]

The pre-contact Chamorro race is extinct. Like its genetic heritage, however, parts of its social structure remain. During the Spanish-Chamorro War from 1672 to 1698, a large part of the male population of the Marianas was exterminated. With them was destroyed the male-centered cultural attributes like boat building and navigation. The widows and daughters of these slain men married the “Spanish” soldiers who had conquered them.

“There is an important aspect to the racial make-up of the modern Guamanian that most ethnographers don’t go into and Chamorros won’t go into at all,” historian/political scientist Dr. Robert Rogers said. “By its nature it’s not really indigenous. It is a mestizo composition primarily of Chamorro, Filipino and Mexican Indian.

“Because of the galleon trade, most of the Spanish soldiers and colonists who came to Guam were, in fact, Mexican Indian and Filipino conscripts. The Filipinos also had a large Mexican Indian genetic heritage. With the exception of the governor, a few officers and priests, very few of the colonists were Spanish.

“When you walk down the street of a Guamanian village,” Rogers continued, “the faces that you see are Mexican Indian faces.”

More important than the racial makeup of the population is the cultural baggage that these “Spaniards” brought with them.

“To some degree it was Spanish,” Rogers said, “but it was more properly Latin American. There is a heavy component of Catholic Latin American ethos — machismo and so forth. That is overlaid with a Filipino/Malay or Moluccan ethos that came in when the galleon trade reversed.”

Of course, both the genetic and social heritage of all of the visitors who have come to Guam have added spice to the society and gene pool. This mixing has produced the very attractive Guamanian people of today and the unique culture of the island.

There is perhaps one important holdover from the pre-contact Chamorro culture that remains, to some degree, intact — the caste system.

First, let’s apologize to anthropologists and language purists. A “caste,” as the word is properly used, is an extremely rigid social system in which an individual’s social



status, occupation, marital options and virtually every other aspect of social interaction are determined by the circumstances of his birth. Many anthropologists use this word only in relation to India or, in some cases, pre-Anglo India. As we are using the word it means a group within a society sharing common socio economic features. What we are talking about is sometimes called “class.” But class, particularly in American society, is a transient state — individuals can transverse several classes in a single lifetime.

As shown in this paper, it appears that in both the pre-contact and the current societies, there were, and are, two castes. The upper caste was and is divided into two classes. In pre-contact Chamorro society there were two castes the upper one divided into two classes — the *matua* and the *acha’ot*. The lower caste, more properly perhaps outcasts, was the *manachang*. Moving between the classes of the upper caste was relatively common in Chamorro society and is common in Chamorro-Guamanian society. Moving between castes was by all reports impossible in Chamorro society and is rare in Chamorro-Guamanian society. It was rare for one to be forced from the *acha’ot* to the *manachang* and it was impossible to move the other way. As was the case in Chamorro society, moving back and forth from neo-*matua* to neo-*acha’ot* is not particularly rare in today’s Guamanian society. Moving from the neo-*matua/acha’ot* to the neo-*manachang* is rare and moving the other way is difficult.

Who are the neo-*manachang*? A joke going around Guam illustrates an important aspect of Guam’s social stratification. It involves an Englishman, a Frenchman and a Chamorro-Guamanian discussing sex. The Frenchman is enthusiastic about it but the Englishman disagrees.

“Really, old chap,” he said, “sex is not recreation. It’s hard dirty work. It’s the same repetitive action again and again and when it’s finished you are exhausted and covered in sweat. It is not fun by any means.”

“*Au contraire*,” responded the Frenchman, “Sex is the most pleasurable pursuit in which a person can engage. It is surely the highest, the most artistic form of recreation.”

They argued back and forth for some time and finally they submitted the question to the Chamorro-Guamanian for arbitration.

“Sex must be recreation,” he said. “If it was labor, we would import some Filipinos to do it.”

A significant portion of unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor on Guam is done by contract workers, most of them brought in from the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan or China. They are brought in by their companies as skilled and semiskilled laborers under a provision of the United States immigration law known as h-2.

Most of the rest of the unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor is done by Filipino-Guamanians, Korean-Guamanians, Taiwanese-Guamanians and Chinese-Guamanians who are permanent residents; and by people who have immigrated from other areas of Micronesia. These outer islanders are permitted to immigrate to the United States as a provision of the agreements under which they changed their status from United Nations Trust Territories. Guam is the closest economically advantaged area so she is the target of much of this urbanization. All of these laborers can be categorized as neo-*manachangs*. Very few of them are Chamorro-Guamanians.

Middle-echelon business and government employees can be placed into the neo-*acha’ot* or middle class, *manak’-papa* (low-people in Chamorro). Large property owners

fall into the neo-*matua* or nobility, *manak'-kilo* (high people). Almost exclusively from the neo-*matua* come the high government officials. Since the neo-*matua* is a rather small group the same families and the same people retain prominence. These elected and political appointees are the wielders of power on the island — the closest thing one can find to a chief in modern democracy. They are the neo-*chamorris* or royalty (*principales*). In effect, Chamorro-Guamanians have created an internal colonial system! Like their pre-contact predecessors apparently did, the neo-*acha'ot* and the neo-*matua* classes form a single caste. It is made up largely of Chamorro-Guamanians by birth or marriage. People who marry a Chamorro-Guamanian gain entry into the class of their marriage partner. For example, Chester Butler came to Guam as sailor. In 1916, he married Ignacia Bordallo. This marriage catapulted Butler into the neo-*matua*. He is featured in *Hale'-ta I Manfâpi: Who's Who in Chamorro History*.

A more recent example is the current lieutenant governor, Madeline Zeien Bordallo. She is a Haole-Guamanian without a drop of Chamorro blood who married Ricardo J. Bordallo and became an instant neo-*matua*. As an elected senator, she became a neo-*chamorri*, a ranking that would have been impossible for a woman in pre-contact Chamorro society. As the lieutenant governor, she is still a neo-*chamorri*.

The neo-*matua* class is, for the most part, made up of people with a large Spanish or American genetic heritage. These people are descended from the few Spanish colonists who came to Guam in the mid-19th century and the Americans who settled later.

As Rogers said, “Before that a young second, third or fourth son of a Spanish aristocratic family or first son of middle or lower class family didn’t come to the

Marianas. He went to Peru, Mexico or perhaps Manila, if he wasn't too bright. With the exception of the governor, some military officers and some priests, few Spaniards went to little places like the Marianas. So there were few Spaniards in the Marianas before about 1830.

“Beginning in the 1830s, most of Latin America broke off. There was no more empire for these people to go to. The vestiges were the Marianas, the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico. That's where they went. Beginning in the mid-19th century you have people coming in here with names like Bordallo, Calvo, Camacho, Gutierrez, Leon-Guerrero, San Nicolas and so forth. These families did not consider themselves Chamorro; they considered themselves Spaniards.”

An important caveat to an understanding of this social system as well as all other ranking systems is to understand that all men are not created equal. Some *chamorris* were more powerful than other *chamorris*. Just as some neo-*chamorris* are more powerful than other neo-*chamorris*. Some individuals are more powerful in some situations than in others.

Scattered throughout this hierarchy are the neo-*makahnas* — the sorcerers. People who hold specialized skills or credentials. Doctors, lawyers, ministers and terminal degree holders are included in this class. Although it is unknown how the ancient *makahnas* came by their power, in the case of the neo-*makahnas*, their power is derived from specialized training or experience — usually received off-island.

Freycinet said that the ancient *makahnas* were the social equivalent of the *chamorris*. It is worth reviewing what he said about this group:

In the first rank, one must place the *makahnas*, sorcerers, they had the power of a priest. Below them there were medicine men or rather medicine

women, *eamtis*, because almost all of them were of the feminine sex. These ladies were from all three classes. [Freycinet 1819: 364]

Like their predecessors, the neo-*makahnas* wield tremendous influence. As was apparently the case with the precontact people, neo-*makahnas* are the social equivalent of the neo-*chamorris*. We shall consider only the very highest credential professionals neo-*makahnas*. For example, physicians, dentists, lawyers, and other terminal degree holders are a neo-*makahnas*, all subordinate technically trained personnel are a neo-*eamtis*.

Neo-*makahna* or neo-*eamti* status provides an entry for non-Chamorro-Guamanians into the neo-*acha'ot*, the neo-*matua* and even the neo-*chamorri*. Although they may come from any ethnic group, neo-*eamtis/makahnas* are considered desirable mates for any of the other classes.

There are many neo-*chamorri* positions that require neo-*makahna* or neo-*eamti* credentials. When a neo-*makahna* is appointed to the position of director of the department of education, for example, he immediately enters the neo-*chamorri*. When a person is elected to some legislative or government position he immediately becomes a neo-*chamorri* regardless of his past social status. For example, Donald Parkinson, a Haole-Guamanian, was a neo-*makahna* (he is an attorney) who was elected to the legislature. He immediately became a neo-*chamorri*.

Like their predecessors, the neo-*makahnas* wield tremendous influence. While the neo-*acha'ots* and the neo-*matuas* are almost exclusively Chamorro-Guamanians, the neo-*makahnas/eamtis* are drawn from virtually every nationality and ethnic group. As was the case with the pre-contact culture, there is considerable social movement between the upper two classes, but movement between the neo-*manachang* and the upper caste is severely constrained. It is through the ranks of the neo-*makahna/eamti* that many neo-

*manachangs* and other non-Chamorro-Guamanians enter the neo-*acha'ot* and the neo-*matua*. A Filipino-Guamanian or Chinese-Guamanian who acquires specialized training and credentials can move into the neo-*eamti* — the social equivalent of the neo-*matua/acha'ot*. If he acquires a terminal degree he may become a neo-*makahna* — equal to a neo-*chamorri*. The other mode of egress from the neo-*manachang* is marriage.

Ironically, because the governor is an office created by the Spanish with no analogous position in the Chamorro social structure, the electorate of Guam has heretofore been insistent upon putting a Spanish-Chamorro-Guamanian into the position. These members of the neo-*matua* are referred to by other Chamorro-Guamanians, sometimes derisively, as “not Chamorro but Spanish.”

The best illustration of the upper caste is in the Government of Guam.

## GovGuam — Crime Wouldn't Pay if the Government Ran It

To summarize the situation, to a great extent, the government of Guam reflects Guam's history. Remember, the Chamorro race is extinct. Parts of its genetic heritage and parts of its social structure survive, however. During the Spanish-Chamorro War, most of the male population of the Marianas was exterminated. The Chamorro-Guamanian is the result of interbreeding between the Chamorro women who survived with the Mexican, Filipino, Spanish and, later, American and Japanese men who visited the island. Not only the genetic but also the social heritages of all of the visitors who have come to Guam have added to the social and gene pools. This mixing has produced the very attractive Chamorro-Guamanian people of today and the island's unique culture.

Supporting it all, is the precontact “caste” system in a slightly modified form.

When the Spanish began to administer the Marianas as a colony, they brought with them the Latino-Catholic ethic of machismo. Machismo is a feudal ethic. The pre-contact Chamorro society was very similar to a feudal society so the machismo ethic caught on. Machismo includes, of course, the macho swaggering that is associated with it. But more than this, it is an ethic of responsibility — primarily responsibility to family.

Within the family or extended family, there will be considerable jockeying for position among the males and, to a lesser extent, the females. This gives the impression of free competition, but when a challenge to a member of the family is perceived to come from outside, the family will close together to form a solid group. Of course, with shared honor and shame, a quickness to take personal offense at criticism of a member of the group goes with this. And when one member of a family experiences good fortune he will share his good fortune with the rest — hence the nepotism.

This system was so similar to the precontact caste system that it was absorbed into Chamorro culture quite easily. The major change required of the Chamorro culture was to reduce its female centeredness. Men no longer ruled the Marianas by virtue of the wealth of their female relatives. They ruled in their own right. Under the Americans, women gained the opportunity to exercise overt power. They exercise power in many areas. There are several female judges, legislators and government department heads. The current lieutenant governor is a woman.

It is in GovGuam that one finds the most intact expression of the upper caste.

One of the primary functions of any government is the encouragement of the economic wellbeing of its people. The principal way in which the government of Guam

does this is by employing a large number of them. As of December 1998, GovGuam employed 13,630 people.

The overwhelming majority of these employees are of the neo-*matua* and the neo-*acha'ot* classes. These people are generally Chamorro-Guamanians or married to Chamorro-Guamanians. Additionally, there are a large number of neo-*makahnas* and neo-*eamtis* who have some special skill. They may be of any ethnic extraction.

There are no neo-*manachangs*. Like war, sailing and boat building in precontact times, government is an enterprise that is totally the province of the upper caste. Since World War II, civil service employment has been the favored career among Chamorro-Guamanians. In addition to the 13,630 people employed by GovGuam, in 1999, the federal government, excluding the military, employed 4,990. So there were a total of 18,620 nonmilitary government employees. The nonmilitary work force was 67,370. So nearly 28 percent of the total nonmilitary work force works for the government!

Almost exclusively from the neo-*matua* come the high government officials. These elected and appointed officials are the wielders of power and the givers of largess on the island — the closest thing one can find to chief in a modern democracy.

All elected officials and most high-ranking political appointees are the neo-*chamorris* or royalty. Directly subordinate to the neo-*chamorris* are neo-*matuas* and neo-*makahnas* who are in highly paid “unclassified” positions that they maintain at the discretion of the governor and director. Below them are even more neo-*matuas*, neo-*acha'ost*, neo-*makahnas* and neo-*eamtis* supervisors and workers who are “classified” employees. In theory “classified” employees are nonpolitical but most of them got their jobs and promotions as political largess. But their jobs are not at risk when an



administration that they did not support comes into office; once in the job they are almost impossible to fire.

Because he is supported by this experienced staff, in most cases, it is not necessary for a neo-*chamorri* director to have any particular competency in the department he runs. He gives direction — the bureaucracy carries out the direction. The bureaucracy is managed by the neo-*matuas*, and neo-*makahnas* and manned by neo-*acha'ots* and neo-*eamtis*. For the most part these are career bureaucrats. Many of the neo-*matuas* are “unclassified” employees who have taken the step up from the neo-*acha'ot* class. They fall outside the lifetime employment guarantees of the civil service regulations.

The neo-*acha'ots* are “classified” employees who have guaranteed employment until resignation, retirement or death. Any adverse personnel action taken against a classified GovGuam employee is likely to be appealed to the Civil Service Commission and overturned. There are GovGuam employees who have been convicted of stealing from their agency whom the Civil Service Commission has forced the agency to retain.

At the very pinnacle of the government, there are two offices for which the pre-contact peoples had no specific analogy. Although presumably, even in pre-contact times, there was one *chamorri* who had greater influence than any other there was no unified kingdom. The office of governor is a Spanish overlay and the office of lieutenant governor is an American introduction. Ironically, in the collective psyche of the Chamorro-Guamanian people all of the elected governors of Guam are “not Chamorro but Spanish” — descended from Spaniards who came to Guam in the mid-19th century.

Remember, ethnic Spaniards did not begin to immigrate to Guam, in numbers, until the Spanish Empire collapsed in the early to middle 19th century. It was then that the patriarchs of the Camacho family, the Calvo family, and the Bordallo family came in. The patriarch of the Gutierrez family came in then; from Mexico rather than from Spain. But he was an ethnic Spaniard. The only exception is the Ada family whose patriarch was a Chamorro-Guamanian. Pedro Pangelinan Ada was of a good Chamorro-Guamanian family who married the daughter of Gov. José Ganga Herrero — so Gov. Joseph Ada, too, is a “Spaniard.” These families who, in the collective consciousness of Guam, are “Spanish” are relatively new. In Guam’s collective psyche they are not Chamorro-Guamanian.

Guam’s government, too, contains facets of all of the cultures that have dominated the island.

## **The Executive Branch**

The senior branch of government on Guam is the executive. Traditionally, in American government, the legislative is considered the senior branch because it more closely represents the people. On Guam, because of her long period of military rule, the executive is the senior branch.

During precontact times each district had a headman whose title was *maga’lahi*. The dominant force in the district, however, was the headwoman or *maga’haga*. The Spanish almost certainly misidentified their relationship and all subsequent historians have perpetuated their error. They referred to the *maga’lahi* and *maga’haga* as husband and wife. The *maga’haga* was almost certainly the headwoman and landowner while the *maga’lahi* was her uncle, brother or son whom she had appointed *maga’lahi*. He was the

dominant *Chamorri* of the district. In the modern Chamorro language, the governor is called “*maga’lahi*.” And previously, the first lady was called “*maga’haga*.” Since the current lieutenant governor is a woman, many have given her the honorific “*maga’haga*.”

The function of the governor of Guam is very similar to that of a state governor, although he has responsibility for facets of island life and power that no American governor has.

“In some respects there really is no difference between the governor of Guam and one of the governors in the states,” said political scientist and sometime candidate for public office Dr. Josue Dizon in an interview conducted for this project. “From the point of view of limitations on his power he has all of the powers invested in a state governor. He does have a lot more functions here because you have several levels of government combined. You have the state and county levels. He also has to be, let us say, the nominal head of state.

“In some ways he is similar to the president of a small country. He receives the important foreign visitors and goes to foreign countries to promote business and tourism on Guam. Normally a new governor will visit neighboring nations, particularly those from which a large part of our population came. This is both to promote the interests of Guam and for public relations among his constituents who came from that country. Of course, the governor of Hawaii does the same thing, but a governor here does much more of it than a Hawaiian governor does.”

In addition, unlike a state governor who is only an ambassador of good will, when the governor of Guam visits a foreign country, he has limited but genuine powers to negotiate. For example, like a state governor, the governor of Guam can award gross

receipts and property tax abatements but the governor of Guam can also give tax rebates of the Territorial Income Tax. This is equivalent to a state governor giving a rebate of the U.S. Income Tax.

Gov. Calvo (1979-1982) said, "It's very similar to the governor of the state except that I also had the function of being the mayor of some of the municipalities. Because of the unique position that Guam occupies, it is sometimes treated by the federal government as a foreign country. For example, in aviation, Guam is looked at as far as rate structures are concerned, as a foreign country. So, in a way, it's hard to put your finger on it. The governor of Guam is lesser than a governor of a state from the point of view that Guam is not a state but is still part of the American family. But from the point of view that it is a gateway to Asia, it's almost like a nation of its own. You have a little of both worlds. I had a chance, as the governor of Guam, to work on tax incentives to invite foreign investment so that we could expand the private sector."

The governor of Guam performs many functions that would be done at the county or municipal level in a state and he is effectively the chairman of the board of some enterprises that would be private businesses in most states.

The lieutenant governor performs the same function as a lieutenant governor of a state. He takes the place of the governor in the event of death or illness and functions as chief executive when the governor is off island.

As a part of the executive branch but elected independently is an office that can trace its roots directly to precontact times. The Spanish converted the precontact *maga'lahi* into a *gobernadorcillo* or little governor. The Americans called him a village

commissioner. This position remains in the office of village mayor. The village mayor and assistant mayor are elected so they are neo-*chamorris*.

GovGuam is a bloated multiply redundant bureaucracy.

The director or head of all of the departments and agencies neo-*chamorris* in some cases, neo-*makahna* credentials may be required. For example the attorney general must be an attorney. His primary function is to protect the government from the *anitis* of the *U.S. Constitution*, U.S. Law, the *Organic Act of Guam*, and the *Guam Code*. Department heads are supported by other neo-*chamorris*, neo-*matuas*, neo-*ach'ots*, neo-*makahnas* and neo-*eamtis*.

In addition to the line agencies, GovGuam is overrun with advisory boards and commissions and councils. All of them made up of neo-*chamorris* who receive an honorarium of \$50 per meeting not to exceed \$100 per month. These are the Governor's family and cronies who cannot afford to take a GovGuam job.

Guam's education system is a neo-*makahna* stronghold. It must charm the *anitis* of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. Because it best illustrates the neo-*makahna* and neo-*eamti* class, it is worth discussing at some length.

Public education is a government function. It is the largest department in the government of Guam. It is almost a government on its own. It is a line agency of the government, controlled by a neo-*chamorri* director and deputy. It is funded by a mandated 88 percent of gross receipts tax revenues. The G.R.T., you will remember, is a four percent value added tax that serves as Guam's sales tax.

Education on Guam, for better or worse, is patterned after the American model. There is, however, one important difference between Guam and most of the United

States. Because it is a tropical island it is perpetually summer on Guam. So the poor kids have to endure school when there are so many other fun things to do.

There was limited education under the Spanish, which was previously discussed.

One of Lt. Safford's first personal projects when he arrived on the island was education. He began a night school for teaching English. Of these classes he wrote:

**I myself have started a night school for teaching English, three nights per week. I have about fifty pupils, ranging from the age of five to fifty years. Among them, besides the natives are a number of bandsmen (Italian) and Chinese servants of the officers mess. I usually begin by pointing to various objects and pronouncing the corresponding English names. My pupils repeat the words after me; then I teach them a few adjectives such as long, short; thin, thick; hard, soft; illustrating the meaning by objects having these attributes; then a few words such as walk, sit, stand, fall, catch, see, hear, speak. Most of my pupils do pretty well, the youngest do the best. While walking the other day with the governor he asked me how my pupils were progressing. I told him that the little boys were learning readily. Just then we came upon a group of two or three youngsters, and one of them saluted the governor, saying, "Hello, Bub!" — a greeting which I assured the governor, he had learned not at school but evidently from the Marines. The governor was not a little amused at what he called the forwardness of my pupils. [Safford 1899: 85-86]**

On 22 January 1900, Gov. Leary issued General Order Number 12 that initiated public education on the island. This order placed public education under the exclusive control of the naval government. It forbade religious instruction in favor of any particular creed in the public schools. It decreed compulsory attendance for everyone between the ages of eight and fourteen years. It also called for instruction to be conducted in English as soon as suitable teachers could be provided.

In 1902, an earthquake destroyed or damaged the schools and they were closed because of a lack of funds to build new ones. When Gov. George L. Dyer took office in 1904, the schools were still closed. In June of that year he managed to open some of them. Since that time, schools have operated continuously on Guam.

Official records dating back to the first decade of the 20th century mention a “high school” on Guam. This was not a high school in the modern sense but was an intermediate school. It was not until 1917 that regular high school classes were first offered but even these were not really at the high school level. Guam’s first full-scale high school was not organized until 1936. George Washington High School was officially dedicated on 30 October 1936. It held its first graduation exercise in March 1940. The valedictorian was Richard F. Taitano. The second class graduated in 1941, but the third class didn’t graduate until 1945 — after Japanese occupation.

There are, currently two school systems operating on Guam — one civilian and one military.

In 1995, Sens. Carl Gutierrez and Madeleine Bordallo sponsored a bill to create an independent elected school board. The purpose of this law was to “depoliticize” the Department of Education. The law passed and in 1996, a school board was elected. At the same time Gutierrez and Bordallo were elected governor and lieutenant governor. When the independent department of education began to implement policy, Gutierrez decided it was inorganic. This brouhaha was interrupted by an announcement by a COMNAVMAR spokesman that the military was looking for sites to establish D.O.D. schools.

The governor was convinced that the political wrangling between the administration and the school board was the cause of the problem. Rear Adm. Martin Janczak, said that the GovGuam versus the Board of Education fiasco was not the cause of the decision. The decision, he said, was based on quality of education. Gutierrez,

didn't believe him so he dropped both of his suits against the board. The administration and the board claimed that they had gotten their act together.

Guam's educators also asked for more time to improve their effectiveness. But military parents whose children have a limited amount of time to get an education, were convinced that 37 years was more than enough time for the Guam school system to get its house in order.

In September 1997, the D.O.D. school system opened. It is outside the scope of this study.

Both primary and secondary education, on Guam, are patterned after and follow closely their mainland counterparts — in both their strengths and weaknesses.

D.O.E. has two tiers. At the top are two neo-*chamorris*, the director and deputy director. And scattered throughout are neo-*matua* and neo-*acha'ot* administrators, assistants and aids. Some of them have education degrees so they are neo-*eamtis* but some have no post secondary education at all. The actual educating arm of D.O.E. is a neo-*makahna* stronghold. To control the *aniti* of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, teachers and principals must be certified educators. Principals are neo-*makahnas*. Most of them hold a Ph.D. or an Ed.D. Teachers are neo-*eamtis*, all are required to hold a valid teaching certificate. When necessary, teachers are given “emergency certification.” These teachers must complete the requirements for a teaching certificate within two years.

Still, student performance is chronically substandard. The program, however, is highly regarded.



A recent study using the Stanford Test of Academic Skills illustrates the disparity. The study revealed that 86 per cent of the students entering tenth grade at George Washington Senior High School were reading below tenth grade level. A majority, according to a remedial reading project proposal, could not read and understand their text books.

In the 1998-1999 school year, 25 public elementary schools enrolled 16,878 students in grades kindergarten through six. A total of 7,157 students attended seven public middle schools. Four public high schools served 8,888 students. Private and parochial schools served an additional 7,086 students of all levels. The total operational budget of Guam's public schools for FY 1998 was \$162 million. The Department is funded by a mandated 88 percent of the Gross Receipts Tax so it has a separate funding source but for the purpose of reference, \$161 million is about 31 percent of the rest of the GovGuam budget of \$524 million. This works out to \$4,890 per student. This is not excessive. According to the U.S. Department of Education, in the 1994-1995 school year, Guam ranked 35th out of the 55 states and territories in per student spending. Guam spent \$4,969 while the national average was \$5,988

In 1997, the Department employed 3,583 people. But only 1,926 or 54 percent of them were teachers. This is a distinctive feature of contemporary public education on Guam where education is a part of the Governor's power base and a source of spoils.

The Department of Education is attempting to preserve the Chamorro-Guamanian culture through the schools. They are doing this with a unique bilingual/bicultural education program. Actually there are two different programs. The first is the Chamorro Language and Culture Mandate. The second is the U.S. Department of Education Title

VII Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program. Both of these programs aim at preserving the Chamorro language. Chamorro is a patois formed by superimposing a largely Spanish and English vocabulary on the traditional precontact grammar of the Chamorros. Van Peenan gives a charming example of this language:

Before leaving Guam, this writer watched two priests playing tennis. A young Chamorro girl passed and asked:

"Pale, haje ke-keep score?" (Father, who is keeping score?)

Thus unexpectedly appeared a simple phrase which embraced the complete evolution of the Chamorro language down to the year 1941: "Pale," the Chamorro adaptation of the Spanish word "Padre"; "haje," a pure Chamorro interrogative pronoun meaning "who?"; "ke-keep," an English word but the first syllable reduplicated in the Chamorro manner to show tense, and, finally, the word "score," a pure English word. [Van Peenen 1945: 38]

The Chamorro Language and Culture Mandate requires that all public elementary school children be taught the Chamorro language for 20 minutes every day and the Chamorro language be offered as an elective in public secondary schools. The 20-minute segment of the day is taught by the regular teacher if he is qualified. If not, a resource teacher is brought in.

Using Title VII bicultural education funds to teach the student's native language is a violation of the intent of bilingual education. D.O.E. administrators get around this quibble by stating that they are also teaching the Chamorro-Guamanian children English. The question is: how many Chamorro-Guamanian children are there who don't speak English?

Although some speak with a slight accent, most speak colloquial, unaccented English. D.O.E. is violating the intent of the program. It is using money that is supposed to be used to improve the English skills of children to whom English is not the first language, in an attempt to preserve the Chamorro language. All this while there are

numerous children on the island whose English is weak — but they are not Chamorro-Guamanian.

It is for these children, the ones who speak Tagalog, Korean, Vietnamese, and Yapese, to name but a few, for whom the federal funds were made available for the bilingual program.

Educators on Guam face the problem of seeing their culture and national identity daily being submerged in the culture and identity of the United States. They want, understandably, to preserve this identity. Anthropologists would call Guam's bilingual/bicultural program a reactive adaptation or a nativistic movement. The traditional example of a nativistic movement cited in most anthropology texts is the "ghost dancing" of the American Plains Indians in the 19th century.

The arguments for maintaining the Chamorro language in school at the expense of the four Rs is circular and based on nationalism. When asked why the students do so poorly on scholastic tests the typical Chamorro educator will reply, "English is not their native language." When asked why they are teaching Chamorro in the schools, the same educator will reply, "Because the children only speak English and can't speak Chamorro."

This is not to say that the Chamorro language and culture is not worth preserving. Culture is always worth preserving. But it can be preserved in the home and as a separate scholastic discipline. The Jews did this for 2,000 years. And then they revived Hebrew as a national language of Israel among people who, for the most part, did not speak it.

From the point of view of educational priorities, the primary purpose of school is to teach the child those things that a person must know to survive in the adult world.

Probably the most important of these are the four R's (readin', 'ritin', 'rithmetic, and the usually forgotten, reasonin'). If a child is taught these basic skills, he can learn almost anything else on his own.

Sen. Laurence F. Kasperbauer, Ph.D. is a Haole-Guamanian neo-*matua* by virtue of his marriage into the Artero family. He is a neo-*makahna* because of his advanced degree and many years experience as an educator. And he is a neo-*chamorri* because he is a Senator. He introduced a bill to decentralize the school system by creating four separate school districts. The bill was passed but vetoed by the governor. The legislature overrode the veto.

The incumbent school board challenged the constitutionality and organicity of the districting plan in court.

In the 1998 general election, the electorate selected four school boards. Before they could be seated, however, the court determined that the four school districts were illegal.

As soon as they were seated, the Legislature solved the problem by repealing both of the elected school board laws entirely and putting D.O.E. back under the governor. Which is, of course, the intended result of his earlier suit to disband the original elected school board.

Guam has two institutions of higher education.

The University of Guam is an accredited liberal arts institution offering bachelor's degrees in 37 disciplines and master's degrees in 14.

U.O.G. is a very cosmopolitan little university. There are 48 nations represented in its student body. U.O.G. is the major U.S. institution of higher learning in the western

Pacific. It has an enrollment of 3,553 full-time students plus more than 6,000 continuing education students. A significant portion of the University's enrollment consists of students from other Micronesian islands. The University offers undergraduate degrees in 37 disciplines, master's degrees in 14 and various professional certifications.

Most universities have some notable facility or discipline.

The University of Guam has two — the Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, and the Marine Laboratory.

A very helpful part of Guam's educational establishment for those interested in virtually any aspect of Micronesian culture and history is the Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center located on the University of Guam campus. The principal purpose of MARC is to serve as a research and teaching center in Micronesian studies.

Perched on a bluff overlooking Pago Bay is the other notable department affiliated with the University — the Marine Laboratory of the University of Guam.

The Marine Laboratory is, perhaps, the most dynamic part of the University. From 1970 through 1999 it produced 758 publications and professional reports.

The Marine Lab has a faculty of eight, all neo-*makahnas*, who select from their number a director, a neo-*chamorri* every two or three years.

The Marine Lab has an excellent international reputation as both a research and educational institution?

The Guam Community College was established in 1977. It is an accredited two-year, secondary and post secondary, vocational training institution. In the Fall of 1998, 4,400 students were enrolled.

It offers vocational training at the high school level, at its own campus and at all of the public high schools on the island. It offers general equivalency training and testing and adult high school classes and diplomas.

At the post-secondary level, the college offers associate of science degrees and professional certificates in more than 50 occupations as well as journey worker certificates through its apprenticeship program.

Like most American school systems, Guam's schools have a lot of problems but they have many things to recommend them.

GovGuam owns several public utilities that would be private businesses in most states. Both the telephone and power companies are government agencies. Because they generate a large part of their expenses through revenue from their operations they are "autonomous agencies."

Recent events at the telephone company demonstrate how effective a properly trained neo-*makahna* can be in a neo-*chamorri* position.

Guam once had the worst telephone system in the United States. People used to joke about a game called G.T.A. roulette. The way the game was supposed to be played was: First take a whole bottle of sleeping pills. Then begin calling the hospital, or emergency services. If you complete the call in time to get prompt attention you win. If not....

It is said that the problem was started by the military government at the end of the war. The military government installed a telephone system that was adequate to serve its needs. The Naval government inherited the system and expanded it beyond its capabilities. With the implementation of the Organic Act, the system was turned over to

the civilian government. Frequent typhoons also damaged the system causing losses in revenue and requiring extensive repairs. By 1979, the system was reportedly incompatible with modern equipment and could not be sold to a civilian enterprise for the price that the government wanted. Overseas service was provided through R.C.A. Global Communications system through prepaid phone booths in its Agana offices. In spite of the inconvenience it was easier to make a call to an international location or the mainland than it was to call across the street.

This problem was solved by Joaquin “Danny” Santos, a neo-*makahna*. He is a trained electrical engineer, he controls the *anitis* of electricity. To solve the phone company’s problem, Santos also had to solve the thorny problem of Guam’s work ethic.

Santos shares credit with the neo-*chamorris*, the neo-*matuas*, the neo-*ach’ots*, the neo-*makahnas* and neo-*eamtis* who manned the agency.

“I don’t want to take credit for single-handedly converting the Guam Telephone Authority from an antiquated algorithmic system to a modern digital system. The credit should go to the workers, technicians, engineers and managers,” Santos said modestly.

Santos was a Colonel in the Marine Corps. He was a neo-*makahna* a communications officer. “I came from a communications environment,” he said. “I knew what technology was available.”

Santos had met Gov. Bordallo during a trip to Guam in 1975. At that time Lt. Gov. Sablan suggested he retire and return to Guam. But Santos had other “challenges” he wished to overcome. During the inauguration of Pres. Jimmy Carter, in 1977, Santos was assigned to be Gov. Bordallo’s military aid. During the second Bordallo administration (1983-1987) the administration began to court him seriously, he was

offered three positions in GovGuam. One was as the adjutant general of the National Guard, another was director of the Department of Education, and finally as the director of the Department of Corrections.

“I said, ‘These are all exciting, challenging positions but I would like to make a seamless transition where my training can be utilized.’ They told me that they could not use me as director or deputy director of G.T.A. because those positions were already filled. I told them that I didn’t really need to be the boss. I would like to be in a position where I could look around. It just happened that the position of deputy opened up and they put me in there.”

Santos spent his first few months on the job wandering around meeting and talking to people.

“I wanted to know what the problems were,” he said.

“I discovered that I had two problems. One was a telecommunications problem — that was fixable. The other was a personnel problem — that was also solvable but more difficult. To understand my solution to the personnel problem you have to understand the environment that I was used to. Morale in the Marine Corps is excellent. G.T.A. was the most demoralized organization you can imagine — it was an island-wide joke.”

Marine Colonels, if they can do nothing else, can motivate people. Santos demonstrated that contrary to popular opinion, classified GovGuam workers can be managed.

“I wanted to turn the Authority around. The way I did that was to be very strict but very fair. I would get in your face and tell you in no uncertain terms what is wrong



with what you just did and then be able to call you by your first name. And we would still have mutual respect.”

Santos made it a point to be unpredictable. He was likely to show up at any office or work area — including a repair crew’s reported location at any time day or night.

“It’s true GovGuam workers are very difficult to manage because of the procedure in place with civil service. But I made it a policy to take action. Whether I won or lost, I would process the paperwork. Some cases I won some I lost that’s the way the game is played but I never backed down. Even when I lost I got that individual’s attention. I also got the attention of the rest of the personnel.

“I caught an employee stealing from the customers — she would take the money but not credit it to the customer’s account. A customer reported to me at about 10 a.m. I investigated and proved the allegations by noon. I went to the personnel chief and said, ‘I want her out by 3 p.m.’ This had never been done before — the personnel manager himself had to work it. That employee was out by 3 p.m.”

Santos had two groups of employees. First there were the established classified *neo-matuas*, *neo-acha’ots*, *neo-makahnas* and *neo-eamitis* employees. Because G.T.A. is a government agency there are no *neo-manachangs*. The second group was newly hired employees.

“Every new employee, was sent to a training course at Guam Community College to take the A.C./D.C. electronic courses” Santos said. “My principal staff and I told them: ‘If you graduate with an “A” you will go into the central office and be available for off-island training and education. If you graduate with a “B” we will make you a key systems technician or a private branch exchange technician. If you graduate with a “C”

you will be an outside technician; this is where you actually sweat — you dig trenches and so forth.’

“I made a pact with new employees. I wanted them to stay focused and believe in themselves — that’s the key.”

Santos’ next challenge was to upgrade G.T.A.’s technology. He converted it from an algorithmic to a digital system and he put the whole system underground to protect it from typhoons. Throughout supertyphoon Paka in 1997, most people had uninterrupted telephone service.

Based on his evaluation, Santos went to the U.S. Rural Electrification Administration for money and technical advice. He imposed a series of milestones on himself and G.T.A. With an R.E.A. loan he contracted Nortel to install a state-of-the-art digital system. Nortel accepted the milestones. The first village that was scheduled for conversion was Agana. Nortel did not meet the Agana deadline. A new deadline was agreed upon and it too was missed. And a third.

“After the third go around I called R.E.A. and told them, ‘I have a problem with Nortel. They can’t meet deadlines. I want to cancel the contract.’ We went to the Western Regional Conference of R.E.A. in Las Vegas. R.E.A. supported us fully. We had a meeting with 13 Nortel executives in three piece suits meeting with Danny Santos and Joe Perez in short sleeves.”

Santos “got in their face and told them in no uncertain terms what is wrong with their performance.” He then told them he wanted to cancel the contract.

“When I said that,” Santos recalled, “it really got their attention. They knew I was serious. They rented a bunch of rooms in the Cliff Hotel and brought 77 people out here. They never missed another deadline.”

The potential of the Guam Telephone Authority is tremendous. G.T.A. was built on a triad concept. It is designed to be internally redundant, flexible and survivable. Most of its internal systems are redundant — if one goes out another takes over. It has survived a great earthquake and a supertyphoon with minimal service interruption.

It is the hub of the largest and most modern communication network in the Pacific. “G.T.A. has the most modern technology west of the Mississippi,” Santos said. There are seven transoceanic cables terminating on Guam. In addition there are more than 20 satellite Earth stations. Guam is part of the North American Dialing system. When you make a call from Guam to the U.S. mainland it is a long-distance rather than international call. This allows Guam to benefit from the clout of the United States negotiations for international rates — rather than negotiating as a tiny island in the Pacific she shares in the benefits of United States’ agreements. Guam also subscribes to “Feature Group D.” that allows any long-distance carrier to provide service so competition keeps long-distance and international rates reasonable.

That is what a tough neo-*chamorri* can do.

## **The Legislative Branch**

The secondary branch of the government of Guam is the legislative.

“The Legislature,” said Robert Rogers, “is organized just exactly like a miniature United States Legislature except that it is unicameral. They were wise in making it

unicameral. It was a small island, without a great deal of cultural diversity. A unicameral Legislature saves money.”

The senators are neo-*chamorris*. Like the original *chamorris*, they come from the landed class and they support their family and friends with a degree of social patronage that is, at the very least, nepotism and cronyism. The first official act a legislator takes as the distribution of legislative largess. As Joseph Cochrane says in a newspaper article headlined “Bill would end Legislature’s job lottery”:

Instead of using the merit system to fill jobs within the Guam Legislature’s central operations, island lawmakers for years have taken a simpler approach: they draw dames out of a hat.

At the beginning of each legislative term, senators from the winning political party each pull about eight slips of paper that have job titles written on them.

“They have the option of filling that slot with whomever they choose, regardless of qualifications,” said Arlene Aguon-Castro, a Legislature personnel officer. [P.D.N. 19960808: 3]

And that is far from the end of the Legislature’s openhandedness. The Organic Act of Guam provides for a Legislature of up to 21 members. In 1995 the Legislature passed a law reducing the number of members to 15. The neo-*chamorri* members of the legislature, called senators, are elected at large for two-year terms.

## **The Judicial Branch**

Guam’s judicial system is in its infancy. Like the executive and the legislative, it is patterned after the United States judicial system.

“Guamanians,” said Rogers, “because of their Catholic ethos, have never taken a judiciary track. They are not like Anglo-Saxons who sue each other at the drop of a hat. They don’t have a common law heritage. Even today if you suggest to a Guamanian that he go to court, he will sort of look at you with wide eyes. Guamanians don’t like to go to court. They associate court with jail. They don’t really understand the judiciary process.

They understand the executive; it's Spanish. The Americans gave them the legislative. And they are still working on an understanding of the judicial."

As Guam's court system is evolving, its impact on Guam's social structure is also evolving. In precontact times, justice was meted out by the *chamorris* — adjudication was a primary *chamorri* function. This continued until the end of the Spanish-Chamorro wars when the Spanish colony was fully established. In essence the Governor of Guam was judge, jury and executioner. In 1791, the Laws of the Indies were implemented on Guam. Under this code, a defendant or petitioner had the right to appeal to the Viceroy of Mexico if he was dissatisfied with the governor's ruling. Because of the distances involved, this was impractical. After 1817, Guam became a part of the *audiencia* of Manila. A Spanish officer supervised the *audiencia*. Still, although shorter, the distances made appeals impractical. Until 1844, *La Coda Penal*, *La Coda Civilde Los Philipinos* and any orders of the governor dictated the procedure of the courts. Day-to-day justice was administered by the *Gobernadorcillos*.

For the first seven years of the American administration, the Spanish judicial system remained in effect on Guam. But appeals had to be made to the Supreme Court of Guam established by Gov. Leary. The court was a panel of five presided over by Leary as presiding judge. This was the highest court on the island but its decisions had to be reviewed and approved by Leary as governor. In 1906, a police court was established. In 1910, Gov. Dorn began to reorganize the court system. One of the first things he did was replace all Chamorro-Guamanian judges with Navy and Marine Corps officers. In July of that year, the Spanish Court of First Instance became the Island Court. The Court of

Equity, the Higher Court of Equity and various special courts were established in 1916. By 1918, Chamorro-Guamanians were serving as associate judges.

It was not until 1933 that Spanish influence was totally removed from Guam's judicial system. The lowest court was the village commissioner a Chamorro-Guamanian *neo-chamorri* who handled cases involving fines of \$5 or less. Police Court handled criminal misdemeanors where the penalty did not exceed a \$100 fine or six months in jail. The judge was a Chamorro-Guamanian *neo-chamorri*. Next was the Justice Court, also presided over by a Chamorro-Guamanian *neo-chamorri*. It handled criminal misdemeanors with penalties between \$100 and \$300 and imprisonment for less than 1 year. The island court handled all other criminal and civil cases. It also handled appeals from lower courts. Again, the judge was a Chamorro-Guamanian *neo-chamorri*. Still the governor was the final reviewing authority.

During Japanese occupation, justice was more or less summary. With the return of the Americans, Guam was first brought into a modified court-martial system. With the return of peace and naval government, came a court system almost identical to the pre-war judiciary.

The Organic Act of Guam contained provisions for the creation of a judicial branch of government. But appeals went directly into the federal system — the Federal District Court of Guam. This led some to say that Guam did not really have a judicial system in the sense that a system would encompass various levels of appeals courts and a supreme court. Until 1994, any case that was appealed from the Superior Court of Guam went directly into the federal court system.

The Superior Court had no appellate function.

The federal court system was the appellate court for Guam. From one point of view the appellate branch of this federal court could be seen as a local court.

With the Organic Act came the requirement that judges be qualified lawyers. This dramatically changed the social position of Judges. Before, any neo-*matua* could be appointed a judge. Now he had to be a neo-*makahna*. In general, they were hired off-island. By 1980, there were no Chamorro-Guamanian Superior Court judges. There were very few Chamorro-Guamanian lawyers. What Chamorro-Guamanian lawyers there were, were not interested in becoming judges. Compared to what a Chamorro-Guamanian lawyer could make, the salary of a Superior Court judge was pitifully low.

The judges are neo-*makahnas* because of the requirement for arcane knowledge. They must be experienced lawyers able to arbitrate disputes without angering the *anitis* of the *Constitution*, the *Organic Act*, or the Federal Court system. They perform, however, one of the primary functions of the ancient *chamorris* — they are the final social arbiters of the society. So they are members of the neo-*chamorri*.

Until recently very few of them were from the neo-*matua* or Chamorro-Guamanian large property owners, so they did not have the primary qualifications from which the neo-*chamorris* are selected.

But the Chamorro-Guamanians realized that an important neo-*chamorri* function was being performed exclusively by Haole-Guamanians and one Filipino-Guamanian. Gradually the numbers of Chamorro-Guamanian lawyers increased. The salary of judges was raised and Chamorro-Guamanians were increasingly appointed to the bench. As of 1999, all five Superior Court Judges and two of three supreme court judges are Chamorro-Guamanian. The Federal District Court Judge is also a Chamorro-Guamanian.

To assist the presiding judge in the administration of the court, there is a neo-*matua* administrative director of the Court. In effect the administrative director is the supervisor of all of the court's neo-*matua*, neo-*acha'ot* and neo-*eamti* support personnel such as clerks, marshals, probation officers and financial managers.

How does this little bitsy island support such a massive bureaucracy?

GovGuam collects federal income tax under the name of the Territorial Income Tax. Guam, under its Organic Act, is in an enviable position. It is permitted to collect an income tax, which is based on the United States Internal Revenue Code, and keep the proceeds. Not only that, but all federal income taxes collected from people who live on the island are returned to Guam. These federal income taxes that are returned to Guam are those of federal employees and anyone who is employed by a company that disperses its paychecks from the mainland after withholding. In addition, federal income taxes withheld from any federal or military employee whose home of record is Guam are returned to GovGuam.

Anticipated GovGuam revenues for 1999 are \$1,223,558,585. Over \$33 million were "Chapter 30" funds or income taxes collected from military and Federal employees by the U.S. government. An estimated 5.2 million will come from federal sources. Another \$115.2 million was expected to come from federal grants-in-aid and other federal sources. So the total percentage of its revenue that the government of Guam received directly from the federal government is almost 19 percent. If the 311.4 million in income taxes that are collected by GovGuam as the Territorial Income Tax are included, the total becomes \$464.8 million or 38% come from the federal government. Any American state would be ecstatic with such a revenue sharing arrangement.



A locally legislated Gross Receipts Tax of four percent of the gross income of most businesses that provide goods and services is expected to provide \$188.9 or 15 percent of the General Fund Revenues. By law, 88 percent of this goes directly to the Department of Education. Real property taxes and other local taxes, fees and revenues accounted for the rest. If Guam, with its 100 plus percent revenue sharing, cannot finance its own programs, something is wrong. Something is wrong! Like governments almost everywhere, the government of Guam spends more than it takes in. By the end of 1997, the General Fund had an accumulated debt of one billion dollars!

Despite the fact that GovGuam is allowed to collect and keep federal income tax on Guam and that the federal government returns all taxes paid by federal employees, the federal government has been generous in its support to capital improvements on the island. Approximately one third of Guam's economy comes directly from the federal government.

Guam has a population about one fifth of that of the State of Hawaii. Hawaii is no bastion of small-government conservatism but her budget is only twice that of Guam. While Hawaii employs 4 percent of her population, Guam employs 20 percent.

Murphy has discovered that despite pleas from governments around the world for "a little bit more money" there is no such thing as enough money for a government. He claims that GovGuam's major problem is that it has too much money.

In a column headlined "GovGuam's problem is too much money," printed in the 3 May 1996 edition of the *P.D.N.* he says that GovGuam's problem is that it has too much money. He goes on to point how little the people of Guam get for their money and the

fact that GovGuam and its autonomous agencies are nearly \$2 billion in debt. And he is also disgusted with the nepotism and cronyism in GovGuam.

On the same day Andri Bynum published a tongue-in-cheek analysis of GovGuam's employment practices under the headline "You, too, can enjoy prosperity with GovGuam."

I am very fortunate to have been given the opportunity to work for the Government of Guam and to receive a huge salary and excellent benefits.

Here are the steps I took to reach my level of success in public service and how you too can reap the benefits of public service work on Guam:

The first step in working for the Government of Guam is to make sure you don't have any personal or academic knowledge in the field you wish to pursue. If you do have personal or academic knowledge, you won't qualify. That's because if you have qualified people working for the Government of Guam you will have an efficient government and who wants a government that works well?

The second step to public service on Guam is make sure you are a native Chamorro. I can't define native Chamorro nor can anyone else on Guam. I think that's because there hasn't been a native Chamorro on Guam for over a hundred years. Just make sure your last name sounds Spanish and you like to eat fried foods.

The third step in public service on Guam is to make sure you are related to or know someone who is related to an elected official. For example, I am the nephew of an aunt, who is a cousin of an uncle who is the brother of the niece who is and aunt of the sister of the governor who gave me the job.

Once you are in the Government of Guam, sit back and enjoy the ride. You have access to air-conditioned offices, little or no work, use of a government vehicle and lots of parties, all of which are paid for by the taxpayers of Guam. But it doesn't stop there. Once you retire you will receive an extra \$1000 bonus each year on top of your already huge pension. Also, if you do decide to return to the government you can double dip. So you too can find true happiness in public service on Guam.

Just follow my four simple steps and if you still don't get the job you want, wait until election time comes around. Our elected officials are sure to find a place for you in the Government of Guam, but it will cost you a vote and a public display of sympathy for the candidate most likely to win. One last thing: keep this between us. O.K.?

"Crime wouldn't pay if the government ran it."

Guam's government is probably the best expression of upper caste of her caste system. Although there are some unfortunate aspects to the caste system that will

become obvious later, the system itself allows for considerable upward mobility within the upper caste. It also provides some mobility between castes. Unfortunately, many within the upper caste believe that the purpose of government is to provide full employment for them their family and friends.

As mentioned, there are no neo-*manachang* in GovGuam. To see the current state of this lower caste one must investigate the private sector economy.

## Making Money in Paradise — The Private Sector Economy

Guam is a “banana republic.” As economists use the phrase, a “banana republic” has nothing to do with what is produced or political status. It is an area whose economy is supported by a single export. In the case of Guam this export is her strategic location. She is the only part of America in Asia and the only part of Asia in America. Dr. Yunqui “Eugene” Li, the senior economist with Guam’s department of commerce epitomizes the neo-*makahna*. He has a Ph.D. in economics from the People’s Bank of China Research Institute, and another from the University of California. He has no family or political connections on Guam. But he can analyze and predict the behavior of the *anitis* that control economics.

Li reports that imports for 1998 were \$42,144,727 and exports for the same year were \$89,648,738 for a balance of payments surplus of \$47,504,011.

“We never get a complete total for imports,” Li said. “We cannot track imports by the military or mail order. Most of our exports are transshipments. For example, if someone imports a motorcycle that is re-exported to Saipan it is included as an export although we did not manufacture the motorcycle.

“Most of our exports are purchases made by tourists. If, for example, a store in the Micronesia Mall imports a Gucci hand bag and pays \$100 for it and then sells it to a tourist for \$200 that is a \$100 import and a \$200 export with a surplus of \$100!”

Guam’s largest export is officially not recognized as an export — her location for tourism and strategic purposes. Some do not recognize tourism or federal expenditures as exports. When the military locates a base it is really importing that area— in effect, it is importing the strategic location for use by the United States. When a tourist visits a location he is, in the same way, importing that location to his home country.

Former Guam Visitor’s Bureau General Manager Martin Pray offered an excellent analogy when he said, “It may appear odd that tourism is an export but in simple terms, money flows out of an area for import purchases and into an area for export sales. You can liken this to a pizzeria where you can order the food by phone to have it delivered to your house — clearly an export. You can stop by the restaurant and pick up your pizza — another obvious export. Or you can visit the restaurant and tell the manager, ‘Don’t box it. I’ll eat it here.’ This is still an export. Tourism and military support are exports with the products consumed on the premises.”

Both of these exports are based on Guam’s second most valuable natural resource, after her people — her location. Of course, to the military her primary attraction is her strategic location, but for the tourists her primary attraction is her tropical environment and beautiful scenery.

Since World War II, tourism should have been classified as Guam’s largest export. Since the largest part of the federal government’s expenditures on Guam are

salaries, if one considers the personnel to be tourists, which in fact they are, tourism would have been a strong first place.

Tourism and military support are not included in the official balance of payments report for a very simple reason.

“I agree that tourism is really an export,” Li said. “The tourists are in effect exporting our beautiful beaches to Japan or Korea or wherever. But we don’t count it in our calculations because the United States doesn’t count it — we have to follow their procedures.”

If one excludes tourist shopping because this export was counted by the Department of Commerce and adds the rest of the estimated revenue from tourism in 1995, of approximately \$1,123,509,750; and the estimated amount of money spent on the island by the federal government and its employees in that year (really another form of tourism), of \$809,747,566 million, to the previously calculated balance of payments surplus of \$47,504,011 the picture is even brighter. Guam’s 1995 balance of payments surplus was \$1,990,761,327!

“The Guamanians realize,” said political scientist/historian Rogers, “they know in their bones that this is the fattest little island in the world. They have the highest standard of living in the whole Asian area — higher than Japan! The only comparable island in gross national product is Nauru. A Nauruan is sitting on the tip of a mountain of pure bird shit and he is digging his way out of his heritage.”

Actually Rogers is wrong about the wealth of the Nauruans. According to the Bank of Hawaii Guam Economic Report for 1995, Guam is far ahead of other Pacific islands in per capita Gross National Product. They say Guam is at \$20,958; followed by

French Polynesia at \$14,350; New Caledonia at \$13,323; The Northern Marianas at \$9,906; Nauru at \$8,677; Palau at \$5,750; American Samoa at \$5,500; Cook Islands, \$2,889; Niue, \$2,825; Fiji, \$2,088; Federated States of Micronesia at \$2,516; the Marshalls, \$1,922, down to New Guinea, \$820; Western Samoa, \$730; and the Solomon Islands at \$590.

Guam's location and heavy reliance on imports causes her cost of living to be higher than in most U.S. communities. The climate and culture make this less of a problem than one would expect, however. There are a great many expenses involved with living in the mainland such as heating oil that are never considered on Guam. In fact, one could live on Guam with practically no money — a competent fisherman can sell, barter and eat his catch.

## Food Production

One would expect that a fertile tropical island would produce a tremendous amount of food and have a bountiful harvest from the sea. One would be wrong.

Since the early days of the Spanish period, food production has been a problem. The Spanish governors attempted to persuade the Chamorros to produce a surplus of food to supply visiting ships and, more importantly, to store as a hedge against crop failure. These attempts were met with apathy on the part of the people who saw little reason to do this unnecessary work. They argued that when the crops failed, which they frequently did, the people lived off the land and ocean until the new crops were in. The Spanish accused the Chamorros of being lazy when they didn't comply.

The accusation of laziness is frequently applied to members of tropical cultures by members of temperate cultures when the tropical peoples refuse to work more than is

necessary for subsistence needs. When we accuse these people of being lazy, what we are really saying is, "What are you going to do when winter comes?" The European work ethic was developed by and really only applies to people who must contend with long, hard winters. The obvious answer to our question is "In the tropics, winter never comes."

During the early part of the American era, the American authorities were interested in Guam primarily for her strategic value as a coaling station and local agriculture had little or no strategic value. But still the Americans made considerable effort to improve the agricultural wellbeing of the island.

The World War II Japanese authorities were very interested in increasing agricultural production to supply their armed forces. The Guamanians, however, were loyal to the United States, for the most part, and resisted producing more food than their families or friends could use in spite of the sometimes brutal methods employed by the Japanese. Still, during World War II, Guam was agriculturally self-sufficient.

After the American liberation, strategic considerations were paramount. A farmer who could overcome the negative associations to agriculture from the Japanese occupation sufficiently to plant a crop never knew when "military necessity" would lead to the expropriation of the land he was farming.

The jobs created by the post-war reconstruction and the U.S. military establishment converted Guam to a cash economy. A person could make enough money working for the military or the government to afford imported food. This situation has continued to a large extent to the present. Guamanians earn enough money working for the military, the local government, the tourism industry or some other enterprise to

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import food from the United States, the Philippines, Australia, and other areas. Virtually all of the meat, approximately 66 percent of fish and 75 percent of the fruit and vegetables consumed on Guam are imported. It must be humiliating for the descendant of a proud and self-reliant *Chamorri* to buy Star Kist Tuna and even Chiquita bananas at a supermarket.

The island ceased to have major strategic significance in the early 1990s. This caused the loss of a significant economic base. Before this happened, Guam was developing a more stable economic base with the continued expansion of tourism. But this economic base did not include agricultural self-sufficiency.

According to the *Guam Annual Economic Review — 1999*:

Agriculture is Guam's smallest sector. It employs 290 persons out of a workforce of 65,220 as of December 1995. These persons earn an average salary of \$15,723. [Commerce 1997b: 27]

A major constraint to agricultural development is the shortage of farm labor.

Chamorro-Guamanian David Flores is a neo-*acha'ot*. He was raised to be a farmer.

"I just grew up," he said, in an interview for this project. "My dad was a farmer. He never did anything else. When I was a boy we were brought up to farm. I went to high school, went through an apprenticeship program and worked for the federal government for about 10 years. I went to the States and worked for General Telephone there for about 4 years and then I came back. I worked for G.P.A. for about four years and farmed part-time. Then six years ago I went to farming full time."

"Yes, the shortage of land in private hands is a serious constraint,"

"The problem really is in the thinking of the local people," said neo-*makahna* Bob Barber, an agricultural economist at the University of Guam. "When I say local

people, I include all of the racial and ethnic groups on Guam. Right now agriculture is mostly part time, backyard urban truck farming. There aren't many commercial farmers whose sole source of income is farming and nobody is really farming on a large scale comparable to mainland truck farms.

"I think this island needs to face reality. The military is pulling back and tourism seems to have leveled off. I don't think GovGuam can fill the void — we just can't afford it. I don't think that the government can continue to be a primary employer. I don't think they can continue to give these outrageous jobs that are easy to get, take little training and pay high salaries. As the population grows I don't think it can continue.

"But a young person can take two or three acres and make \$20,000 an acre if he really pays attention to it. Agriculture is a good way to make some money.

But like most observers, Barber believes it will require a change in the Guam work ethic.

"When I was an undergraduate," he said, "I was more than willing to work in agriculture at minimum wage. I interview the students in my ag classes regularly. I've got Chamorros, Filipinos, Statesiders and others and it turns out that those who are willing to work in agriculture won't consider it for less than seven dollars an hour. In part, that is a response to the high cost of living here — minimum wage doesn't go as far on Guam as it does in other parts of the country. But we never have any trouble filling office jobs at minimum wage."

Flores has solved the problem of labor by bringing in neo-*manachangs* from Kosrae in the Federated States of Micronesia.

“The locals don’t like to farm in the hot sun,” he said. “I have a friend down in Kosrae who recruits workers for me. I make them stay at my house. I feed them, wash their cloths — everything.”

Flores workers are paid minimum wage. Room, board and other expenses are deducted from their wages.

A substantial portion of the produce does not go to market. Robert D. Golding, a long-time resident, illustrated it very succinctly when he said, “The farmer takes a stalk of bananas and picks off the best for himself and carries the rest around in his pick-up for two days and lets his friends pick through it. Then he takes the picked through, damaged and over-ripe remainder to the market. And he can’t understand why people are unwilling to pay the same price that the supermarkets charge for Chiquita bananas that are of uniform size, have been properly packed and shipped from Honduras. Usually the farmer will want more for his bananas than the supermarket gets because they are ‘local.’”

Some people are experimenting with hydroponic farming. Hydroponic farming is a method of agricultural production in which vegetables and fruits are grown in greenhouses. The plants are planted in mesh containers of gravel and nutrient is added to the water that circulates through the gravel. The water is also aerated to prevent the plants drowning. This method of taking the dirt out of farming is designed for areas with cold winters. It allows a 12-month growing season. On Guam where there is already a 12-month growing season, the shelter offers protection against disease, pests and waterlogged soil during the rainy season. It also allows the farmer to produce much more

with less labor. It is said that much less land is necessary for a profitable operation. As of 1999, there were at least five hydroponic farms in operation on the island.

There is a major drawback to hydroponics on Guam. The main agricultural hazard is the frequent typhoons. Compared to the cost of building a new greenhouse, a crop can be replanted for very little. However, there is a company that is marketing greenhouses on Guam that are said to be capable of being taken down and stored in about half a day. Obviously these greenhouses cannot be taken down after the typhoon hits, so they will have to be collapsed every time a typhoon warning is announced. But many of these will be false alarms — the typhoon will miss the island. The labor involved in collapsing and erecting the greenhouse, perhaps several times, during the typhoon season would cut into the labor saved by hydroponic farming.

Successful hydroponic farms of Guam have done away with the greenhouse.

“I know many who have come in from all over the world and tried to build greenhouse-based hydroponics” Barber said. “Almost all of them have gone under because it is so capital intensive. All you really need is a screen to protect the plants from insects and maybe a plastic shade to protect them from the sun and rain.”

Lieu, Chingho is doing hydroponic farming without the greenhouse. He has a series of tanks a little over three feet wide by 115 feet long. His seeds are planted in small baskets imbedded in Styrofoam panels. The panels float on the surface allowing the seeds to touch the water. The seeds sprout sending their roots into the water that has been supplemented with nutrients and air. Along each tank is a series of arches over which Lieu stretches netting to protect against insects and provide shade. Between tanks, Lieu has laid track along which a small cart can be pushed. The cart makes farming a sit-

down job. It is also convenient when crops are being harvested — the harvest can be loaded into a box on the cart. This is farming that does not require plowing, weeding or any of the other normal cultivation labor. The downside is that occasionally the tanks have to be drained and cleaned. “That takes around four or five days,” Lieu said.

Lieu, a Chinese from Taiwan, has been a farmer all of his life. He has solved the agricultural labor problem in another way. Several hundred “boat people” land on Guam every year. They are immediately paroled into the local community. For the first few months of their parole, they have no work permit. Lieu takes them in and provides room, board and clothing. These neo-*manachang* work for him illegally.

## Construction

Post-war reconstruction gave the initial impetus to the construction industry on Guam. Subsequent military construction continued the trend. The economic boom in the early 1970s and another in the early-1980s caused mainly by two sudden surges in the development of the tourist industry gave a tremendous boost to the construction industry. Numerous hotels and other tourism-related facilities had to be built. Occasional typhoons give enough work to the construction companies to keep most of them operating. Typhoon reconstruction, largely financed by insurance payments and federal disaster relief funds, has led some to call Guam’s economy a “disaster economy.”

In 1995, 1,821 construction permits were issued. This is down from a high of over three thousand in 1993. The value of these construction projects was \$351,642,161 — down from nearly a billion in 1986. There were 7,680 people employed in the construction industry in December 1994. Most of those employed were neo-*manachangs* — aliens and outer islanders. Almost without exception, all of the skilled and unskilled

labor trades on Guam are underdeveloped. The development of local skilled labor is hindered by the low prevailing wage rate — a wage rate that is increasing under U.S. government pressure. The cause for the low wage rate is the ready availability of cheap nonimmigrant alien labor. Young Chamorro-Guamanians, members of the neo-*matua* or the neo-*acha'ot* classes, are unwilling to labor in the hot sun for wages that range from \$10 to \$15 per hour.

In March 1996, 3,330 local residents were unemployed while 3,542 people from other Micronesian islands were employed on Guam. According to their agreements with the federal government, citizens of the other Micronesian islands have the right to immigrate to the United States and Guam is the closest target for this urbanization. In addition, 3,365 nonimmigrant aliens were employed on a “temporary” basis. By temporary, the federal government means until a specific project is completed. But the workers, mostly from China, Korea, the Philippines and Taiwan mean until they can get permanent resident status.

In 1977, the U.S. Department of Labor decreed that the wage scale for nonimmigrant aliens would be gradually increased until it reached rate parity with that paid by the U.S. Navy on Guam. This approximately doubled the wages paid and simultaneously increased the cost of construction by an estimated 40 percent over and above increases caused by inflation in material costs. This did not attract significantly more Chamorro-Guamanians to the construction industry. The many years of low wages have served to create a severe shortage in skilled Chamorro-Guamanian laborers. Those neo-*acha'ots* who were interested in skilled labor have, for the most part, moved on to greener pastures in Hawaii or the mainland.

Manual and skilled labor on Guam is performed by neo-*manachangs*. The neo-*manachang* caste is a caste of *bracero* laborers. A *bracero* is a day laborer who used to be brought into the border areas of the United States to perform stoop labor at very low wages. The practice has been outlawed but not stopped.

Most of the neo-*manachangs* are recruited from the rural areas of their home countries. With the exception of neo-*manachangs* who come to Guam from other Pacific islands, the whole system is based on a violation of U.S. labor law. According to the law, H-2, or temporary nonimmigrant alien, workers are only allowed to work on the project for which they were imported. This almost never happens.

Businessmen are loath to disclose the details of their businesses — particularly illegalities. So what follows is based largely on rumor, speculation and supposition.

The alien labor procedure requires that a contractor have a contract in hand. He then has to advertise all of the positions in the local newspaper and interview anyone who is nominally qualified.

Once this is done, the paperwork is submitted to the Guam Department of Labor. The Department certifies that the position cannot be filled locally and submits it to the U.S. Department of Labor in California. When the U.S. Department of Labor certifies the need for this position, the package is forwarded to the Department of Immigration for final approval. This process can be done in as little as one year but 18 months is a more reasonable expectation.

No one is going to wait for a year after signing a contract for his contractor to begin work so the normal process is for a new contractor to buy a subcontract from an established contractor. He uses this to justify bringing in a crew. Meanwhile, the

established contractor completes the project. When the new contractor's workers arrive, he uses them to work on his own contracts. And he continues to recruit workers based on contracts already underway to work on future contracts.

The neo-*manachangs* are usually housed in barracks. Although their pay sounds impressive at a minimum of more than \$9 per hour, they are really paid much less. By department of labor regulation, the employer is only allowed to deduct \$320 per month for space in a barracks and two meals per day. Presumably, after the money that the boss deducts for food and housing, transportation to the job site and back, delivery of his lunch to the site, rental of tools, etcetera, etcetera, etcetera; the neo-*manachang* is lucky to realize \$2 per hour. He will usually send this money to his home country to deposit.

Although \$2 per hour doesn't sound like much, to a farmer from rural China, Korea or the Philippines it is good pay. Two dollars times a 40-hour workweek is \$80. Multiply \$80 by a 52-week year and he has at least \$4,160 in savings when he leaves — a veritable fortune in his home country! But for the worker it is even better than that. They work 10 to 12 hours a day seven days a week. With overtime most of these workers arrive at home with \$10 to \$15 thousand in the bank after a year.

The alternate method of fiddling the system is simply keeping two sets of books. Western companies involved in joint ventures in the People's Republic of China are universally bilked in this way. The Chinese company is responsible for paying Chinese employees. It maintains a set of books to show the Western partner with a pay scale that is greatly inflated and another set for internal use showing the real rate of pay. The workers will support the Chinese company in this.



On Guam if the worker grumbles about pay or treatment, he will immediately be sent home. Since these men come from places where legal rights are not as well defined as they are in the United States, when they are sent home, they usually go without protest. In most cases, the company is owned or partly owned by the government or a company in the worker's home country. So if the individual protests, he is bought off with a large cash settlement before being sent home — a cash settlement that will be confiscated upon his arrival. In some cases he is escorted to the airport by a uniformed off-duty policeman or security guard. As far as he knows, he is being officially expelled. When he accepted the job, he left a large bond with the company at home. If he fails to complete the contract for any reason he forfeits that bond.

Although the system is technically illegal, it is such an integral part of Guam's economy that it is generally tolerated. Gov. Gutierrez sanctioned the practice in an article entitled "Exclusive News" published in the 23 January edition of the *Guam Chinese News*, a Chinese language newspaper. He says:

Guam officials are not against the hiring of Chinese H-2 workers as they are needed to supplement our local work force. [Gutierrez 19980123: 2]

## Wholesaling and Retailing

An extremely important part of any economy is the wholesaling and retailing sector.

Despite numerous claims to the contrary by the tourism industry, wholesale and retail trade is the major economic sector in terms of gross business receipts. In truth, however, it must be admitted that tourism makes a major contribution to this industry. In calendar year 1995, the retail sector accounted for more than \$1.6 billion while the wholesale sector accounted for almost \$84 million. In June 1997, the wholesale/retail

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sector employed 38 percent of all employees. Out of a total employment of 66,190, it employed 25,170.

Retailing and wholesaling are not leading economic sectors. They respond to changes in the basic economy. The tourism industry accounts for a huge proportion of retail sales. In 1997, 1,113,012 Japanese visited Guam. According to exit surveys, they spent an average of \$450 for shopping, souvenirs and gifts. So the Japanese contributed \$500,855,400 to Guam's retail sector. The high expenditure of gifts and souvenirs reflect both the cultural habits of the Japanese and Guam's low prices when compared to Japan for consumer durables.

Retailing provides an excellent example of the working of Guam's social structure. At the bottom, are the *neo-manachang*. The warehousemen, stock boys and other manual laborers in other retail operations. These positions are filled primarily by Micronesians. Although businessmen of other ethnic groups will sometimes bring in workers of their ethnic group to fill those positions. Frequently the workers he brings in are family members from his home country. Cashiers and sales assistants are also of this caste, many of them middle-aged Filipinas. Department chiefs, buyers and clerical staff primarily come from the *neo-acha'ot*. Owners, managers and management staff are of the *neo-matua*. From the *neo-matua* rise the most influential businessmen the *neo-chamorris*. Some of the *neo-chamorris* represent specific business interests, others represent ethnic groups. Scattered throughout the management staff of larger businesses and operating freelance among the smaller businesses are the *neo-makahnas* — the consultants, accountants, attorneys and so forth.

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## Tourism

Guam's number one industry is tourism.

Discounting the military, tourism began on Guam as little more than a gleam in the eye of Gov. Skinner in 1952. Skinner was the first civilian governor of Guam and many consider him to have been the best in the island's history. He declared in Public Law 67, enacted on 5 July 1952, that it was the intent of the government "to encourage the establishment of travel industries within the Territory of Guam."

Skinner had unusual foresight. When he established the direction of Guam's future, the island was closed by the military to public travel. All visitors needed a security clearance. Hotels and restaurants were virtually nonexistent and the airport claimed a single Quonset hut as a terminal. Japan, from which the future industry would get the lion's share of its customers, was a shambles of military defeat.

Tourism could not become a reality, however, until a decade later when Gov. Daniel got Pres. Kennedy to lift the Navy's travel ban in the summer of 1962. By that time Japan had recovered from the devastation of World War II sufficiently that her government allowed its citizens to roam the world.

There is a severe difficulty in determining the precise economic effect of tourism on Guam because tourism falls into several different headings of the Standard Industrial Classification Codes.

Studies done on Guam indicate that 1,300 people are employed in hotels and an estimated 3,000 to 5,329 jobs depend directly on visitor expenditures. An additional 500 to 3,000 jobs are created indirectly by tourism. The estimated employment attributable to tourism then ranges from 4,800 to 9,629.

Comparisons between tourism and other industries are not particularly revealing as it is difficult to determine whether, from the point of view of Guam's economy, an airman, for example, is a tourist or an employee. By the same token, if one attempts to compare employment in the tourist industry with that of the retailing industry, one will end up counting some people — retail clerks at Duty Free Shoppers for example — in both categories.

There is a built-in fallacy to the expenditures and the employment statistics anyway. Nearly 60 percent of the tourist's dollar is spent on shopping but 99 percent of all that is for sale is imported.

Of the 30 "tourist" or first class hotels on Guam, only four are American owned and only two of those four are locally owned. All the rest are owned by foreign companies. All but one tour company are foreign owned and most of the other tourist related businesses are foreign owned.

It is a tradition in Japan that the Japanese take pre-paid package tours rather than just going to a place and enjoying themselves. From the point of view of economics, what this means is that a large part of what a tourist spends never leaves his home country. The Japanese are even worse than Americans when it comes to visiting foreign destinations without leaving home. They buy a tour in Japan. They fly to Guam, usually on a Japanese airplane, stay in a Japanese hotel, eat in Japanese restaurants, take tours on air-conditioned Japanese buses from Japanese tour companies, and shop for souvenirs in Japanese-owned stores. Of course the employees of these enterprises salaries are spent on Guam, but due to language requirements, many of the employees are imported. A large part of the overhead goes into the local economy, but the profit and many of the

other economic benefits effectively stay in Japan. From the point of view of the international balance of trade, of course, the Japanese government and industry love this system.

Tourism is a neo-*makahna* enterprise but with a difference. Most tourism neo-*makahnas* gained their expertise through experience. There are a couple of terminal degree holding neo-*makahnas* working at the Guam Community College and as free-lance consultants. Most of the neo-*makahnas* on Guam received their experience off island. They started out in what is on Guam a neo-*manachang* position as a kitchen helper, busboy or maid in a hotel. They worked their way up to a neo-*eamti* position as reservation clerk, cook or housekeeping supervisor and gradually worked through ranks of the neo-*eamtis* to be the general manager — a neo-*makhna*. There are in the other tourism industries a mixed bag of neo-*manachang* laborers, primarily from the other islands of Micronesia and the Philippines; neo-*eanti* technicians from all over the world: neo-*acha'ot* workers, neo-*matua* managers and even one or two neo-*makahnas*. Within the industry are a few very influential people we would call neo-*chamorris*.

## Options — Distribution of Returned Land

There is an issue on Guam that is extremely divisive. It pits the neo-*matua* against the neo-*acha'ot* and both against the federal government. That issue is land ownership.

We recognize two concepts of land ownership. First is the emotional-historical concept of “This land is mine; God gave this land to me.” This is a political claim that is legally indefensible unless the group has dominant political power. Second, is the

concept of individual estates — of which the only one we generally consider outright ownership is fee simple.

Mark Twain once said that there is not one square inch of land in the hands of its rightful owner. A perfect illustration of this is land ownership on Guam. The emotional-historical owners of Guam would probably be the Prelatte people and their descendants. Since no one knows what happened to the Prelatte, their heirs are untraceable. If, as is likely, they were absorbed by the Chamorro people, their descendants are the Chamorro-Guamanians. Since this group no longer holds a majority on Guam, their political claim can only be enforced with the acquiescence of other groups. This emotional-historical concept of land ownership is not individual ownership.

Individual ownership, or fee simple, opens a whole new can of worms on Guam. Contrary to the idea of “primitive communism” espoused by some Marxist anthropologists, all peoples have some concept of individual land ownership or extremely restrictive group land ownership.

We can only guess at the landownership concepts and traditions of the Prelatte people. Depending on the causes for the change from Prelatte to Latte one must conclude that either the land ownership concepts evolved internally, were changed by external influences or some combination of the two into the ownership patterns existent at the time of Spanish discovery.

We have a fairly clear concept of the ownership patterns of the Latte people. By the time of Magellan’s arrival, the island’s social stratification had fixed society into several hereditary clans. Each clan had control of land and other resources. There was no unclaimed land. Fringe reefs, offshore reefs, submerged reefs and extensive stretches



of open ocean were owned. These lands, reefs and ocean areas were owned by the clan and inherited matrilineally. In other words, the clan headwoman inherited the land and it passed to her nearest female relative upon her death.

By ethnographic analogy we can safely conclude that this was not a freehold.

Although land, reef and water rights were inherited by an individual woman, they were not freeholds; but were owned by the extended family of the headwoman. She could not alienate them, for example. They were administered by the headwoman's dominant male relative — a maternal uncle, brother, son or sometimes by a maternal cousin. If the account of Freycinet is accurate, the land came with serfs. This was legal land ownership in Chamorro society.

When Legazpi sailed for the Philippines, he carried a commission as governor of the Islands of the Ladrones — it changed land ownership patterns forever.

In *A Complete History of Guam*, Carano and Sanchez say:

On 26 January 1565, Legazpi claimed all of the Marianas with the words: "I, Miguel López de Legazpi, governor and captain-general, by his Majesty, of the people and armada that goes in his royal service on discovery of the islands of the west, in the name of his royal majesty, the King Don Felipe our lord, take and apprehend as an actual property and as a royal possession, this land and all the lands subject to it." [Carano and Sanchez 1964: 46]

Note that he did not claim the islands in the name of Spain but as the private property of the king of Spain. No doubt the Chamorros would have questioned the King's right to claim these lands. Most would question his right to do so today. But in the 16th century few would have. This was a legal acquisition.

Chamorro land tenure made radical changes under the Spaniards. All land in Micronesia was owned by the king of Spain. The Spanish government held large tracts of land for defense and public purposes but allowed individuals and institutions to hold

land for private purposes. Matrilineal inheritance by a headwomen evolved into Spanish-style male primogeniture inheritance in which the oldest male inherited the entire landholding. A small gentry of about 12 families gradually came to control most of the largest landholdings on the island. They maintained serfdoms through debt peonage.

After the Spanish-American War, the United States took ownership of Guam. Few in 1898 would have questioned her right to do so. But, to insure the legality of the transfer, the United States paid Spain for the land she took. Because of her distance from the United States and her value as a coaling station, President McKinley placed Guam under the control of the Navy.

In 1899, the U.S.S. *Yosemite* brought Gov. Richard P. Leary to Guam. His aide, Lt. William E. Safford, arrived later. They almost immediately began registering land claims. They encouraged the break-up of excessively large landholdings, gave title to land to the people who actually worked it and they outlawed debt peonage. Every subsequent governor transferred and registered titles until 1915 when Gov. William J. Maxwell discovered that none of these titles was legal.

Maxwell discovered that when America took Guam, all land on Guam legally belonged to the king of Spain. At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War the American government became the legal owner of all crown land. Every square inch of Guam was crown land and became the property of the United States government. The only entity with the authority to give away or sell federal property is Congress. Congress had alienated no land so all land on Guam still belonged to the United States. The titles to land that were recognized, given away or sold by naval governors were null and void because the governors did not have the authority to alienate federal property.

During the final year of World War II, the military government took over much of the land on Guam. All of this land was legally the property of the United States.

Technically, the government was paying renters and squatters to relocate.

These land acquisitions led to the first freeholds in Guam's history. In November 1945, because of lengthy delays in getting Guamanians compensated for military land condemnations, the U.S. Congress passed P.L. 225, the Land Transfer Act. This law authorized the Navy to make federal land available to Guam residents in replacement for land acquired for military use.

In 1948 and 1949, the Navy offered Guamanians in temporary communities the opportunity to buy their lots at bargain prices rather than wait to rebuild on prewar locations. Hundreds of Guamanians accepted this offer. These people became the first fee-simple landowners on Guam.

With the exception of titles acquired under the Land Transfer Act, no fee simple title on Guam dates previous to 21 July 1950 when the Organic Act took effect.

So there were no individual freeholds on Guam before 1948. Most fee simple titles date from land distributions by the Government of Guam beginning in 1950. Land that was given or sold before that date was transferred by governors who did not have the legal authority to give or sell any land to anyone. So the "original landowners" were not landowners at all.

A tremendous opportunity was lost in 1950. As soon as GovGuam had ownership of former federal land, Gov. Carlton Skinner's administration began giving and selling much of it to "original landowners." He didn't know that the original landowners were never landowners. Perhaps it should have been mandatory for governors to read the

annual reports of previous governors. By returning this land to those who had held it previously, the administration solidified the prewar class system.

This disturbs Skinner not at all. In his letter, he says:

In any case, a program of one-man, one-vote inevitably opens up a society so that traditional barriers to social advancement are less rigid and more persons advance on merit. [Skinner 1997: 3]

Skinner had an opportunity to establish a much more equitable land use pattern than fee simple. In the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, the government owned all of the land. Individuals and companies who wanted to build on a piece of land leased it from the government for up to 99 years. These leases were transferable so the owner could use the land as collateral or sell the lease. The rents for this crown land provided most of the revenue for the Hong Kong government. A similar procedure could have been established for Guam in 1950. But the opportunity was lost.

Even with the land that it transferred, the naval government created huge legal problems.

As part of its efforts to clean up the villages after World War II, the military and then the naval government laid out new property maps. These maps consolidated lots into American-style lots and blocks.

The map of Agana, for example, erased the small, irregularly-shaped, prewar lots in favor of new, larger lots set within a series of 30 blocks. It also laid out new streets to replace Agana's winding roads. With this system, several landholders were left holding property within each new lot. Some holders also ended with a portion of a lot — or a fractional lot — because they lost part of their property to a new road.

In a *Pacific Daily News* article entitled “Agana lot system devised by feds after war,” Pamela Runquist says:

In order to begin consolidating the old lots into the new, the federal government condemned about 26 acres of land in Agana in the late 1940s. It did so primarily to build roads and set aside properties for government buildings. However, before the federal government could delve into the task of consolidating the majority of Agana's old lots, the Organic Act was passed in 1950, and the federal government transferred its Agana land to the government of Guam. [Runquist 19931017a: 13]

GovGuam consolidated these lots over the next 15 years by selling scattered parcels, including old roads and alleys to private buyers. Market forces also helped as some landholders bought each other out. But GovGuam eventually decided to simplify what had proved to be a complex process; and to produce more commercially suitable lots, by condemning land. This resulted in nine condemnations cases that were filed by GovGuam in District Court between 1965 and 1973. These cases condemned land in nine different property blocks.

Two of the cases, which awarded former landholders between \$10 and \$15 per square meter and some land exchanges, were closed within a few years when all the former property holders agreed to the compensation.

The remainder, however, languished through years of inactivity while both the court and GovGuam failed to act on outstanding claims. In 1991, District Court Judge Ronald Lew decided that the court calendar needed to be cleared of dozens of cases, including the Agana condemnations.

On Lew's order, GovGuam reactivated the Agana cases that had dozens of unresolved lots representing hundreds of holders and heirs. It hired the Guam Land Claims Office run by the legal firm Damon, Key, Bocken, Leong, Kupchak to do the research. With information compiled by that firm, the Guam Attorney General's office brought the cases to trial in October 1992. District Judge Alex Munson subsequently closed four more cases in 1993, leaving three final cases. Munson's final judgments in

those cases fixed compensation for unresolved lots at the levels initially set when the land was condemned.

Meanwhile, the final three cases were pending until June based on Munson's orders. Those orders allow three of 24 defendants one year to execute a land exchange with the government of Guam in lieu of accepting compensation.

The three defendants, each of whom challenged the government's actions via an attorney, are Francis L. Moylan; Yuk Lan Moylan, his wife; and the estate of Gregorio Perez. [Runquist, P. 19931017a: 13]

"I'm the only one left on that case," said Francis L. Moylan Sr. in an interview conducted for this project. "The Perez estate didn't file or follow up so they were obligated to accept whatever the government offered. They condemned six of my lots but they didn't give me any compensation." Later, the Chamorro Land Trust laid claim to the land. So the case continues.

Somehow, land in Agana, that was the pre-war home to about 12,000 residents, is now owned by a select few.

It isn't difficult to figure out how families with last names such as Ada, Calvo, Leon Guerrero and Moylan acquired land from pre-World War II landholders. In most cases they were the ones with the money and business acumen to do so. They also had the resources to hire go-betweens to negotiate sales.

What isn't always clear from the record books, though, is how those same families acquired Agana land from the government of Guam. GovGuam had Agana land to sell, thanks to property transfers by the federal government, in 1950, and the Guam government's own condemnations in the city in later years.

GovGuam also had a Department of Land Management policy that protected former landholder rights by requiring condemned land to be offered to them. The former landholder who held the largest piece of property within the lot got first dibs.

In an article called “An island’s capital for sale: Agana land now owned by a select few,” Runquist says:

Nevertheless, thorough deeds of sale and land exchanges, GovGuam sold Agana land to prominent island families who weren’t former owners.

The buyers “had very strong influence in the community ... they had the connections,” said Frank San Nicolas, a former director of the Department of Land Management and department employee for nearly 20 years beginning in 1950. “That is really and truly how (the land sales) came into being.” [Runquist 19931017b: 13]

Block 22 provides an excellent illustration of the transfer from old families to new.

Before the war there were all or portions of 53 lots within the block held by families with last names such as Ochai, Lizama, Limtiaco, Guzman and Flores. But by the early 1970s, only a few years after the block had been condemned by GovGuam, owners of the 12 new larger lots included names such as businessman Francis Moylan, attorney Edward Terlaje, G. Ricardo Salas and Pedro Diaz Perez, all former senators and all new Agana landowners.

Edward Terlaje, a three-time senator in the 1960s, was one of the most aggressive land buyers of the bunch. Terlaje owned land in Block 22 before it was condemned. He had purchased several pre-war lots within the block from Vicente Ojeda, a former tax assessor, shortly before GovGuam began its condemnations. Apparently, Ojeda was a go-between who bought the property for Terlaje from various families.

Terlaje continued to acquire land. For example, he negotiated a land exchange with GovGuam in 1971 that gave him a new larger lot in the block where he had no ownership before the government condemnation proceedings. This was a contradiction of the Land Management policy that required that former holders have priority on sales. The agency responsible for approving government land sales at the time, the Government

Land Transfer Board, realized the impropriety of not offering the land to the former holders.

Runquist says:

According to 1970 board minutes, board member Alfred Bordallo questioned at one meeting whether the Pangelinan family, a former owner within the lot should be given the chance to buy the property instead of Terlaje. He "would have priority if he wanted it," Bordallo was quoted as saying of Mr. Pangelinan.

However, at the next meeting, the minutes state that Pangelinan had been invited to attend but was not interested.

It is not shown how that message was relayed to the board.

The board subsequently approved the exchange in March 1971, and the governor signed the deed in June. Part of that lot now lies beneath the Union Bank.

Terlaje declined to be interviewed for this and other Agana land stories.

Meanwhile, Nicolas B. Pangelinan, one of seven Pangelinan heirs to Lot 646, the lot in question, said he was living in the U.S. mainland at the time so he wasn't sure what happened.

However, Pangelinan said he didn't think anyone in his family was asked about the sale because he would have heard about it. He also said, although the incident occurred more than 20 years ago, the government's actions still seem unjust.

"I don't want to be vengeful about it," he said, "but it doesn't seem fair."  
[Runquist 19931017b: 13]

San Nicolas, the former director of the Department of Land Management, said that these kinds of shenanigans were not unusual. He said that it is not surprising that rules were bent and no one complained because the buyers were powerful individuals whom former landholders respected or feared.

The early 1970s saw the emergence of political activity toward recognition of the emotional-historical concept of group land ownership. In 1974, the 12th Guam Legislature passed the Chamorro Land Trust Act. The act is patterned after the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act that grants limited landholdings such as homesteads to indigenous Hawaiians. The Chamorro Land Trust Act goes much further. It authorizes



the Chamorro Land Trust Commission to lease “Chamorro Homelands” (all GovGuam land) only to “native Chamorros.”

But no one had a definition of “native Chamorro” so the law was not implemented for 18 years. Many suspect that the whole Chamorro Land Trust Act was a political sop that was thrown to the Chamorro-Guamanians to get their political support but that there was never really any intent to implement it.

Whether the Legislature intended to implement the act or not, a young activist named Angel Santos formed an organization called the *Chamoru* Nation. The *Chamoru* Nation sued the Ada administration and won. The court ordered the governor to form the Chamorro Land Trust Commission and implement the law. It was determined that the definition of a “Chamorro” would be anyone who became a United States citizen because of the Organic Act. This includes many people who probably didn’t have a drop of Chamorro blood. If two noncitizens have a baby on Guam, that baby is a United States citizen because of the Organic Act and a Chamorro by the Chamorro Land Trust’s definition.

Remember the land condemnations immediately after the World War II? They led to major legal action in the 1980’s.

Because of the 1977 Omnibus Territories Act, the issue of post-World War II military and naval land condemnations came again to the forefront. Interest was particularly aroused when Del. Antonio Won Pat estimated that the 1980 value of the land taken could be \$3.5 billion.

The first major case, *Stanley Castro Limtiaco vs. the United States of America* caused a flood of claims that eventually reached a total of 1,377 for 3,525 parcels of land. All of the cases were combined into a single class-action suit.

The Justice Department and the plaintiffs' attorneys led by John Bohn negotiated an out-of-court settlement to all the claims for a total payment of \$39.5 million. The "original landowners" were outraged. They immediately fired Bohn and challenged the fairness of the settlement. District Court Judge Robert Peckham decided that the offer was fair. Most of the claimants accepted the judge's decision and accepted their share of the settlement. Evaluations were made of the value of the land in the late 1940's and the money was prorated among the 5,200 former owners and their heirs.

But 200 of the largest claimants refused to accept the settlement. So litigation continues.

The issue of land ownership pits the neo-*matua* against the neo-*acha'ot* and both against the federal government. The neo-*matua* class is largely made up of the large landowners and the pre-war large landholders of the island. They have an interest in maintaining their current titles and converting their prewar holdings to fee simple.

The neo-*acha'ot* come, largely, from families who have no land and no claim to federal or GovGuam land. They support the idea of returning to the pre-contact concept of land ownership in which all GovGuam land on Guam belongs to the Chamorro-Guamanians as a single clan and is then leased to individual Chamorros.

In its normal freehanded way, the legislature has passed laws to satisfy both groups. It passed the Chamorro Land Trust act that mandates that all unused GovGuam land and federal land that is returned to GovGuam be leased to Chamorro-Guamanians.

In an effort to include other ethnic groups in the political process as their supporters, several Legislatures passed a series of laws collectively known as the “Land for the Landless Laws.” These laws gave this same excess land to people of any ethnic derivation who owned no land. It was administered by the village mayors. The “Land for the Landless Laws” effectively repealed the Chamorro Land Trust Act but they were themselves repealed by the 22nd Guam Legislature.

But major financial support is provided by the neo-*Matua* so Public Law 22-145 was passed by the 22nd Guam Legislature. It mandates that all unused GovGuam land and federal land that is returned to GovGuam be returned to the “original landowners.”

Obviously these laws contradict each other. The ultimate solution to land ownership on Guam will be decided in the courts and in the court of public opinion through the legislative process.

## Options — Political Status

The second divisive subject is political status.

Under the Organic Act, Guam is an unincorporated territory of the United States. This means that its status as a United States territory is intended to be temporary — it is not considered a viable candidate for statehood. It is, in the truest sense of the word, a colony. The self-government that the Guamanian people have achieved is at the sufferance of the federal government. As Dr. Rogers put it, “This territory and its government is completely the creature of the United States Congress. Congress can close down this whole government and tell them to go home. In law, they have that right. The United States can sell this island.

“For some time now many Guamanians, who are aware of this have been saying ‘Let’s get tied in, let’s get a permanent status.’”

Guam’s first attempt to achieve some permanent status came in 1968 with the enactment by the Legislature of Public Law 9-244, “An act to authorize a constitutional convention for the purpose of reviewing and making recommendations on the proposed modifications to the Organic Act of Guam.” The convention was in session from 1 June 1969 to 1 July 1970. Unfortunately no enabling legislation had been provided by the U.S. Congress so the proposed constitution was really nothing more than a list of recommendations to the U.S. Congress of modifications to the Organic Act.

On September 4, 1976, Guam held a Political Status Referendum as a part of its legislative elections. Voters were offered five choices:

**1. I VOTE IN FAVOR OF THE STATUS QUO**

A vote in favor of status quo may mean:

(1) That Guam will continue to be an unincorporated territory of the United States with all rights, responsibilities and limitations as set forth in the Organic Act of 1950.

(2) That Guam does not need its own constitution.

(3) That no effort shall be made to seek changes in the Organic Act or the application of federal laws to Guam, other than on a one-by-one basis as is presently permitted.

**2. I VOTE IN FAVOR OF IMPROVING OUR PRESENT STATUS**

A vote in favor of improving our present status may mean:

(1) That Guam shall continue its close relationship with the United States.

(2) That Guam shall seek to improve portions of the Organic Act and other federal laws to improve the economic and social opportunities of its citizens.

(3) That Guam should not bargain away important rights it already possesses, such as the right to receive federal grants-in-aid and the right to retain all federal income taxes paid on Guam.

(4) That final approval of any improvement in Guam’s status must be approved by the citizens of Guam by referendum.

(5) That Guam should seek the right to draft its own constitution.

**3. I VOTE IN FAVOR OF INDEPENDENCE**

A vote in favor of independence may mean:

(1) That the people of Guam want the Governor, Guam’s Delegate to Congress and the Legislature to immediately communicate the desires of the

people to become independent from the United States to the President, Congress and the United Nations, and shall actively seek the political separation of Guam from the United States.

(2) That Guam would seek the greatest degree of control over its local situation while remaining affiliated with the United States for defense purposes.

(3) That Guam would seek the right to join international organizations and seek economic assistance from such international organizations.

(4) That independence would bring full control over immigration and foreign investment, with United States interests on Guam arranged by treaty.

(5) That Guam would better be able to maintain and develop the Chamorro, heritage and the uniqueness of the Guam culture.

#### **4. I VOTE IN FAVOR OF STATEHOOD**

A vote in favor of statehood may mean:

(1) That the people of Guam want the Governor, Guam's Delegate to Congress and the Legislature to immediately inform the President and the Congress of the United States of Guam's desire to become a state, and to actively work toward achieving the goal of statehood for the Territory of Guam.

(2) That it is the desire for Guam to have full equality with the rest of the United States, both for the citizens of Guam and as an organized government unit.

(3) That Guam would work to receive full voting representation in the United States Congress and the right to participate in the election of the President of the United States.

(4) That present income taxes would be remitted to the federal government, rather than the Treasury of Guam.

(5) That a permanent relationship with the United States would be insured which would permit full benefits of the democratic structure of the United States Constitution to be accorded to Guam.

#### **5. OTHER**

A Vote in Favor of Other May Mean:

(1) That the voter supports some relationship with the United States or some other form of government that is not mentioned in the other four options.

(2) Write-in title of status preferred if you wish. [GovGuam 1976]

Only 1,586 voted to maintain the status quo. The clear winner was commonwealth under the description of improving the status quo. It garnered 10,221 out of the total 17,607 votes cast, (58%). Selecting the option of statehood were 4,185. Only 1,004 opted for independence with 600 marking the catch-all "other." This was a vote for commonwealth under another name.

The constitutional convention of 1977 was held with the approval and encouragement of the U.S. Congress. The 32 delegates were chosen in a non-partisan

election on 16 April 1977. On 1 July 1977, the delegates held their first plenary session. During the five-and-a-half months that the convention met, many issues came up that caused bitter division among the delegates.

There was the issue of qualifications of a governor to hold office. There was a proposal that would have required that a governor either be born on Guam or be a direct descendant of Chamorros. This proposal was defeated and later replaced with a compromise 15-year residency requirement.

There was a proposal that was tabled that would have “protected the rights” of unborn children. There was a proposal, also tabled, that would have allowed pregnant women to have abortions. A proposal giving homosexuals the right to marry was defeated as was a “right to work” provision.

Among the provisions that passed was a provision that capital punishment be banned, a provision that Chamorro and English be the official languages, and a provision that persons born of married and unmarried parents have equal rights.

And Article XI, Chamorro Culture, which stated, among other things:

**To redress past discrimination and provide equal opportunity for the Chamorro people, special rights for Chamorros to offshore fishing and harvesting of marine resources may be provided by law. (Constitutional Convention 1977)**

On 15 December 1977, all 32 delegates signed the constitution. After the draft was approved by the federal government, a special election was held on 4 August 1979 in which voters were asked, “Do you approve the proposed constitution for the Territory of Guam?” While 2,367 voted in favor of the constitution, a resounding 10,671 voted against it.

Rogers believes that there was nothing seriously wrong with the constitution. “They had a constitutional convention,” he said, “not bad at all. They looked at all the

model constitutions — Alaska, Hawaii, the whole thing — and they wrote a very moderate constitution — with the usual minor controversies.”

Dizon, who was the executive director of the convention, agreed. “It was an experience that was very similar to any convention anywhere. There were a lot of compromises reached. And I felt that the compromise arrived at finally was a fine document.”

Why, then, did the voters so overwhelmingly reject it? There are probably 10,671 individual reasons for rejecting the proposed constitution. But there are some recurring themes that arise when the rejection is discussed. The first theme is procedural.

Rogers said, “They went to the people and for the first time they asked the people not ‘Do you want a constitution?’ but ‘Do you want this constitution that we have already written?’ So the people said, ‘No!’”

Dizon suggested that the results could have been far different if they had not been working under a federal provision that required that the document be submitted to the people as a whole. “Anybody, including myself, would find fault in such a big document. Who wouldn’t? Even with the *U.S. Constitution*. Perhaps we should have used the Hawaii concept. They just voted for or against specific provisions. The approved provisions become a part of the constitution. We didn’t do that here because the federal law didn’t provide for this process.”

Federal restrictions were, in fact, one of the primary reasons for the failure of the constitution. Dizon said, “One of the overriding factors for its defeat was an issue that cropped up during the campaign for and against the constitution. Some of the leaders of the campaign against the constitution started to say that there were a lot of limitations and

restrictions imposed upon us in the writing of the constitution. This was true. I have to accept that. We were given parameters by the U.S. Congress under which we would write the constitution. The problem was not really voiced that seriously before the convention but it came out during the campaign.”

Dizon admitted that these parameters were the same that would be imposed upon a territory that was writing a state constitution. “The problem,” he said, “is that these restrictions hurt people’s pride. Many people began to feel that the U.S. was not looking at us as mature citizens. Even the constitutional lawyers who came from Washington seemed to look down on the delegates.”

One of the problem areas was the provision for a supreme court. There was an objection to this from lawyers who wanted to keep the system of appeal that was in place.

This was explained by Rogers. “The judicial system at the time was heavily favored by the law community here which is predominantly statesiders, who made a hell of a lot of money from it. If you are a lawyer and you have to carry an appeals case to San Francisco, you’re going to make a lot more money then if you step around the corner.”

Several people said, including Chamorro-Guamanians, that they objected to the special privileges granted to Chamorros under Article XI. Although the article only permits the future passage of laws that would be beneficial to a specific ethnic group and does not grant such rights in itself, it sounds discriminatory. As both Rogers and Dizon pointed out, such a law if passed would be unlikely to survive court tests. Nonetheless, many people are not knowledgeable enough in law to know that such a law, regardless of provisions for it in a territorial constitution, is going to be in violation of the *U.S.*



*Constitution.* That article seems to have been taken from a provision for Eskimos and Aleuts in the Alaskan Constitution and applied thoughtlessly to Guam where it does not apply and would not be appropriate. There are no Chamorros anymore and Chamorro-Guamanians do not depend on subsistence fishing for their livelihood.

For whatever reasons the individual voters may have had, the electorate, as a whole, resoundingly voted down the proposed constitution. This was not, in the long run, a bad thing. Rogers said, “The defeat of the constitution was beneficial for Guam because it stimulated a real move toward a definition of status — to move Guam out of a dependent colonial status toward some sort of a relationship that is defined.”

It did exactly that. It began the move toward commonwealth.

On 12 January 1982 a political status election was held.

The people were presented with seven options—statehood, independence, free association, incorporated territory, commonwealth, status quo and “other.” Only 37 percent of the normally conscientious electorate showed up. A plurality of 49 percent chose commonwealth over the next most popular option of statehood which got 26 percent of the vote.

According to Rogers who was an advisor to the Governor, to Gov. Bordallo commonwealth was only one step in a process. First he wanted to establish Guam as a commonwealth — a status which the Northern Marianas already had. The Commonwealth of Guam would have a constitution very similar to the C.N.M.I.’s Constitution. Then he wanted to merge Guam and the C.N.M.I. into a single commonwealth under a single constitution. This would give Chamorro-Guamanians and

Chamorro-Marianos a firm majority. Then he wanted to get the Commonwealth of the Marianas admitted as a state — a state dominated by Guam.

Because of a lack of interest on the part of the Department of the Interior, Del. Won Pat introduced a resolution calling on President Ronald Reagan to designate an official to negotiate a status change with Guam — it went nowhere.

In 1983, Won Pat led a congressional delegation to Guam. On the recommendation of Reps. Manuel Lujan Jr. and Morris Udall; Bordallo, Won Pat and Sen. Carl T.C. Gutierrez decided to follow the legislative route rather than negotiate with the executive branch.

In 1984, the 18th Guam Legislature established a bipartisan commission with members representing all three branches of government, the village commissioners council and the public to draft a Guam commonwealth proposal to submit to Congress.

When he took office Gov. Joseph F. Ada reconstituted the Commission on Self-Determination in his own image. He appointed himself chairman, had the commission agree on a constitution and scheduled a vote.

Rather than vote on the act as a whole, voters were asked to vote on each of its 12 articles. Only 39 percent of Guam's registered voters turned out. They approved 10 of the articles but rejected Article 1 that deals with "mutual consent" to initiate any change in the political relationship between Guam and the United States and "special" Chamorro-Guamanian rights; and they rejected Article 7 that deals with Guam's control of immigration.

The Commission did a quick minimal rewrite and put the two articles to the voters again. The new articles were even more strident in their advocacy of special rights for

Chamorro-Guamanians and control of immigration. Article 1 now contained a special election at some time in the future in which only those of Chamorro descent could vote. Article 7 that had previously said that Guam would eventually take control of immigration now said that federal control of immigration would end in two years.

This time the government mounted a major publicity campaign. All Chamorro-Guamanian incumbent and former legislators supported the articles. This time more Chamorro-Guamanians showed up — 58 percent of registered voters cast ballots — both articles passed easily.

The act was submitted to Congress where it was referred for study to an interagency task force. In August 1989, the task force released a long detailed and critical report.

In December 1989, the House Committee on Insular and International Affairs held a hearing in Honolulu on the draft act. The chairman of the committee, Rep. Ronald De Lugo, wanted to sit down and negotiate changes in the language of the act. Ada said there would be no compromise on the Guam side because the people had already approved the act. De Lugo directed the federal task force to confer with the Commission on Self-Determination. Meetings were held, but with one side unwilling to negotiate, no progress was made.

De Lugo warned that if Guam's new purpose was really free association with a commonwealth label, the whole process was doomed to failure.

And that is exactly what happened. The most contentious issues are the constitutionally questionable "special Chamorro rights," the unconstitutional concept of mutual consent, that would give Guam the power to declare federal laws null and void; and GovGuam control of immigration. As of 1999, Guam's quest for commonwealth is seen by many as a dead issue.

The three most divisive issue in the Commonwealth Act are “mutual consent,” local control of immigration and Chamorro-Guamanian self-determination.

The whole concept of “mutual consent,” or the ability of the Guam Legislature to declare federal laws effecting the status of Guam null and void, is both unconstitutional and unenforceable. Even the Southern states have given up the concept of nullification. And it is unenforceable because no Congress can write a law that binds a subsequent Congress. What happens if one Congress accepts the act with mutual consent and the next Congress repeals that section of the act?

Local control of immigration pits the neo-*matua* against the neo-*acha’ot* and both against the federal government.

The neo-*acha’ot* support local control of immigration so they can control the immigration of foreigners — particularly from the Philippines and other parts of Micronesia. The neo-*acha’ots* fear the loss of political control of the island. They think that if they can control immigration, they can ensure that Filipinos who come to Guam are prevented from becoming permanent residents. And they hope to prevent the immigrants who have become permanent residents from using the United States immigration law’s provision for reunification of families to bring relatives onto Guam and ultimately to gain citizenship.

To do this they want to remove Guam’s position as a port of entry for citizenship purposes. When an h-2 worker comes to Guam, he can work for a year or two before returning to his homeland. If he can get an employer to sponsor him, he can become an immigrant and get the coveted “green card.” He can then bring his wife and children to the island. If they stay for the required number of years, they become eligible for United

States citizenship. They can then bring their immediate family as immigrants — further diluting the Chamorro-Guamanian plurality. The Commonwealth act proposes to eliminate Guam from this provision so an immigrant would have to go to one of the states to establish citizenship and bring his family over.

The neo-*matuas* have an entirely different motivation. Most of the large capitalists on the island are of the neo-*matua*. Many of them bring neo-*manachang* in from other areas of Asia and the Pacific to provide low-cost labor. They currently make a lot of money importing labor at a cost as high as perhaps \$20.00 a day and billing the customer \$100.00 a day.

Finally the concept of Chamorro-Guamanian self-determination is based on a misunderstanding of history and the basic concept of democracy. Self-determination must include all the people who reside in a political entity. The Chamorro-Guamanians are a minority on Guam. Because they still enjoy political control they know that this is their last opportunity to inflict Chamorro-Guamanian control on the island forever. It is difficult to imagine the U.S. Congress or U.S. Supreme court allowing such a provision. Particularly an anti-affirmative action Republican Congress and more conservative Supreme Court.

Some have suggested that the solution is independence. But, from the Chamorro-Guamanian point of view, that would be counterproductive. Now voting is restricted to American citizens who are residents of Guam. This allows the Chamorro-Guamanians to maintain their electoral majority. If Guam becomes independent, every resident of the island would have a say in her political system — the Chamorro-Guamanian electoral majority would instantly disappear.

It is a principle of democracy that the majority can at any time change the political status of a political entity. When asked when Americans expressed their right of self-determination, the proponents of Chamorro self-determination reply "when they ratified the Constitution." But a generation cannot bind its descendants. The majority always has the right to change the political system. They claim, quite correctly, that an individual American or a minority group of Americans who do not like the United States political system is free to emigrate to another place.

This is obviously true. And conversely, if a Chamorro-Guamanian wants a political system that is controlled by those of Chamorro descent, he need only move 40 miles north to the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. In the C.N.M.I. they also have local control of immigration. It has turned out disastrously for the society, but they have it. And it is one of the major reasons given by the U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service for objecting to this provision in the Commonwealth Act.

Even the population of Guam seems to question the wisdom of some aspects of the Commonwealth act.

It seems that most Guamanians, particularly Chamorro-Guamanians, are demanding looser ties with the United States. But the perception of the sentiments of the population are colored by those who squeal the loudest. In May 1998, Merrill and Associates Inc. conducted a telephone poll of 421 registered voters. Its margin of error is 4.8 percent. The results are shocking to advocates of a looser relationship with the United States and special rights for Chamorro-Guamanians. More than 56 percent of the population polled preferred the status quo. Of those who identified themselves as

Chamorro-Guamanians 54 percent preferred the status quo. Of the 44 percent who want a change, 78 percent (76 percent for Chamorro-Guamanians) want closer ties with the United States. More than 69 (53) percent object to a Chamorro-Guamanian only vote to determine future political status. Of those polled, 58 (38) percent do not want local control of immigration and wage laws and 58 (49) percent want to keep Guam a port of entry to the United States for citizenship purposes.

“This is distinctly different from the results of the 1986 election,” Jay Merrill, President of Merrill and Associates, said in an interview conducted for this project, “Since 1986 these numbers have flip flopped. All of the provisions in that act that were in this survey passed in 1986 but now they have reversed. The special interest groups that have advocated these position have failed.”

Merrill explained the change in attitude concerning local control of immigration and the use of Guam as a port of entry for citizenship purposes:

“When the Commonwealth Act was written in the mid 80’s. There was a movement to convince the Federal Government that American wage and labor laws needed to reflect Asia. For example OSHA was fining local contractors for using bamboo scaffolding. Local contractors wanted to pay wages and use construction methods that were more in line with Asian practices.”

This has changed. Now local people want to control who comes on the island. The *neo-matuas* want to be able to bring in h-2 workers and pay them whatever the traffic will bear. The *neo-acha’ot* class wants to prevent the importation of h-2 workers to improve wages and preserve the current ethnic balance.

“We don’t have any hard data to demonstrate this,” Merrill continued, “but it appears the some fear that local control over labor laws may promote discrimination among races and classes.”

Land ownership and political status are both highly charged emotional issues that must work their way through the legal and political systems.



# Conclusions

This study has investigated one of the United States' few remaining territories — the island of Guam. The people of Guam are Americans in every sense of the word. But the island hosts several subcultures. The dominant one is the Chamorro-Guamanian.

This paper has performed two primary functions.

First, it related the history of Guam from its earliest human habitation to the present with particular emphasis on its evolution as an American colony.

Second is to supported the hypothesis that the prehistoric social structure of the island is still in effect. It demonstrated that this evolution was continuous throughout all of Guam's history. It also demonstrated that an understanding of this social structure is a useful tool in understanding Guam's current society.

Perhaps a brief chapter review is in order.

The first seven chapters present a comprehensive review of the history of human habitation of the island.

The first chapter is about the prehistoric colonization of the island by man. Human habitation of the island of Guam may have begun as early as 6,000 years ago with the Prelatte culture. Evidence of the Latte culture begins about 1,800 years ago. The change from the Prelatte culture to the Latte was probably the result of forced immigration. It became a fully developed Oceanic culture and was discussed in some detail. Particular emphasis was placed on the social stratification of the culture and the likelihood that the lowest class of the Latte culture, the *manachangs*, were the remnants of the Prelatte people.

The second, third and fourth chapters trace the history of the Spanish discovery and colonization of Micronesia. This conquest followed the tradition of Spanish colonization but the island never became a mature Spanish colony. It was a backwater of the empire. The Spanish first attempted to convert the Chamorros to Catholicism with mixed success. They then committed genocide on the Chamorro people reducing their numbers drastically. This was particularly devastating to the Chamorro male population. The Spanish brought in a few Spaniards, but mostly Filipinos and Mexican Amerindians to replace the slain men. This created the Chamorro-Guamanian. They used the precontact social system to control the populace. With minor adaptations, the Chamorro-Guamanians managed to keep their precontact class system more or less intact.

The fifth chapter is the story of the acquisition of the island of Guam by the United States at the end of the Spanish American War and the first American administration. Guam went through a period of Americanization during which time the Chamorro-Guamanians began to be integrated into the American culture. For the most part this was voluntary. But still, they kept much of their precontact class system.

The sixth chapter is the story of Guam's conquest by Japan during the Second World War and the American invasion and reconquest near the end of that war. The second world war was, after the Spanish-Chamorro Wars, the most disruptive phase of Guam's history. But the Chamorro-Guamanians maintained their identification with and loyalty to America. This chapter continues through reconstruction and massive military buildup during which time the practice of bringing neo-*manachangs* from the Philippines was begun. This Chapter ends with the signing of the Organic Act of Guam in 1950.

The Act began Guam's development into a largely self-governing unincorporated territory of the United States.

The seventh chapter is the history of Guam under the Organic Act. It brings the history up to the end of 1998. And it demonstrates the survival of the Chamorro system of social stratification in an almost intact form.

"Discussion" discusses Guam's various colonial experiences and the preservation of the precontact system of social stratification. It illustrates social stratification with a discussion of its place in the current government and economy. It demonstrates the usefulness of understanding Guam's class system by discussing two of Guam's thorniest problems — land tenure and future political status in the light of Guam's history.

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The director of the Department of Agriculture gave me an overview of agriculture on Guam.

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1978 "Capitalization of a Vegetable Farm on Guam." Unpublished paper.

Victor Artero researched and wrote this paper as a part of his MS degree. I used it for the food production section.

1975-1999 Personal interviews.

He has also been generous with his time. He has given me several interviews and reviewed much of this paper.

ARAGO, J.

1823 *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, Commanded by Captain Freycinet, During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820; on a Scientific Expedition Undertaken by Order of the French Government. In a Series of Letters to a Friend, by J. Arago, Draftsman to the Expedition. With Twenty-Six*

*Engravings to which is Prefixed, the Report Made to the Academy of Sciences, on the General Results of the Expedition.* 1971.

Arago was the draftsman for the expedition. He produced some outstanding color and black and white prints. He also wrote some "traveler's description" type reports on all of the islands he visited. He was very anti-Spanish. From him I gained insights into the Spanish colony.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

1977 *Economic Adjustment for the Territory of Guam.*

I used this as background information for the economy essay.

BADGER, R.

1971 *Report Covering the Economic Growth of the Territory of Guam and Capital Requirements Necessary to Support Growth for the Period 1971-1977.* Standard Research Consultants.

The title tells it. This is useful background for the history of Guam's economic development.

BALLENDORF, D. editor.

1993 *The Guam Recorder.*

The Recorder is the occasionally published journal of MARC. It is very useful.

1975-1999 Personal conversation.

Dirk Ballendorf has been extremely helpful in contributing his encyclopedic knowledge of Micronesia to this project. He has read and commented on all of it.

Barber, B.

1993-1998 Personal conversations.

Bob Barber is an agricultural economist at the University of Guam. He was very helpful in enlightening me about the agricultural situation on Guam.

BARTLETT, D.

1970 "Vice Admiral Cuichi Hara: Unforgettable Foe." *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, October.

This is a useful article about a Japanese commander in the Pacific during W.W.II.

BAYNUM, ANDRI

19951227 "You, too, can enjoy prosperity with GovGuam," *P.D.N.*: 21.

This is a letter to the editor in the *P.D.N.* in which a GovGuam worker ridicules GovGuam hiring and personnel practices.

BEARDSLEY, C.

1964 *Guam Past and Present.*

This is one of the classic studies of Guam. Unfortunately, Beardsley is not very knowledgeable about Guam. I primarily used his analysis of Guam in the early 1960s.

BEERS, H.

1944 *American Naval Occupation and Government of Guam 1898-1902.*

This is a history of the first four years of the American administration by a participant. It's ethnic chauvinism is embarrassing. It provides insight into the thinking of the earliest American community on Guam.

BIRKELAND, C.

As director of the University of Guam Marine Laboratory, Dr. Birkeland gave me several interviews and answered numerous off-the-wall questions.

BLAIR, E. and J. ROBERTSON.

1903-1909 *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803.* 1963.

This monumental multivolume work on the history of the Philippines from European discovery until 1803 is invaluable. Its weakness is that it was written before citations were a required part of scholarship. Because Micronesia was part of the *Audiencia* of Manila, much of the research in this book also applies to Guam.

BOLTON, H.

1929 *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands.* 1964.

This collection of Bolton's classic essays on the Spanish borderlands that became part of the United States is extremely useful because, though not mentioned, Guam fits the pattern. It is helpful to understand Spanish colonialism when studying Spanish Guam.

BOORSTIN, D.

1965 *The Americans: The National Experience*. New York: Random House.

This is the only one of Boorstin's trilogy containing essays and lectures on American history that I quoted. All three are excellent. Boorstin provides valuable insights into early United States trade patterns.

BORG, D. AND S. OKAMOTO.

1973 *Pearl Harbor as History: Japanese-American Relations 1931-1941*.

An excellent analysis of the decade preceding the attack on Pearl Harbor. I found it invaluable in analyzing Japanese strategic planning.

BOWRON, B.; L. MARX; AND A. ROSE.

1960 "Literature and Covert Culture." *Studies in American Culture: Dominant Ideas and Images*: 84-95.

This essay is an excellent explanation of covert culture.

BRADDON, R.

1983 *Japan Against the World: 1941-2041*.

This is a somewhat strident analysis of Japanese economic aggression with predictions of the future of Japanese international intentions. It provides valuable insight into Japanese sociology.

BRADLEY, W.

1930a "Letter to Capt. W.R. Furlong, 2 May 1930," National Archives.

This is Bradley's self-justification for moving the Guamanians toward democracy faster than the Navy department felt was prudent.

BROOKS, J.



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1980 *About K.G.E.I.* K.G.E.I. publicity handout.

This publicity handout is the history of the radio station from which Tweed got the information he put in his newsletter. I used it to trace the history of K.G.E.I.

BRUCE, T.

19930926 "Uncle's ties to Asia can't be uprooted," *P.D.N.*: 23.

I quoted in its entirety this excellent analysis of the importance of Asian trade and foreign relations to the United States.

BRUNAL-PERRY, O.

1993 *A Question of Sovereignty: What Legitimate Right Did Spain Have to its Territorial Expansion?* MARC.

Brunal-Perry questions the right of Spain to her colonies. By 1993 standards they had none but by 15 and 16 century standards they had every. It provides valuable insight into the history of land ownership on Guam.

BUCK, P.

1938 *Vikings of the Pacific.* 1972

This is the classic study of Oceanic exploration. Although dated, it is still excellent.

BURNEY, J.

1803 *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean: Part I.* 1969.

1806 *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean: Part II.* 1969.

1813 *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean: Part III.* 1969.

1816 *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean: Part IV.* 1969.

1817 *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean: Part V.* 1969.

This early 19th century history of the exploration of the Pacific is invaluable.

CALVO, P.

1980 Personal conversation.

When he was governor, Paul Calvo gave me an interview for a feature article I wrote.

CARANO, P.

- 1972a "The Treaty of Paris: A Significant Document." *Guam Recorder*, no. 1.
- 1972b "Dumont d'Urville: Early Visitor to Guam." *Guam Recorder*, no. 1.
- 1972c "Yankees Capture Guam." *Guam Recorder*, no. 1.
- 1972d "Chronic Shortage of Skilled Labor in Guam." *Guam Recorder*, no. 4.
- 1972e "Glimpses at the Historical Development of Representative Self-Government in Guam." *Guam Recorder*, no. 4.
- 1974 "British Privateers Visit Guam." *Guam Recorder*, no. 3.
- 1975 "Who's Who in Guam History." *Guam Recorder*, no. 1.
- 1976 "The Ancient Chamorros." *Guam Recorder*, no. 1

Paul Carano wrote numerous valuable essays on the history of Guam.

CARANO, P. AND P. SANCHEZ.

- 1964 *A Complete History of Guam*.

This is the first published history of Guam in English. Although the sections on Geography and Biology are weak and they do not discuss the Prelatte period, until 1995 this was the best published history of Guam.

CARTER, L.

- 1981 *Demographic Modernization of Guam: 1950-1970*. Ph.D. Diss.

This analysis of demographic changes that took place on Guam between 1950 and 1970 is useful to understanding the current government and economy of Guam.

CHAMISSO A. VON

- 1821 "Remarks and Opinions of the Naturalist of the Expeditions," *Otto Von Kotzebue: A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*. Vol. III.

This is one of a number of books published in the 19th century about European voyages of exploration. Chamisso of quite critical of Spanish colonial administration. One wonders what he would have said had he been around eighty years later to see German colonial administration.

COCHRANE, J.

- 19951129 "Employee denies saying Orsini ordered deletions," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19951208 "\$15,000 loan 'questionable,'" *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19951213 "SCOVE chairman: We didn't OK loan," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19951214 "Orsini blames media," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19951215 "'Council knew of the loan,'" *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19951220 "SCOVE chairman: We didn't OK loan," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19951221 "Legal opinion faults Orsini," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960104 "Committee to Orsini: What took so long?" *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960112 "Go home, staff told," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960117 "Senator reportedly overspent \$500,000," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960130 "Orsini's pay withheld," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960131 "Orsini repays \$10,000," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960411 "Orsini out, Nelson in as Rules chairman," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960719 "Senator threatens criminal investigation," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.
- 19960808 "Bill would end Legislature's job lottery" *P.D.N.*: 3.
- 19961008 "Angry senators hurl more than insults," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.

This series of news reports chronicles a wondrously childish period in the Guam Legislature.

COHEN, W.

1980 *America's Response to China: An Interpretive History of Sino-American Relations.*

An excellent history of American-Chinese relations. I used it to understand America's reasons for establishing a Pacific empire.

COMMERCE, DEPARTMENT OF.

1949-1999 *Annual Economic Review.*

This annual economic analysis of Guam is invaluable.

COONTZ, R.

1930 *From the Mississippi to the Sea.*

Admiral Coontz' autobiography is excellent. The section about his period on Guam although self-serving is very illustrative.

CORTE, P.

1870a "Eleven Years as Governor of Guam: 1855-1866." *Guam Recorder*, 1971 no. 1.

1870b "Memoirs of Philippe de la Corte." *Guam Recorder*, 1972 no 4

1875 *A Descriptive and Historical Report on the Marianas Islands.* MARC 1970.

Gov. Corte's analysis of Guam's Spanish administration is excellent. It is probably the best insight we have into the Spanish colonial administration of Guam.

COX, L.  
1926 *The Island of Guam*.

Cox was an engineer who worked on Guam during the early part of the American era. Again his discussions of the Chamorro people and culture are embarrassingly chauvinistic.

CRAMPTON H.  
1921 "A Journey to the Mariana Islands — Guam and Saipan." *Natural History*.  
March.

Henry E. Crampton was a naturalist who wrote an article for *Natural History* magazine describing Guam in 1920.

CROFTS, G. AND E. JOHNSTON.  
1975 "Governor Gregorio Santa Maria Saves and Enlarges the College of San Juan de Letran." *Guam Recorder*, 1975, no. 1.

This article is useful to an understanding of the Spanish attempts to educate the Guamanians.

CUNNINGHAM, L.  
1992 *Ancient Chamorro Society*.

This is the best book in existence on the precontact Chamorros. But it is too politically correct. There is no discussion of the Prelatte.

1993-1999 Personal conversations.

Larry Cunningham and I have had numerous conversations about the prehistory and history of Guam

DAMPIER, W.  
1697 *A New Voyage Around the World*. 1970.  
1699 *Voyages and Discoveries*. 1971.

William Dampier was a seaman on a British privateer that visited Guam in the late 17th century. He provides the best description of the "flying proa."

DAVIS, R.  
1993 Personal conversation.

Richard Davis is Guam's historical preservation officer. He helped me to explain the politically correct social evolution hypotheses to explain the change from Prelatte to Latte.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.  
1946 *Guam: Operations of the 77th Division, 21 July-10 August 1944.*  
This is a military history of the recapture of Guam in 1944. I used it for that section.

DIVINE, R.  
1971 "Forward," in Cohen 1980.

I quoted a section from Divine's forward to Cohen's *America's Response to China: An Interpretive History of Sino-American Relations*. It is very useful in understanding Americas expansion into the Pacific.

DIZON, J.  
1987 *Winning Ways*.

This is political scientist and candidate Dizon's account of the 1986 general election.

1993 Personal conversation.

I interviewed Joe Dizon several times about the political situation on Guam.

DOTY, R.  
1972 "Guam's Role in the Whaling Industry." *Guam Recorder*, no. 4.

The title adequately explains the article. This is an interesting exploration of a little known part of Guam's history.

DOUGLAS, K.

970426        "It's going to take more than tourism to make Guam's economy grow,"  
*Pacific Daily News*: 24.

This editorial advocates the diversification of Guam's economy.

DOUGLASS, F.  
1894    "*Douglass on Hawaii*," in Foner 1983.

Black emancipation writer Frederic Douglass published this editorial about the American acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands. I found it useful in understanding one political group's reaction to American overseas expansion.

DRIVER, M.  
1989    "Introduction," *Fray Juan Pobre in the Marianas: 1602*.

Driver's introduction to Pobre's story is extremely well researched and valuable.

1979-1999    Personal conversation.

Marjory Driver has been helpful in the compilation of this project. As a Spanish era specialist and translator, her insights into the Spanish era were invaluable.

DUEÑAS, J.  
1998    *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Banking Commissioner — 1995*.

The annual report tells the financial situation of the banking community in 1996.

EDDY, J.  
1994    Personal conversation.

John Eddy was the Marine platoon leader at a critical point in the American invasion of Guam in 1944. He added considerable "color" to the dry historical account.

ELECTION COMMISSION.  
1964-1997    *Election Comparative Analysis Report*.

This analysis of the election is published after every election.

EVANS, H. and T. MADDOCK.  
19900201    "Quiet prevails at Paseo scene," *P.D.N.*: 2.

This is a news report about Gov. Ricardo J. Bordallo's suicide.

FARRELL, D.

1984 *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Liberation — 1944.*

1986 *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Americanization — 1898-1918.*

1991 *The Pictorial History of Guam: The Sacrifice — 1919-1943.*

This out of print trilogy of the history of the American presence on Guam is outstanding. I used it primarily to compare Farrell's analysis with my own.

FICHTER, C.

1977a "Tweed and the Schoolmarm: Agueda Johnston." *Islander*, September 11.

1977b "A Matter of Survival: B.J. Bordallo." *Islander* September 25.

These two magazine articles are about important characters in the Tweed drama.

FLORES, G.

1994 Personal conversation.

George Santos Flores was a young man during World War II. After the American invasion, he became part of the Combat Patrol. I interviewed him about both.

FLORES, L.

1977 "Memories too Painful to Recall." *Islander*, September 25.

This article is about Mrs. Riye Dejima a Japanese woman who helped Tweed during the Second World War.

FONER, P. ed.

1983 *The Anti-Imperialist Reader: A Documentary History of Anti- Imperialism in the United States.*

This an excellent collection of articles written at the turn of the century decrying American imperialism.

FOX, D.

191910 "The Moral Fabric," *The Guam Recorder*.

This article by an early Protestant missionary attempts to convince Guamanians of the superiority of Protestant morality.





FRANKLIN, R.

1975 *The United States' "Guest Workers": A Case Study of Korean Temporary Workers on Guam.* M.A. Thes.

This is an analysis of Korean H-2 workers in the early 1970s. I used it to analyze the neo-*manachang*.

FREYCINET, L.

1824- *Voyage Autour du Monde, Entrepris par Ordre du Roy ...Exécuté sur les Corvettes de S.M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne Pendant les Années 1817, 1818, 1819 et 1820....* Selections translated by Katherine Cruz and Claressa Quan.

This is the source for almost everything we know about the precontact social structure. I was only available in French until I had it translated.

GAILEY, H.

1988 *The Liberation of Guam: 21 July— 10 August 1944.*

This is the official military history of the liberation of Guam. Although obviously taken from the American point of view, like most military histories it is brutally honest concerning American problems and errors.

GARCÍA, F.

1683 *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores.* M. Higgins, trans. 1985.

This is the standard biography of Sanvitores. It was researched and written during the Spanish-Chamorro wars and is unabashedly pro-Spanish. It was written to support the beatification of Sanvitores. Although a secondary source, García was very faithful to his primary sources, many of which are no longer available.

GARDNER, D.

1979 "University of Guam Marine Lab." *New Pacific*, January.

This magazine article about the Marine Lab, although dated is still useful.

GEISECKE, L.

1987 *History of American Economic Policy in the Philippines During the American Colonial Period, 1900-1935.*

This is an excellent text on the subject. I used it to gain insight into the early American era.

GIBSON, C.  
1966 *Spain in America.*

This is the best history of Spanish America. It gives an outstanding overview of Spanish colonial policy.

GIBSON, D.  
19770821 "Ramon Baza: Helping Tweed Was Helping America." *Islander*.  
19770828 "Siguenza Saw Things Differently." *Islander*.

These are magazine articles about characters involved with Tweed.

GILMER, W.  
191910a "Executive General Order No.325," *The Guam News Letter*.  
191910b "Executive General Order No.326," *The Guam News Letter*.

These are two executive orders written by Gov. Gilmer. Gilmer is an embarrassment to American colonialism.

GRIFFITH, R.  
1978 *From Island Colony to Strategic Territory: The Development of American Administration on the Island of Guam, 1898-1950*

This is an excellent interpretive history of the development of Guam from the Spanish American War to the Organic Act.

GOBIEN, C.  
1700 *Histoire des isles Mariannes, nouvellement converties à la religion Chrestienne, et de la mort glorieuse des premiers missionnaires ui y ont prêché la foy,*

This history of Christianity in the Marianas has only been partly translated into English. But it is extremely useful.

GOVERNOR OF GUAM

*Annual Report of the Governor of Guam.*

All American governors of Guam were required to submit a report to the secretary of the Navy until 1949 and the secretary of the interior thereafter. These documents are particularly useful. Unfortunately with the advent of elected governors the reports became self-serving political documents.

GOV GUAM

1976 *Sample Status Referendum Ballot.*

This is the sample ballot that was distributed before the 1977 political status referendum

GROOCH, W.

1936 *Skyway to Asia.*

This is a pamphlet published by Pan American World Airways to trumpet their trans-Pacific service.

GUAM AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENTATION STATION.

1950-1994 *Annual Report.*

This is useful information about the state of agriculture on Guam.

GUAM PORT AUTHORITY.

1996 *Welcome to the Port of Guam.*

1965-1996 *End of Fiscal Year Report.*

These are publications by and about the Port Authority.

GUAM PUBLICATIONS.

1970-1993 *Islander.*

1970-1998 *Pacific Daily News.*

The *P.D.N.* is the daily newspaper. The *Islander* was the Sunday supplement that was published until 1993. Both are invaluable resources.

GUERRERO, J.

1972 "Economic History of Guam," *Guam Recorder*, no. 1.

This is an article about the economic history of Guam. It is very useful in tracing the history of Guam's economy

GUETHEREZ, J.

1982 *The Campaign, the Vote and the Defeat: A Review and Analysis of the 1979 Referendum on the Proposed Constitution of the United States Territory of Guam.* Ph.D. Diss.

This is the current school board chairwoman's dissertation. She analyses the constitutional process from inception to defeat.

GUTIERREZ, C.

1999 *It's About You; It's About People — Vision 2001.*

This is Gov. Gutierrez' explanation of his vision for Guam's economic future. It provides insight into GovGuam's present plans.

19980123 "Exclusive News," *Guam Chinese News.*

This is an article I quoted in which the governor recognizes the "benefits" of bringing temporary alien workers into Guam.

HADDOCK, R.

1973 *A History of Health on Guam. GovGuam.*

The title explains it. This was very useful in determining the reasons for the decline in population under the Spanish and the rise under the Americans.

*HAWAII BUSINESS.*

197903 "Can Paul Calvo rescue GovGuam?" *Hawaii Business.*

This is an article analyzing Gov. Calvo's plans at the beginning of his term.

HIGGENS, MARGARET.

1939 "Introduction and footnotes." *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores.* Flores Library. 1985.

Higgins is the translator of García's biography of Sanvitores. She contributed some very useful additional historical research.

HOAG, E.

192712 "Who is the Governor of Guam?" *World Traveler.* 21

Hoag was one of a string of journalists who visited Guam. He wrote an article for the December 1927 *World Traveler*; in it he provided insights into how Guam was dealing with prohibition. It is fraught with error.

HONAN, W.

1970 "Japan Strikes: 1941," *American Heritage* no. 1.

Honan has discovered that the Japanese strategic and tactical plans for the Second World War were stolen from a novel published in 1925.

HOWARD, C.

19961230 "There is no compromise in self-determination.' *P.D.N.*: 21.

This is a letter to the editor in which a prevalent view among many Chamorro-Guamanians is expressed.

HOWELLS, W.

1973 *The Pacific Islanders*.

This is the classic study of Oceanic prehistory. Although dated, it is still very insightful

IBÁÑEZ Y GARCÍA, LUIS DE.

1887 *History of the Marianas, Caroline and Palau Islands*. Marjorie G. Driver, trans.

This is the Spanish history of Spanish Micronesia. Although it is another version of the "white legend" it is not as blatant as García.

IRIYE, A.

1970 *Across the Pacific: An Inner History of American-East Asian Relations*.

In particular this is an inner history of American-Japanese relations. It is very useful not only in the years leading up to the Second World War but to the period of early American colonialism in the Pacific.

ITO, MASASHI

1967 *The Emperor's Last Soldiers*.

This book is a collection of the stories of the Japanese soldiers that did not surrender at the end of W.W.II.

JOHNSTON, E.  
1975-1999     Personal Conversation.

Emily Johnston is a librarian emeritus at MARC. She helped me answer numerous questions about Guam and MARC's collection.

JUDSON, D.  
19940709     "Future: 'Asian Guam in America,'" *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.

This is a news report about a Guam/Capitol Hill Economic conference held in Washington D.C. in June 1994.

KAROLLE, B.  
1978a *Agriculture, Population and Development in Guam: Some Options for the Future*.  
Ph.D. Diss.  
1978b *Changing Agricultural Patterns of Guam: A Technical Report to the Agricultural Experimentation Station, University of Guam*.

Although dated, Karolle's dissertation and the rewrite of it as a report to the experimentation station is an excellent analysis of Guam's agriculture.

1987 *Atlas of Micronesia*.

The title tells it. This work is particularly useful in understanding the Geography of Micronesia as a whole.

KEESING, F.  
1959 *The Hispanization of the Philippines, Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses 1565-1700*.

This is the history of the Philippines under Spanish colonialism.

KIRCH, P.  
1986 *Island Societies: Archaeological Approaches to Evolution and Transformation*.  
1988 *Archaeology of the Lapita Cultural Complex: A Critical Review*.

Both of these works are excellent. *Lapita* is particularly intriguing concerning Prelatte Marianas red ware and Marianas trade ware.

KOTZEBUE, O.

1817 *A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Bering's Straits Volume III*. Lloyd translation 1821.

This is the story of a Russian voyage of exploration. It provides valuable insights into Spanish Guam.

KURASHINA, H.

1979-1999 Personal conversations.

Hiro Kurashina is the director of MARC. In addition to giving several interviews, he read and critiqued the entire manuscript.

LABOR, DEPARTMENT OF

1993-1997 *Department of Labor Annual Report*.

This is an extremely useful document for research into the economy of Guam.

LAFOLLETTE, B.

1930 *The Development of American Colonial Policy 1899-1917*.

An early although still valuable history of American colonialism.

LAWCOCK, L.

1977 "Luckier Than Ben Franklin: Guam's Schoolboys in 1727," *Guam Recorder*, no. 2.

This is an article about education on Guam during the early Spanish period.

LEA, M.

1926 "Guam," *American Mercury*. February. pp. 208-213

Lea was one of several travel writers to visit Guam in the first American era. He was more interested in his cute prose than in the culture he was reporting on but he does present an interesting portrait of Guam from the American colony's point of view.

LEGAZPI, M.

1565 "Relation of the Voyage to the Philippine Islands." in *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*.



This is the report of the almost governor of Micronesia and the Philippines (he died in route) who claimed Micronesia for the king of Spain.

LEOPOLD, R.

1965 *The Growth of American Foreign Policy: A History.*

This is a history of American Foreign Policy from a liberal point of view. I used it in my study of American overseas colonial expansion.

LÉVESQUE, R.

1992a *History of Micronesia a Collection of Source Documents: Volume 1 — European Discovery 1521-1560.*

1992b *History of Micronesia a Collection of Source Documents: Volume 2 — Prelude to Conquest 1561-1595.*

This is an invaluable work in progress. Lévesque is translating as many of the source documents on the history of Micronesia as he can into English.

LEWIS, E.

1948 "Experience in the Pacific as Illustrated by Guam," *American Experiences in Military Government in World War II*: 295-317.

This is an article by a Civil Affairs Officer about the establishment of Military Government on Guam during W.W.II.

LEWIS, D.

1973 *The Voyaging Stars: Secrets of the Pacific Island Navigators.*

1994 *We, The Navigators.*

These books are the result of 25 years of participatory anthropology in which Dr. Lewis has apprenticed himself to Carolinian navigators to learn their secrets.

LINCE, E.

1972 "1944-1972: Robinson Crusoe of Guam for 28 Years, Sergeant Yokoi Never Surrendered." *Glimpses of Guam 1972-1973.*

This is an article about Yokoi's years on Guam.

LODGE, O.

1954 *The Recapture of Guam.*

This is a military history of the recapture of Guam in W.W.II.

LOERZEL, A.

19951219 "Speaker, Orsini trade barbs," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.

19951224 "Orsini won't direct audit," *P.D.N.*: 1 & 4.

Here are a couple of more news stories about the Orsini debacle.

LOWE R.

1967 *Problems in Paradise: The View from Government house.*

Gov. Lowe's book about his administration. This is a white wash. The embarrassing incidents and failures are ignored.

MAGDOFF, H.

1978 *Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present.*

This is the standard liberal study of imperialism.

MAXWELL, W.

1915 *Governor's Annual Report.*

This is the annual report in which Maxwell discovers that the "original landowners" are not landowners.

MAY, E.

1991a *American Imperialism: A Speculative Essay.*

1991b *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power.*

Two liberal works on American imperialism.

MAYO, L.

1984 *Occupations and Chamorro Social Status: A Study of Urbanization in Guam.*  
Ph.D. Diss.

This is a very interesting study of Chamorro-Guamanian social stratification.

MCINTOSH, K.

1916 "War Provisions for Guam." *United States Naval Institute Proceedings.* March-April.

Before American entrance into W.W.I, McIntosh recommended that Guam be fortified.

MELVILLE, H

1851 *Moby Dick or The White Whale*. Signet 1980.

I quote a rather long passage from this classic to show the importance of whaling to 19th century exploration and commerce.

MENDOZA, J.

1585a *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof*. Vol. 1. 1970.

1585b *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China and the Situation Thereof*. Vol. 2. 1970.

These two collections of traveler's tales are interesting because they show the concept that Europeans had of Asia and the west Pacific at the end of the 16th century.

MORGAN, H.

1965 *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion*.

This is an excellent study of America's entry into overseas colonialism.

MURPHY, J.

1979-1999 "Pipe Dreams."

Murphy's daily column is a gold mine of useful information about Guam.

1975-1999 Personal conversation.

NIMITZ, C.

1945 "Proclamation number 1," United States Navy Military Government of Guam.  
MARC.

In this proclamation, Admiral Nimitz takes command of Guam.

O'HAIRE, T.

19930827 "Tourists don't get a taste of Guam Hospitality," *P.D.N.*: 89.

In his letter to the editor, O'Haire complains about price gouging of Japanese tourists on Guam.

OLANO Y URTEAGA, M.

1949 *Diary of a Bishop*.

This is the biography of Bishop Olano who was the Bishop of Agana when W.W.II broke out.

OMICINSKI, J.  
1995 1104 "Think tank asks, 'Why Guam?'" *P.D.N.*: 8.

This is a newspaper report of the Carpenter report cited above.

PALOMO, T.  
1984 *An Island in Agony*.

This is a rather emotional call for commonwealth on Guam's terms.

P.D.N.  
1950-1994 *Pacific Daily News*.

It its early days it was the *Guam Daily News* then it became the *Pacific Daily News*. Under both names, it is an invaluable resource.

PETERSON, W.  
1976 *Colonialism, Culture History and Southeast Asian Prehistory*.

This is an analysis of culture clash from a liberal point of view. I used it as background information.

PIETRUSESEWSKY, M.  
1986 *Report on the Human Skeletal and Dental Remains Excavated During the San Vitores Road Project Tumon Bay, Guam*.

This is the only physical anthropological report on known Prelatte remains.

PIGAFETTA, A.  
1521 "Magellan's Voyage — Primary account by Pigafetta, from French manuscripts. *History of Micronesia: Volume 1 European Discovery*. 1992.  
1536 *First Voyage Around the World and De Moluccis Insulis*. 1969

Pigafetta was Magellan's official chronicler. This is the "official" history of Magellan's voyage.

PLESUR, M.  
1971 *America's Outward Thrust: Approaches to foreign Affairs, 1865-1890*:

This is the history of U.S. foreign policy from the end of the Civil War to the “Golden Age.”

POBRE, J.

1603 *The Account of Fray Juan Pobre's Residence in the Marianas 1602.* MARC, 1989.

This is the most detailed and sympathetic report of the precontact Chamorros. It was written by a monk who jumped ship and spent several months among them. His object is to criticize European society by holding up Chamorro society as superior in what may be a prototype of the “Noble Savage.” In some of his reports he is either lying or incredibly unobservant.

POLLOCK, N.

1983 “The Early Use of Rice in Guam — the Evidence From the Historic Records.” *Journal of the Polynesian Society.*

This is a study of the historical evidence that rice was grown on Guam before European contact. Virtually every early explorer including Magellan’s expedition reported that the Chamorros had rice. But archaeologists were shocked to discover rice imprints found on pottery shards dating from well before European contact. Still the anthropological community is reluctant to admit the possibility that the precontact people grew rice.

POMEROY, E.

1951 *Pacific Outpost: American Strategy in Guam and Micronesia.*

This is a report on the importance of Micronesia to U.S. strategic planning in the early years of the cold war.

PONNURU, R.

19970505 “Paper Tigers.” *National Review.*

This is a conservative analysis of the economic importance of Asia to the U.S.

E. POTTER and, C. NIMITZ.

1963 *Triumph in the Pacific: The Navy's Struggle Against Japan.*

This is another military history of the Second World War. This one co-authored by the admiral in charge.

PRICE, F.

190201 "The Island of Guam and Its People." *The Missionary Review of the World*. 11-19.

19030521 "The American Rule in Guam." *The Independent*. 21 May.

Price was one of the early Protestant missionaries on Guam. His observations are interesting but very anti-Catholic.

RADA, M.

1565 "Legazpi's Voyage — Anonymous narrative attributed to Fr. Martín Rada, dated May 1565. *History of Micronesia: Volume 2, Prelude to Conquest*. 1992.

This is one of several reports of Legazpi's voyage.

REINMAN, F.

1977 *An Archaeological Survey and Preliminary Test Excavations on the Island of Guam, Mariana Islands, 1965-1966*.

This is a collection of reports on Reinman's excavations on Guam. Of particular interest is the discovery of possible pig remains in a possibly pre-contact setting.

RIVERA, J.

1979 Personal interview.

Jose Rivera was a young man during the Second World War. He gave me useful insights into Guam under Japanese occupation and under U.S. military government.

ROCHON, A.

1772 *Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand, the Ladrone Islands and the Philippines in the Years 1771-1772*. 1891.

This is the report of another French voyage to the Mariana Islands in the late 18th century. Again it gives valuable insights into Spanish Guam.

ROGERS, ROBERT F.

1995 *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam*.

This is an excellent college text of the history of Guam from European discovery to 1993.

1975-1999     Personal conversations.

Dr. Rogers has been extremely generous with his time and his vast knowledge of Guam's history, politics and culture. He read and critiqued this entire work.

SABLAN, J.

1991   *My Mental Odyssey.*

This is the memoir of Joaquin Flores Sablan the first Chamorro-Guamanian Protestant minister.

SAFFORD, W.

1899   *A Year on the Island of Guam: Extracts from the Notebook of a Naturalist on the Island of Guam.* MARC.

1905   *The Useful Plants of the Island of Guam.*

Safford was the first American lieutenant governor of Guam. He was something of a scholar and produced some invaluable research about the island and its history.

SAHLINS, M.

1958   *Social Stratification in Polynesia.* 1972.

This is the classic study of social stratification in Oceania.

SALAMANCA, B.

1968   *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule: 1901-1903.*

This is the history of America's early colonial administration in the Philippines. In many ways, it mirrors Guam's experience.

SANCHEZ, P.

1975   *Uncle Sam, Please Come Back to Guam.*

This is a memoir of the Japanese period on Guam.

1991   *Guahan/Guam: The History of our Island.*

This is a high school history text. I used some of his analysis.

SAUDER-JAFFERY, L. AND R. UNDERWOOD, EDS.

1987 *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People*. MARC.

This is a propaganda piece in support of Chamorro-Guamanian self-determination. It puts forward the arguments for commonwealth.

SCHROEDER, S.

1922 *Half a Century of Naval Service*.

This is Gov. Schroeder's autobiography.

SCHUIRMANN R.

1944 *Strategic Study of Guam: O.N.I.-99*. Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Division of Naval Intelligence.

This is a preinvasion intelligence report on Guam. It a useful discussion of the American assessment of Guamanians prior to the Second World War.

SEARLES, P.

1925 *History of Guam (1521-1925)*. Unpublished typescript MARC.

This is a very well researched history of Guam. It is a shame that it was never published.

SKINNER, C.

1997 Personal correspondence.

Skinner cut a telephone interview in the middle and asked me to submit my questions in writing. This is the letter that he wrote to me in answer to some questions and evade others.

SOUDER, P.

19830506 "Part I: Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post war Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government," *Guam Panorama Tribune Weekender*.

19830527 "Part II: Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post war Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government," *Guam Panorama Tribune Weekender*.

19830603 "Part III: Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post war Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government," *Guam Panorama Tribune Weekender*.

19830506 "Continuation Part III: Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post war Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government," *Guam Panorama Tribune Weekender*.



19830624 "Conclusion: Fortress — Guam? Guam's Post war Military Government, Naval Government and Civil Government, Conclusion," *Guam Panorama Tribune Weekender*.

Souder was a mid-level bureaucrat in the naval government during the post war period and GovGuam in the early years under the Organic Act. This is a self-serving series of articles remembering those times.

SPRUANCE, R.

1945 "U.S. Naval Military Government, Pacific Ocean Areas," in *United States Naval administration of the trust territory of the pacific islands*, by Dorothy E. Richard.

A report by Adm. Spruance discussed military government.

STEVENS, R.

1956 *Guam U.S.A.: The Birth of a Territory*.

This is a monograph of the early years of Guam under the Organic Act.

TATE, M.

1965 *The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History*.

An excellent history of the American annexation and rule of the Hawaiian Islands.

THOMPSON, L.

1932 *Archaeology of the Marianas Islands*.

1945 *The Native Culture of the Marianas Islands*.

1947 *Guam and its People with a Village Journal by Jesus C. Barcinas*. 1969.

Thompson was an early researcher into the archaeology and anthropology of the Marianas Islands.

TROUTMAN, C.

1993-1998 Personal conversation.

Charles Troutman, Guam's compiler of laws granted several interviews about the finer points of law.

TWEED, G.

1945a *Robinson Crusoe, U.S.N.: The Adventures of George R. Tweed, Rmlc on Jap-Held Guam*.

1945b *Robinson Crusoe, U.S.N.: The Adventures of George R. Tweed Rm1 on Japanese-Held Guam — Fiftieth Anniversary Edition*. 1995.

This is the story of Tweed's adventure hiding from the Japanese during the Second World War.

1975-1986 Personal conversation.

I interviewed Tweed several times. He was a marvelous source about the conditions on Guam during the war.

URDANETA A.

1526a "Salazar, ex-Loaysa — First Eyewitness Account by Urdanetta." *History of Micronesia: Volume 1 European Discovery*. 1992.

1526b "Salazar, ex-Loaysa — Second Eyewitness Account by Urdaneta." *History of Micronesia: Volume 1 European Discovery*. 1992.

Urdaneta was the premier navigator of his time. He accompanied several expeditions to Micronesia.

U.S. CONGRESS

1996 "Title 48 — The Organic Act of Guam," *U.S. Code Annotated*.

This is the Organic Act of Guam — Guam's basic law.

VAN PEENEN, M.

1945 *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam*. 1993.

This is a charming collection of the island's legends with some interesting observations by the author.

WARD, HERBERT T.

1971 *The Flight of the Cormoran*.

This is the story of the first hostile action and the first German ship sunk as a result of American entrance into W.W.I.

WESTON, R.

1972 *Racism in U.S. Imperialism: The Influence of Racial Assumptions on American Foreign Policy, 1893-1946*.

The title tells it all. This is a very interesting analysis. I used it as background for the section on the first American period.

YOSHIDA, SHIGENORI

1981 *Sorrowful Solitary Island: A Memoir of No Surrender on Guam During World War II.*

Thus us the memoirs of a Japanese Imperial Army Doctor who was on Guam during W.W.II. I used it to tell the story of the American invasion from the Japanese point of view.

YOUNG, M.

1968 *The Rhetoric of Empire: American China Policy, 1895-1901.*

This is the history of America's China policy in the years immediately before and During the Spanish-American War.

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