



5th Marianas History Conference

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

Day 1 – Day 3

Friday, February 19 – Sunday, February 21

Book 2 of 4





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5th Marianas History Conference

Day 1: Friday, February 19

Panel: Cultural Identities

Solidarity Foods

Cross Cultural Visions for a Decolonized and Food Sovereign Guahan

By Kristin Oberiano

Harvard University

Abstract: *Historically, Indigenous CHamoru political self-determination on Guåhan has been challenged by the United States, Filipino, and other non-CHamoru ethnic groups, especially in regard to the political status plebiscite. Yet, there is an increasing number of Filipino and non-CHamoru people who acknowledge that the plebiscite is solely the right of the CHamoru people. In addition to standing in solidarity with the CHamoru plebiscite, I ask how can Filipinos and non-CHamorus actively participate and contribute to the decolonization of Guåhan in ways that do not detract from CHamoru voices, perspectives, and self-determination. What would it mean to envision Filipino and non-CHamoru solidarity beyond the question of political status? What can Filipinos offer to decrease the island's reliance on imperial structures? Through an intersection of Filipino migration stories and CHamoru decolonization movements, I demonstrate how Filipinos and other non-CHamorus can contribute to CHamoru decolonization by participating in the food sovereignty movement to decolonize our islands' food, diets, and food systems. The food sovereignty movement decolonizes Guåhan by fostering cross-cultural relationalities, supporting local farms and agriculture, increasing food security, and contributing to the greater independence of Guåhan.*

Zoom Recording



Presentation Slides

Solidarity Foods:

Cross-Cultural Visions for a
Decolonized and Food Sovereign Guåhan

Kristin Oberiano
Harvard University

Movement for Guåhan's Decolonization

- Political status
- CHamoru Self-Determination
- Overturning imperialism



How can non-Indigenous peoples get involved in the decolonization of Guåhan?

Global Movement for Food Sovereignty

- Food security
- Access to culturally relevant and healthy foods
- Control over food production
- Knowledge of food origins
- Environmentally sustainable agriculture



Photo by Cami Egurrola, Guåhan Sustainable Culture, Ginen I Gualo': Histories of Farming and Agriculture on Guåhan Humanities Guåhan and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Decolonizing Our Food System

- Import 90% of our island's food
- Unhealthy, processed foods
- Cost prohibitive to eat healthy
- A symptom of US imperialism



Seeing Guåhan's Abundance

- Farming and eating locally
- Supporting organizations environmental sustainability and food security
- Changing our mindset



Photo by Cami Egurola, Guåhan Sustainable Culture, 'Ginen I Gualo': Histories of Farming and Agriculture on Guåhan, Humanities Guåhan and the National Endowment for the Humanities.



Decolonizing Life Ways

- Envisioning a decolonized future for Guåhan
- Activating immigrant and settler responsibility
- Practicing decolonization daily

Photo by Cami Egurrola, Guåhan Sustainable Culture, Ginen I Gualo': Histories of Farming and Agriculture on Guåhan, Humanities Guåhan and the National Endowment for the Humanities.



Saina Ma'ase & Maraming Salamat



Kristin Oberiano is a History PhD candidate at Harvard University who works at the intersections of United States empire, Asian American history, and Pacific Indigenous history. Her research has been supported by various grants including the US Fulbright Program in the Philippines. She has worked as a Humanities Scholar for Guåhan Sustainable Culture's 501(c)(3) public history project, *Ginen I Gualo': Histories of Farming and Agriculture on Guåhan*, which is supported by Humanities Guåhan and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Fatto Famalao'an

Reimagining Chamoru Womanhood in the Decolonization of Guahan

By Ha'ani San Nicolas

University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Abstract: *In 2018, the slogan “The Future is Famalao’an” became popularized as Guahan welcomed its first elected maga’haga and celebrated the first legislative woman majority in the history of the United States. Though famalao’an are an undoubtedly primary pillar of kostumbren Chamoru, their lived experiences remain largely hidden in history and scholarly works. The decolonization movement has been organized and continues to be spearheaded by many powerful women leaders, yet discussions of a famalao’an future, particularly what it necessitates and entails, are too often neglected. This paper looks at how the contemporary conception of Chamoru womanhood, though empowering to many, has coalesced with colonialism in a manner that denies womanhood outside a heteronormative and catholic performance of motherhood. It explores alternative famalao’an futures through analyses of Kântan Chamorrta and contemporary Chamoru poetry as a way to reimagine womanhood. Most significantly, this paper invites all famalao’an to join in cultivating possibilities for our liberation. What happens when famalao’an refuse to uphold the strict heteronormative and colonial introductions of women as mothers, something so deeply embedded within our culture? What space will we claim in a decolonized Guahan, and what will that look like, act like, and mean?*

Zoom Recording





Ha'ani Lucia Falo San Nicolas serves as a CHamoru Language and Culture Specialist at the Kumisión i Fino' CHamoru, where she oversees and assists with many of the agency's projects. In 2019, she received a BS in General Biology and a BA in Ethnic Studies with high honors from the University of California, San Diego. She is currently a PhD student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa studying Indigenous Politics (Political Science), where she also instructs undergraduate courses as a recipient of the department's Graduate Assistantship.

Pakaka I Pachot-Mu! CHamoru Yu'! A Mestisa Rhetoric Analysis of Guam's Chamaole Narratives

By Arielle Lowe

University of Hawai'i at Manoa and University of Guam

Abstract: *In this project, I investigate identity formations of a specific Mestisa/Mestisu group from Guam, known as Chamaole. Chamaoles are defined locally as descendants of both native Chamorros and White Americans. This research analyzes Chamaole individuals' encounters with identity ambiguity in Guam and the United States. This research deconstructs the published poetry of Chamaole authors: Jessica Perez-Jackson, Lehua M. Taitano, and Corey Santos. These poets primarily discuss racial, cultural, ancestral, linguistic, and political ambiguities. Interviews conducted with these poets provide additional data. Interpreting data from layered accounts, this study analyzes strategies Chamaoles use to navigate and overcome race-based conflicts and nurture a sense of belonging. In the context of Marianas history, I problematize race-based prejudice and institutional racism as an imported cultural worldview, which can be healed through observing our indigenous Chamoru values of family, kinship, and community.*

Zoom Recording



Arielle Taitano Lowe is a Chamoru poet from the island of Guam. She completed her Master of Arts in English: Literature at the University of Guam in 2019, and is pursuing her Doctorate in English: Asia Pacific Cultural Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her creative and research interests include Pacific islander epistemologies, creation stories, indigenous rhetorics, embodied rhetoric, race and representation, multilingual literatures from Micronesia and the Pacific, and creative writing studies.

5th Marianas History Conference

Day 2: Saturday, February 20

Panel: Words and Places

Pacific Ocean: A 500 Year-Old Word

By Dr. Rafael Rodríguez-Ponga¹

Universitat Abat Oliba CEU and Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacífico

Abstract: *The word Pacific (“Pacific Sea”) was used for the first time in the 16th century. We can read it in the chronicle written by the Italian Antonio Pigafetta, member of the Magellan & Elcano expedition, and in the last will of Elcano himself. The geographical names Pacific sea and Pacific Ocean have been used together with South Sea and South Seas.*

The word Pacific was adapted by languages all over the world, even in the Pacific Ocean, such as Chamorro, Hawaiian, Samoan or Tagalog. It became not only the name of the sea or the ocean, but also the general name for the region: Pacific islands, Pacific languages, Asia-Pacific..

Pacific means ‘peaceful’, and comes from Latin pacificus, from pax, pacis ‘peace’.

In the Magellan & Elcano expedition, some other geographical names were created, such as Strait of Magellan and Ladrone Islands. This last name was referred to the Mariana Islands, but their inhabitants were called Chamorros with the meaning of ‘friends’, in the 16th century.

Keywords: First Round-the-World Tour. Magellan. Elcano. Pacific Ocean. Latin. Spanish language.

The word *Pacific*, in the sense we use it for the Pacific Ocean, was created in the 16th century, five centuries ago.

This paper has the purpose of giving answers to questions such as what the word *Pacific* means. Where does it come from? How was coined as the name of the ocean?

First of all, I would like to stress that the 2021 Marianas History Conference was held in order to commemorate the fifth centennial of the First Round-the-World Tour (1519-1522).

¹ Rafael Rodríguez-Ponga (Madrid, 1960) is professor of the School of Communication, Education and Humanities, at Universitat Abat Oliba CEU, in Barcelona, Spain. He is the University’s Rector since February 2019. He holds a PhD in Linguistics from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. He is also President of the Spanish Association of Pacific Studies (AEEP). He has published several books and papers about cultural affairs, linguistics and language contact, especially about Spanish and Pacific languages. ORCID 0000-0002-0855-525X, ISNI 0000 0000 8101 4252.

It is important to take into consideration that the First Round-the-World Tour took place in the Renaissance, a time that combined the recovery of Roman culture and Latin – a classical language – with the appearance of the first grammar of a modern language, Spanish². Throughout Europe, Latin was the language of academia, science, universities, international relations and the Church, but vernacular languages were also used in literature, administration and trade (Gómez-Lauger & Escudero, 2020).

The crew of the expedition – led by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastián de Elcano – was composed of seamen that came from several countries, such as Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Ireland, India, Malaysia... Altogether, they were able to speak more than thirty languages, as we can deduct from the records we have about their geographical origin and families (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2017). With such a linguistic diversity, Latin, along with Spanish, served as the vehicular languages of the expedition (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2021). We will see how Latin could have had an influence in the name of the ocean.

It is very important to explain that the members of the expedition gave names to different landforms all over the world, wherever they were not able to know the name already given by their inhabitants. Thus, when the names were unknown, they decided to create new toponyms.

Pacific was the name given to this ocean during this voyage, the First Round-the-World Tour. Indeed, in November 1520, the ships led by Magellan entered this huge ocean. After sailing through the Atlantic Ocean, they passed through what they called *Strait of Magellan*, in South America, and decided to sail the new ocean, from East to West, in an area totally unknown for Europeans.

An Italian member of the crew, Antonio Pigafetta, wrote the best-known chronicle of the expedition. He described the new ocean as follows:

Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of November, 1520, we came forth out of the said strait, and entered into the Pacific sea. [...] During those three months and twenty days we went in an open sea, we ran fully four thousand leagues in the Pacific sea. This was well named *Pacific*, for during this same time we met with no storm (Lord of Aldekley, 1874, págs. 64-65).

²The first grammar of a modern language was published in 1492 in Spain. It was written, by Antonio de Nebrija, with the title *Gramática de la lengua castellana* “Grammar of the Castilian Language”.

The English translation I am using is very clear: the name of the sea or the ocean, given in 1520, was *Pacific* (Lord of Aldekley, 1874).

South Sea or Pacific

It must be remembered that, some years before, another Spanish explorer, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, reached the beaches of the sea he was looking for. It happened in the American coast of the ocean, coming from the Caribbean Sea. He had supposed that an ocean existed in the other side of the American continent and decided to go and look for it. He gave it the name of *South Sea*, because he arrived at the southern coast of Panama, a country in Central America, in 1513. Since then, the name *South Sea* (or, in plural, the *South Seas*) has lasted for centuries.

In consequence, Magellan, Elcano and the crew had already a name for the sea they were sailing, South Sea since 1513, but they decided to give it a new name: *Pacific*, in 1520.

Pacific is the translation into English. However, what language did it appear in, for the first time? Maybe Spanish?

Although Spain organized and financed the expedition, it had members from very different countries and languages, as I have said before. What was the common language used by an Italian like Pigafetta, a Portuguese like Magellan and a Spaniard like Elcano, and some other coming from different countries? It was really an international expedition!

For those who had studied and had some formal education in European institutions, the common language used to be Latin. Most probably, the ocean was first named *Pacificus* ‘peaceful’, in Latin language. Of course, the crew, mainly Spanish seamen, would have said, immediately, *Pacífico*.

In 1522, with Elcano as Captain General, they arrived back to Seville, in southern Spain³. They knew they were the first men able to achieve the First Round-the-World Tour. Pigafetta was one of the 18 men who managed to return to Spain.

The Pigafetta’s chronicle had several versions after 1522: one copy was given to the King of Spain, in Spanish we suppose (but unfortunately, it was lost); another copy was sent to the

³ Magellan died in the Philippines in 1521. He failed to go around the world. The Captain General of the First Round-the-World Tour was Elcano.

King of France, in French; and another copy was written in Italian. Nowadays, we have very good editions (Pigafetta, 1985) (Pigafetta, 2019) (Pigafetta, 2020).

So, the word *Pacific* was soon used in several languages, traveling in different countries of Europe, in the 16th century.

On the other hand, in the last will of Elcano, in 1526, we can read⁴:

En la nao Victoria en el mar Pacífico, a un grado de la línea equinoccial, a veintiséis días del mes de julio, año del Señor mil y quinientos y veintiséis, en presencia de mí, Íñigo Ortes de Perea, contador de la dicha nao [...]

‘In the ship Victoria in the Pacific Sea, to a degree of the equinoctial line, to twenty-six days of the month of July, year of the Lord one thousand and five hundred and twenty-six, in the presence of me, Íñigo Ortes de Perea, accountant of the mentioned ship [...]’.

As we can see, Elcano and Pigafetta, in the same years, were using the word. I think they loved it, because they were together with Magellan the creators of the word. The three of them, with other Spaniards, Portuguese, Italians and so on, each one with their own origin, vernacular language and cultural level.

Etymology

The Latin adjective *pacificus* comes from the Latin noun *pax, pacis* with the meaning of ‘peace’, and the suffix *ficus*, from *facio, facere* ‘to do, to make’. Therefore, *pacificus* (feminine *pacifica*, neuter *pacificum*) means ‘peaceful, calm, tranquil, conciliatory’.

The word was used not only in Latin, but also in several European vernacular languages. Already in the 13th century, it was used in Castilian Spanish, as we can read in the poems by Gonzalo de Berceo, who wrote *pacífico*:

*Omne era pacífico, non amava contienda*⁵ ‘the man was peaceful, he did not love strife [fight]’.

Therefore, it was a well-known word in the European Middle Ages.

⁴ I have read the manuscript in “[Documentos sobre Juan Sebastián Elcano: testamento y otros instrumentos relativos a su familia](#),” p. 17.. Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), PATRONATO, 38, R.1.

⁵ *Diccionario Histórico de la Lengua Española (1960-1996)*, s.v. *pacífico*: c1255 BERCEO Mil. (Clás. Cast. XLIV) v. 705d.

The sea was called *Pacific* because it was a ‘calm sea’ during the expedition. The historian José Luis Comellas studied the meteorological conditions they had in 1520 and 1521, and concluded that they had an extraordinary situation of good weather while sailing the ocean, so they did not have to face specific phenomena that would have put them in serious difficulty (Comellas, 2019).

Maps

The word for the ocean was created in 1520, but it took more than forty years to appear reflected on printed maps. In the second half of the 16th century, books and maps printed in different places of Europe included the new name of the ocean, mainly in Latin.

In 1562, the Spanish cartographer Diego Gutiérrez wrote *Mare Pacificum* on his map *Americae Sive Quartae orbis Partis Nova*⁶. It is very interesting to note that he used the name *Mar del Sur* (Spanish for ‘South Sea’), for the Northern area of the ocean, but *Mare Magellanicum sive Pacificum* (Latin for ‘Magellanic Sea or Pacific’), for the Southern area. According to the geographer José María Moreno, “it could be the first time that the name appears, in Latin, in the 16th century”⁷.

On the other hand, the main atlas was *Teatrum Orbis Terrarum*, edited by the Belgian cartographer and geographer Abraham Ortelius. It had several editions, in several languages, with maps prepared by different cartographers.

It included the map *Maris Pacifici (quod vulgo Mar del Zur)* (Latin for ‘Pacific Sea, for the people South Sea’), in 1589. It is considered “the first dedicated map of the Pacific to be printed”⁸, although the name was already used.

The same Diego Gutiérrez designed one of the maps of America for Ortelius. There, we can see *Mar del Zur Hispanis Mare Pacificum* (Latin for ‘South Sea for the Spanish, Pacific Sea’). Both toponyms are synonyms and refer to the sea between the American continent and New Guinea (Martín Merás, 1993, págs. 127-128). In the same atlas, there is a map of South America (*America Meridionalis*), prepared by the cartographer Jerónimo de Chaves, where we

⁶ [Americae Sive Quartae Orbis Partis Nova Et Exactissima Descriptio](#). July 24, 2021

⁷ Personal email by José María Moreno, from Museo Naval, Madrid. March 26, 2021.

⁸ [Maris Pacifici](#). July 24, 2021.

can read *Mar del Zur quod et Mare Pacificum* (Martín Merás, 1993, págs. 129-130). Again, they wrote the Spanish name (Mar del Sur) and the Latin one (Pacificum).

At the end of the century, in 1597, in another atlas, we see *Pacificum Mare* together with *Mare Australis* (Latin for ‘South Sea’) in the map (planisphere) drawn by João Batista Lavanha and Luis Teixeira (S.A. de Promoción y Ediciones, 1990, pág. 72).

Diffusion of the Word

From Latin, the word *pacificus* evolved into several languages.

In Spanish, as we have seen before, the word *pacífico* exists since at least the 13th century, with the sense of ‘peaceful person’. In the 16th century, it added the new meaning referred to the Pacific Ocean. Since the 18th century, *Océano Pacífico* is the most common name for our ocean, although *Mar del Sur* or *Mares del Sur* have not disappeared.

In French, the word *pacifique* existed since the 14th and 15th centuries with the meaning of ‘peaceful person’. Around 1550 it was first used for *mer Pacifique* ‘Pacific Sea’ and it appears as *océan Pacifique* ‘Pacific Ocean’ in 1765 (Dauzat, Dubois, & Mitterand, 1971, pág. 522). In the 18th century, the names were *Mers du Sud* ‘South Seas’, *Mer Pacifique* ‘Pacific Sea’ and *Gran Océan* ‘Big Ocean’. Grégoire-Louis Domeny de Rienzi invented the name *Océanie* (*Oceania*) in 1836, for the islands of the Pacific as a whole (Mohamed-Gaillard, 2015, pág. 33).

From French, the word came into English as *pacific*, with the original meaning of ‘making or tending to peace’, in the 16th century. Afterwards, it has been used for *Pacific Ocean* since the 17th century, after the Magellan expedition. The name of the ocean may have come into English from French *pacifique* or from Latin *Mare Pacificum* (Onions (ed.), Friedrichsen (ed.), & Burchfield (ed.), 1966, pág. 639). Anyway, the reason is very clear in the dictionaries, without any doubt:

Adj. Calm, tranquil. Applied to the ocean between Asia and America, because found peaceful by its discoverer, Magellan, after weathering Cape Horn. Noun, *Pacific Ocean*. (MacDonald (ed.), 1964, pág. 444)

Therefore, the word *pacific* has now two meanings: 1. Peaceful, calm. 2. Related to the ocean between Asia and the Americas.

The second meaning can be used as a noun, as a toponym (*the Pacific*) and as an adjective. It has many possibilities, referred not only to the sea itself, but also to everything that revolves

around it, like the countries and islands and their people, products and events. Then, we can say *Pacific countries, Pacific coast, Pacific states, Pacific islands, Asia-Pacific, Pacific time, Pacific Rim, Pacific people, Pacific languages, Pacific barracuda, Pacific cod, Pacific bonito, Pacific sardine, Pacific troops, Pacific fleet, Pacific Squadron, Pacific War...*

Suddenly, we have come up to a surprising and apparent contradiction: *Pacific War*. Etymologically, it should mean ‘peaceful war’! However, we understand very clearly in the new sense that *Pacific* is not any more ‘peaceful’ or ‘calm’, but the word related to the ocean.

In other European languages, we find the same word: in Portuguese *Oceano Pacífico* and in Italian *Oceano Pacifico*. In both languages, the name was introduced in the 16th century.

Maybe because of the influence from English, the word came into German *Pazifik, Pazifische Ozean*; Dutch *Pacifische Oceaen*; Polish *Pacyfik*; and so on.

It is important to realize that not only European languages accepted the name *Pacific*. Even the Pacific languages accepted it!

In Chamorro, we rediscover the original meaning of the word, as we can read in *The Official Chamorro-English Dictionary, Ufisiât Na Dikcionârión Chamorro-Engles*: “*pasifiku*, n. or adj. Peace or peaceful. *Si Francisco pasifiku na taotao*, Francisco is a peaceful man” (Aguon (dir.), 2009, pág. 314). It comes from Spanish.

Personally, I registered both meanings (‘peaceful’ and ‘Pacific Ocean’) during my stay in the Marianas in 1985⁹ (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2002, pág. 517).

I have to admit that I do not know if there was a word for the Pacific Ocean in the old Chamorro language. Probably, the ancient inhabitants of the Mariana Islands did not have a proper name for it. They would have called it simply *i tasi* ‘the sea’.

In Ponapean language, we can read *Pacific*, and *Dekehrn Pacific* for ‘Pacific Islands’ (Rehg & Sohl, 1979, pág. 244), from English.

In Polynesian languages, we have *Pasefika* in Samoan (Allardice, 1985, pág. 166), *Pasifiki* in Tongan (Churchward, 1959, pág. 726), *Pākīpika* or *Fatifika* in Hawaiian, as in *Moana Pākīpika* ‘Pacific Ocean’ (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, pág. 306 & 495).

⁹With my wife Carmen-Paloma Albalá.

In Asia, we find in Malay *Pasifik*, as an adjective in *kepalauan Pasifik* ‘Pacific islands’, and as a noun in *Lautan Pasifik* ‘Pacific Ocean’ (Jones & Prentice (ed. y dir.), 1992, pág. 1101). It comes from English.

In Philippine languages, it is a loanword from Spanish, for example, in Tagalog *Pasípiók* (English, 1977, pág. 705), and in Cebuano, where we have again both meanings of the word: *pasífiko* ‘peaceful, conciliatory’ and *sa Pasípiko* ‘the Pacific’ (Cabonce, 1983, pág. 698).

If we look into Wikipedia, we will find the evolution of the word *Pacific* in many other languages all around the world, such as another Malayo-Polynesian language, Malagasy *Ôseana Pasifik*. Even in Africa, for example, in some Bantu languages such as Swahili *Pasifiki*, Lingala *Pasífiki*, and Yoruba *Pàsífíkì*.

Final Comments

The name given by Magellan, Pigafetta and Elcano, 500 years ago, has been an international success.

It is a very positive name: Pacific, peaceful. It does not matter if there are typhoons and other tropical storms; or terrible conflicts like the Second World War... The name of the ocean and the region is *Pacific*.

Another positive name created in the 16th century is *Chamorro*, now written *CHamoru* by many, mainly on Guam. The word *Chamorro* was adopted in Spanish in the year 1565, because the islanders of Guam shouted “*chamurre, chamurre*” when the Spanish ships arrived. *Chamurre* had the meaning of ‘friends’, as the chronicle and the vocabulary written that year said without any doubt (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2013). In addition, nobody is wrong when arriving to an island and looking to the islanders as enemies or friends. Even though Magellan gave the islands the name of *Islas de los Ladrones, Ladrone Islands*, their inhabitants were called *Chamorros*.

Therefore, since the 16th century we have names, in many languages, not only for the *Pacific* Ocean, but also for the islanders known as *Chamorros*, Friends.

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Places Without Names and Names Without Places? On the Blank Maps of the Gani-Islands

By Dr. Thomas Stolz, Nataliya Levkovich, and Ingo H. Warnke

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Abstract: *This talk raises the issue of the unexpectedly absent place names on the extant maps of the Gani Islands in the Northern Marianas. It is known that at different times during the last 360 years of documentation these islands have been inhabited on and off and that their present desertion is of recent origin. This gives rise to the question why there are hardly any toponomastic pieces of evidence for the previous human presence on the islands. It is argued that a number of place names – colonial or other – have not made it onto the official maps although they are mentioned unsystematically in documents referring to the Mariana Islands. Therefore, the conclusions sketch a future project dedicated to recovering the supposedly forgotten place names and make them visible in a revised atlas of the islands under review.*

Zoom Recording



Presentation Slides

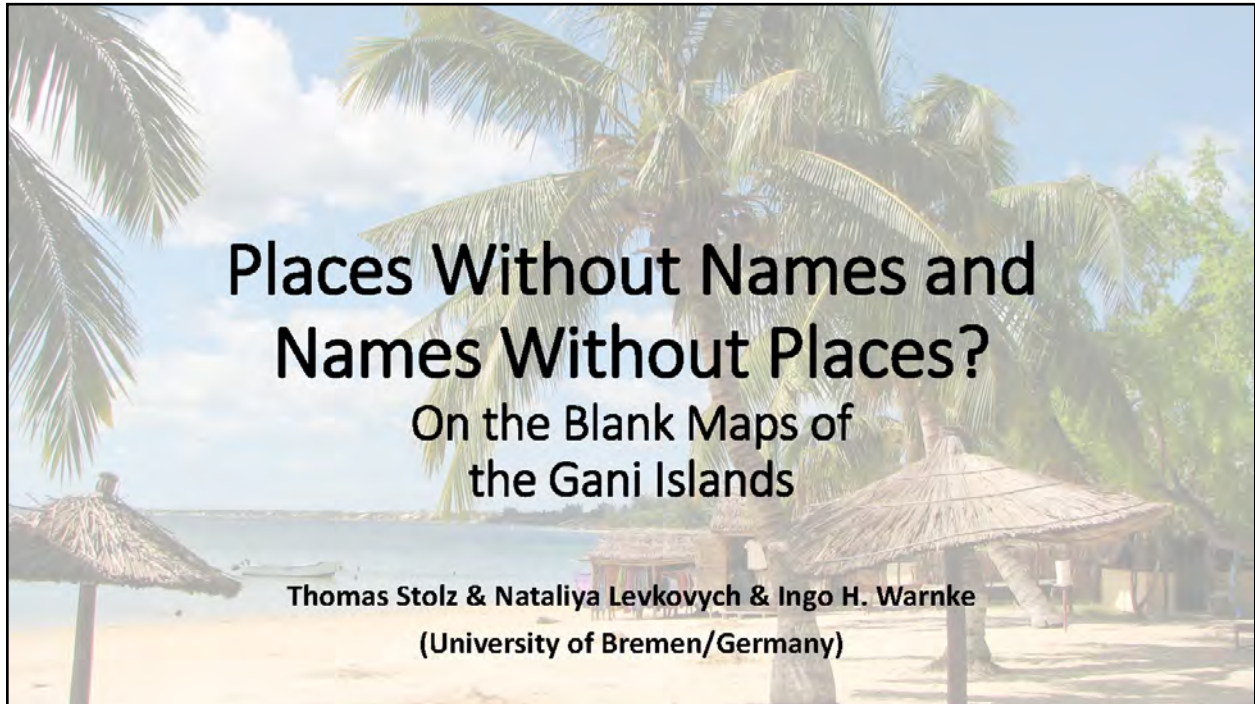


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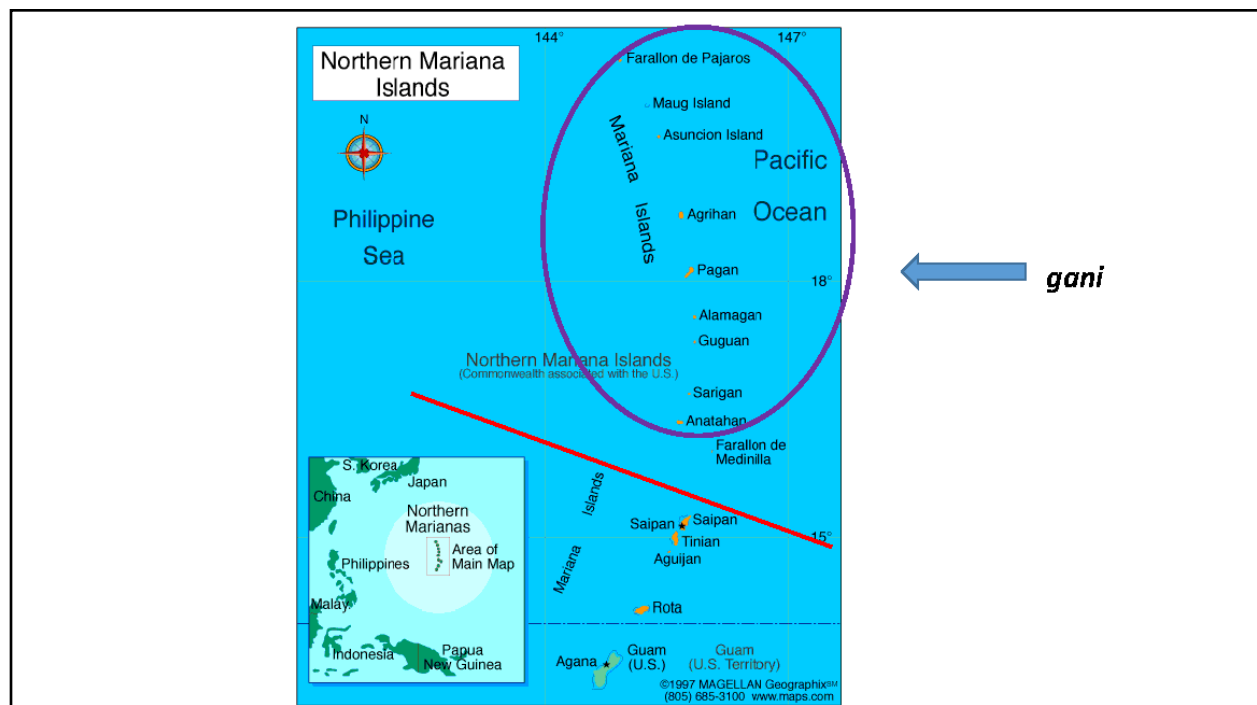
- 1 Introduction
- 2 General remarks on place names in the Marianas
- 3 The situation in the Gani islands
- 4 A counter-example from the North Atlantic
- 5 On a project-to-be

Three linguists from Germany

Dr. Nataliya Levkovich, Prof. Dr. Thomas Stolz, and Prof. Dr. Ingo H. Warnke have been involved in a number of linguistic projects dedicated to the properties of place names – structural and other – with special focus on colonial and postcolonial issues.

The projects we are conducting make it necessary to create a database of relevant place names from countries which have experienced European colonial dominance in the past.

This is (only) one of the reasons why we are interested in the place names in the Marianas.



Place names in the Marianas can be

- Spanish: *Santa Rosa*
- (partly) Japanese: ***Shomushon***
- (partly) German: *Mutchuk* ***Huk***
- Chamorro: *Songsong*
- Carolinian: *Gárapan*
- English: *Cocos Island*

A singularity(1905)

The village of ***Tanapag***, completely leveled by strong winds and high seas, was re-established on a protected hillside opposite the harbor. The Germans named the settlement ***Neuheim*** (New Town) although the residents continued to refer to it by its traditional name, ***Puerto Rico***.

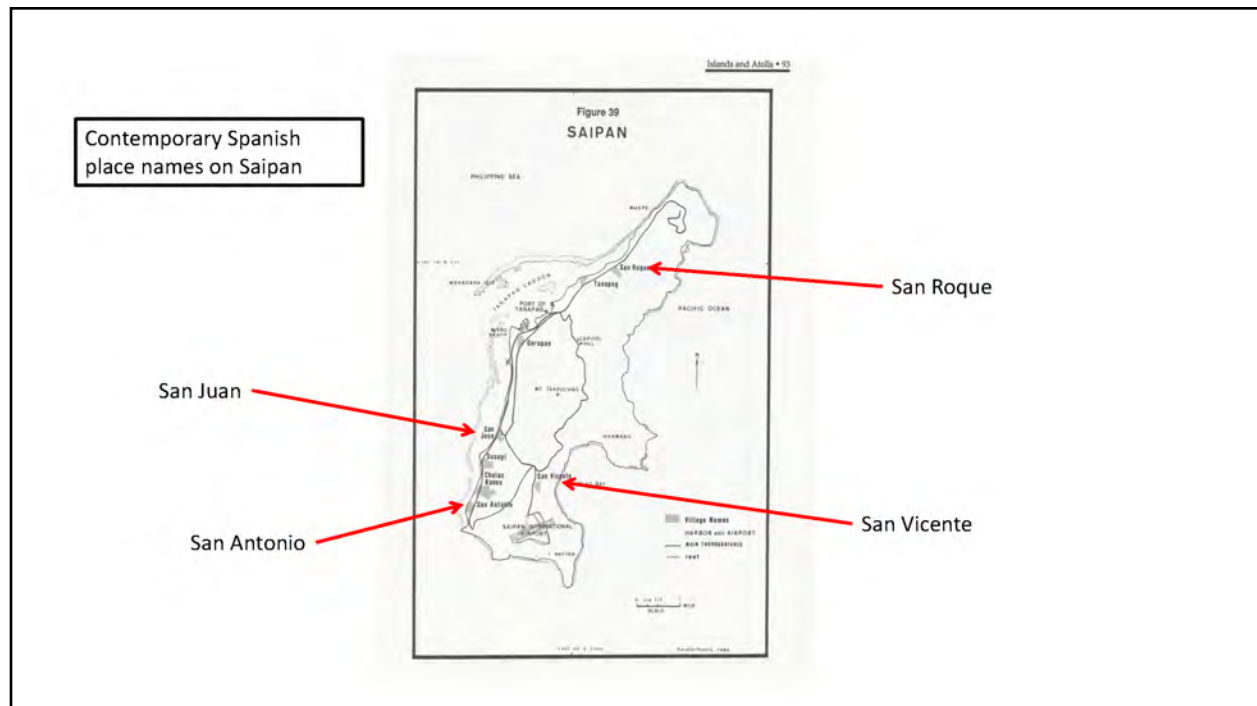
(Russell 1999: 24)

A multitude of names

Tano' Tasi ('land of the sea')
Islas de los Ladrones ('Thieves Islands')
Islas de las Velas Latinas ('Islands of the Latin sails')
Islas de los Jardines ('Garden Islands')
Islas de los Placeres ~ las Placeres [Prazeres]
 'Islands of the [masculine] Sandbanks / [feminine] Desires'
Archipiélago de S. Lazaro
Islas Marianas

Parallel terminology from north to south

Austronesian	Spanish	Austronesian	Spanish
<i>Urak(as)</i>	Farallon de Pajaros ('Birds Rock')	<i>Anatahan ~ Anatanagan</i>	<u>S. Joaquin</u>
<i>Ma(d)ug</i>	<u>S. Lorenzo</u> ~ Las Monjas ('The Nuns')	Farallon de <u>Medinilla</u>	
<i>Asongsong</i>	Asuncion ('Ascension')	<i>Saipan</i>	<u>S. José</u>
<i>Agrigan ~ Agrihan</i>	<u>Francesco Xavier</u>	<i>Tinian</i>	Buenavista ('Good sight')
<i>Pagan</i>	<u>S. Ignacio</u>	<i>Aguihan ~ Aguigan</i>	<u>S. Ángel</u>
<i>Alamagan</i>	Concepcion ('Conception')	<i>Rota ~ Luta</i> (Spanish <i>ruta</i> 'route?')	<u>S. Ana</u> ~ Zarpana ('Weighing of anchors')
<i>Guguan</i>	<u>S. Felipe</u> ~ Piedras ('Stones') ~ Farallon de <u>Torres</u>	<i>Guam ~ Guahan</i>	<u>S. Juan</u>
<i>Sarigan</i>	<u>S. Carlos</u>	<i>Ua(gol)</i> [Carolinian]	



The special case of the Gani islands

On the four southerly islands of the Commonwealth, there is a rich stock of place names which refer to geo-objects on the islands.

In contrast, the situation changes dramatically if we look at the ten islands to the north of Saipan.

At least superficially and with the exception of Pagan, only the names of the islands themselves seem to exist.

Individual geo-objects on these islands are not registered by name in the extant sources.

This is striking because four of the islands used to be settled (on and off) during the last 100 years.



Guide to Place Names in the
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

(the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana Is.)

Compiled by
E. H. Bryan, Jr.

Pacific Scientific Information Center
Bernice P. Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawaii

1971

MARIANA ISLANDS (without Guam) AND SUMMARY OF TRUST TERRITORY

No.	Name	Approx. No of islands	Dry land area (sq. miles)	Population		1945	1970
				1935	1945		
M.I.				native	other		
1	Uracus	1	.79	0	0	0	0
2	Maug	3	.810	0	0	0	0
	East Island		(.363)				
	West Island		(.264)				
	North Island		(.183)				
3	Asuncion	1	2.821	0	0	0	0
4	Agrihan	1	18.29	86	2	0	56
5	Pagan	1	18.65	131	89	0	52
6	Alamagan	1	4.352	20	4	0	24
7	Guguan	1	1.615	0	0	0	0
8	Serigan	1	1.93	0	0	0	0
9	Anatahan	1	12.48	37	3	0	16
10	Farallon de Medinilla	1	.35	0	0	0	0
11	Saipan	3	47.46	3,282	20,290	3,795	10,034
12	Tinian	1	39.29	25	14,108	0	711
13	Aguijan	1+1	2.77	0	0	0	0
14	Rota	3	32.9	764	4,844	862	1,363

MI MARIANA ISLANDS	Mariana Shoto	1'Archipel de St.Lazare, Islas de Los Letinas, Ladrone Is., Latinas, Islas de los Velas Latinas, Islas Marianas, Los Isles Marianas, Los Jardines, Los Ladrones, Los Marianas, Los Frascas, Marianas group, Mariane Is., Marianen, Marian Islands, Mariannas, Marianne Is., Marianne Ladrone Is., Mary Ann's Is., Thieve's Islands.
	13° 14' to 20°33' N. 144° 36' to 146°05' E	
MI 1. FARALLON DE PAJAROS	Urakasau To	Ans, Desleria, Farallon and Poraro, Farallon de Pajajos, Farallon de Pajaros, Guaban, Guy Rock, La Inglesa, Pajaros, Poraro, Rocher de Guy, Urac, Uracas Insel, Urakas, Uricas, Urracas y Farallon de Pajaros, Vogelinsel.
	20°32' N 144°54' E 334 meters, 1047 feet	
MI 2. MAUG Islands	Mogu To Mougu To	Bato, Buvri, Eunas I., Las Monjas, Les Isles Uracas, Mabo, Mamo, Mang, Mungo, Mac, Mauga, Nani, Mauco, Mayug, Monjas, Moug, Ota, Ota-Mao, Saints Laurent, San Lorenzo, Tins, Tuna, Tunas I., Urac, Urracas, Urakas Is., Urracas, Urracus
	20°01' N 145°13' E	
MI 2 a North Island	Kita shima, -to	(227 m., 746 ft.)
MI 2 b East Island	Higashi shima, -to	(215 m., 709 ft.)
MI 2 c West Island	Nishi shima, -to	(178 m., 591 ft.)
MI 3 ASUNCION Island	Assonguon To	Asomeon, Asonoon, Asoncun, Asongsong, Asonon, Assumption, Assonguon Insel, Assonguon Is., Assonguon, Assumption, Asuncion, Assumpcion, Asuncion, Ches- schoe, Chemocan, Chemococ, Cherpahn, Cheroshuns, Ile de l'Assumption, Insel de l'assumption, Isle de Volcan, Las Monjas, Semoguan, Sonsong, Volcan Grande, Volcano Grande, Volcgrande
	19°40' N 145°24' E .2923 ft, 891 meters	
MI 4. AGRIHAN Island	Agurigan To	A Grega, Agrama, Agrigan, - Insel, - I., Agrigarrn, Agriguan, Agrijan, Agrigon Agurjan, Ajujan, Agurijan, Ergua, Gilan, Grea, Gregua, Grogua, Greja, Griga, Grigan, Guana, Guerga, Ile de Sainte Francois Xavier, Ile de Sainte Francois Xavier, San Francisco Javier, Volcan de Griga
	18°45' N 145°40' E 965 meters, 3166 ft.	
	Agrihan Anchorage Arigan Boyti	Agrihan Ankerplatz

			MI 5 a Tarage (lcty)	Talagi
			MI 5 b Mt. Pagan Pagan-san	(569.9 m., 1870 ft.)
			MI 5 c Baranka (lcty)	
			MI 5 d Hira Rock	
			MI 5 e Anairikiki (lcty)	
			MI 5 f Togari Rock	
			MI 5 g Degusa (lcty)	Rugusa (?)
			MI 5 h Apansantate (lcty)	
			MI 5 i Maru Mountain Mariama Yama	"Round mountain", 499 m., 1650 ft.
			MI 5 j Togari Mountain Totou Zan (san)	"Pointed mountain", 543 m., 1795 ft.
			MI 5 k Fuwaobosu (lcty)	
			MI 5 l Katakayushi (peak)	
			MI 5 m Piarara (lcty)	
			MI 5 o South Point Minami (pt.)	
			MI 5 p Pariyaru (lcty)	
			MI 5 q Sarehai (lcty)	
			MI 5 r Periruru (lcty)	
			MI 5 s Pontanjaburo (lcty)	
			MI 5 t Apsan Bay Apsan-wan	Apsan Bucht, Apan
			MI 5 u Samsaina (rock)	
			MI 5 v Dekairu (lcty)	
			MI 5 w Apansameena (lcty)	
			MI 5 x Shomshon (settlement)	Air strip "Trade and commercial building" Landing place
			MI 5x/y Sengan peninsula	
			MI 5 y Bazeera Rock	Bandera peninsula Monument
			MI 5 z Lagona Lake	Lagona Lake (Former "sugar mill") (Former meteorological observatory)
			MI 5aa Hot spring	(adjacent to a small salt water "lake")
			MI 5ab Malas Marasu	
MI 5. PAGAN	Pagan To	Agan, Ile de Saint Ignace, Pagan Insel, Pagan, Pagara, Pagon, Papan, Paygan, Pagan, Pagon, Pragan, Praien, Prajan, Pempile de Volcans, Remplie de Volcans, San Ignacio, Saint Ignace		
			18°03 to 18°10' N.	
			145°43 to 145°49' E.	
			569.9 m., 1870 feet	

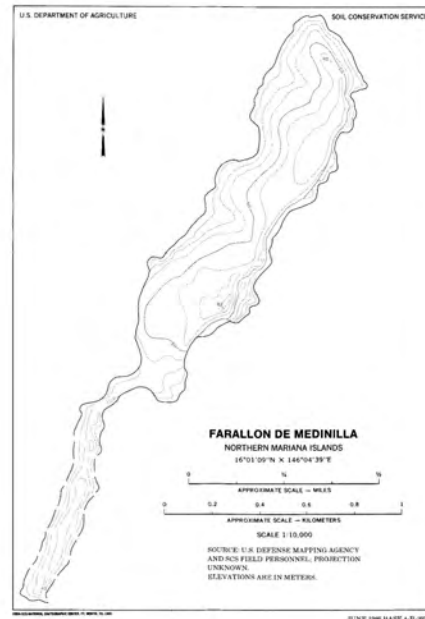
MI 6 ALAMAGON Island	Aramagon To	Alamagan Insel, Almaguan, Almagun, Almagun, Alisagan, Artemagan, Artomagan, Ile de la Conception, La Conception, Ora-Magan, Uramagan
		17°36' N.
		145°50' E.
		744 m., 2441 ft.
MI 7 GUGUAN I.	Guguan To	Gaguan, Gaugan, Giges, Gregan, Greguan, Grijes, Gnagan, Guogan, Gugan, Gugua, Guguan, Guguan Insel, Guguan, Guguan, Ile de Sainte Philippe, Saint Philippe, San Felipe, San Felipe, San Felipe
MI 7/8 Zealandia Bank	Jiirandeyu-Tai	Pedras de Torres
		Least depth 11 fathoms
		16°53' N.
		145°51' E.
MI 8 SARIGAN Island	Sarigwan To	Chareguan, Charega, Cheregua, Cheroga, Cheruguan, Ile de Saint Charles, San Carlos, Sarigan Insel, Sariguan, Sariguan, Sariguan, Sariguan
		16°42' N.
		145°47' E.
		549 m., 1801 feet
MI 9 ANATARAN Island	Anatahan To	Amalgan, Anatacan, Anatahan Insel, Anatajan, Anataca, Anataxan, Anataxan, Anatayan, Anatahan, Anatahan, Anatahan, Ile de San Joachin, Instajan, Natan, Natan, San Joaquin, San Joaquin
		16°22' N.
		145°40' E.
		788 m., 2585 feet
MI 10 FARALLON DE MEDINILLA	Bado Shima	Bird I., Farallon Pazaros, Island Pazaros, Madinilla, Mediniza, Medinilla I., - Insel, Mediniza, Pazaros, Rocher, Rocker, Uracas, Urekan
	Mediniya To	
	Mediniza To	
		16°01' N.
		146°05' E.
		81 m., 266 ft.

Under the looking glass

There are official maps of the islands under scrutiny dating back to the 1960ies and published as late as June 1986:

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service
U.S. Defense Mapping Agency and SCS Field Personnel
USDA-SCS-National Cartographic Center, Fort Worth Tx.
1966
June 1986

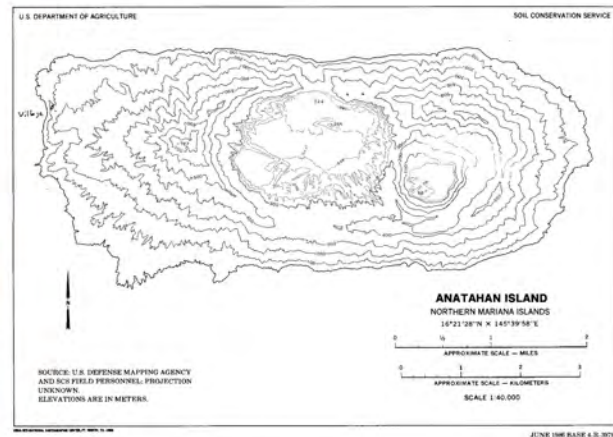
Farallon de Medinilla



Farallon de Medinilla

- 1819 mentioned by Freycinet, named after Don Jose de Medinilla y Pifieda, Spanish governor 1812 – 1822
 - **size** 0,85 km²
 - **coordinates** 16°01' N, 146°04³/₄'E
 - **population** Probably inhabited at the time of the Spanish conquest
- 1935: 0
1945: 0
1969: 0
1970: 0

Anatahan

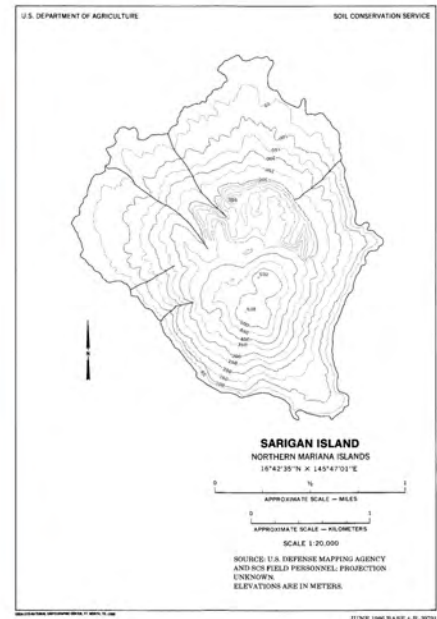


<https://www.spielilm.de/trailer/16668/die-sage-von-anatahan#30981>

Anatahan

- size 31,36 km²
- coordinates 16°21½' N, 145°39' E
- population 1668: densely populated
 - 1900: 10 - 15**
 - 1935: 37 + 3 Japanese**
 - 1936: 80**
 - 1945: 0
 - 1967: 64**
 - 1969: 23**
 - 1970: 16**

Sarigan



Sarigan

- size 4,96 km²
- coordinates 16°42¼' N, 145°47' E
- population Densely populated in 1669

1695: inhabitants deported to Saipan and in 1698 to Guam,
1825: uninhabited

1902: 8

1935: 0

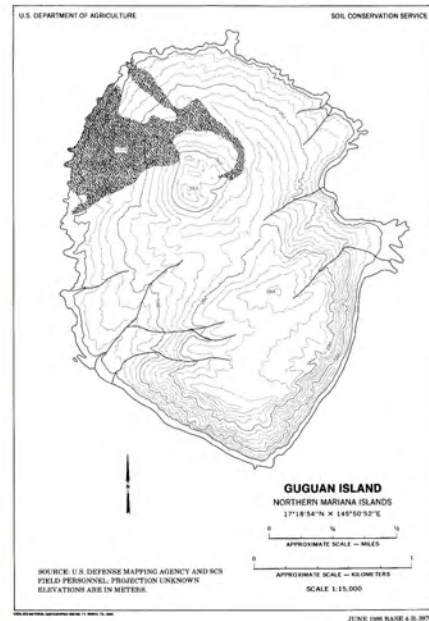
1945: 0

1967: 3

1969: 0

1970: 0

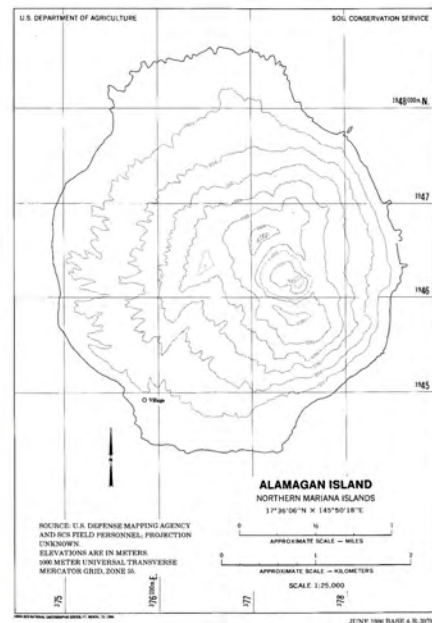
Guguan



Guguan

- size 3,87 km²
- coordinates 17°18½' N, 145°50¾' E
- **population** Sanvitores speaks of settlements in the southern part of the island (as of 1669)
 - 1935: 0
 - 1945: 0
 - 1969: 0
 - 1970: 0

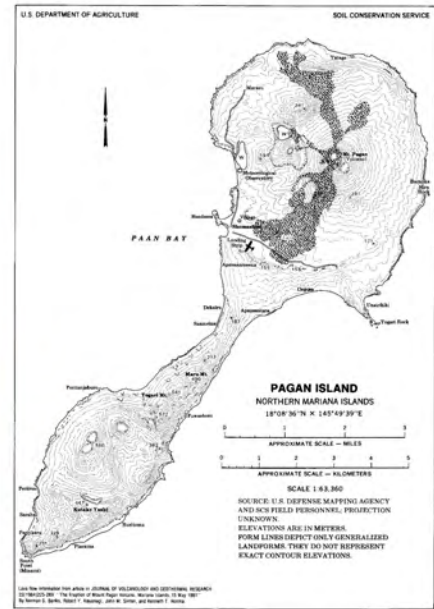
Alamagan



Alamagan

- size 11,55 km²
- coordinates 17°36¼' N, 145°50½' E
- population 1669: inhabited; 1695: deportation to Saipan and in 1698 to Guam.
 - 1900: 18 (workers village in the south; village in the north west)
 - 1901: 10
 - 1902: 8
 - 1935: 20 + 4 Japanese
 - 1945: 0
 - 1967: 15
 - 1969: 48
 - 1970: 24

Pagan



Pagan

- **size** 47,78 km²
- **coordinates** 18°05' N, 145°44³/₄' E
- **population** Densely populated in 1668; 1695: deportation to Saipan and in 1698 to Guam,
1900: 75
1901: 137
1902: 137
1935: 131 + 89 Japanese
1945: 0
1967: 87
1969: 62
1970: 52

Japanese relics

Village:

- *Shomushon* = Jap. *shōmushō* 'Ministry of Trade' + Chamorro *-n* (linker) '(what is) of the Ministry of Trade'

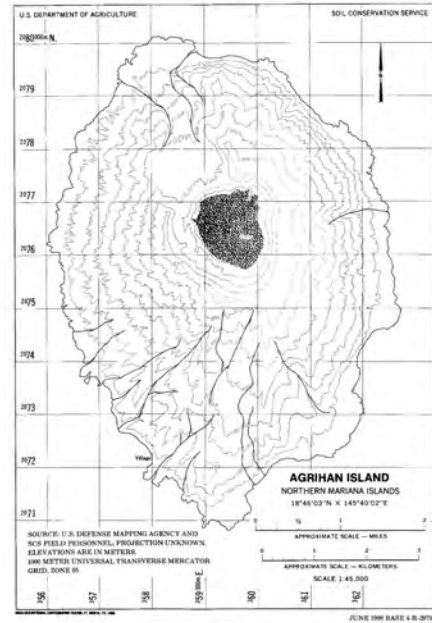
Mountains:

- (*Mount*) *Togari* = Jap. *togari* 'peak, spike (~ bird hunting)'
- (*Mount*) *Kutake Yashi* = Jap. *ku* 'area' + *take* 'bamboo' + *yashi* 'palm-tree'
- (*Mount*) *Maru* = Japanese *maru* 'circle, round'

Rocks:

- *Togari (Rock)* = Japanese *togari* '(peak, spike ~) bird hunting'
- *Hira (Rock)* = Japanese *hira* 'flat'

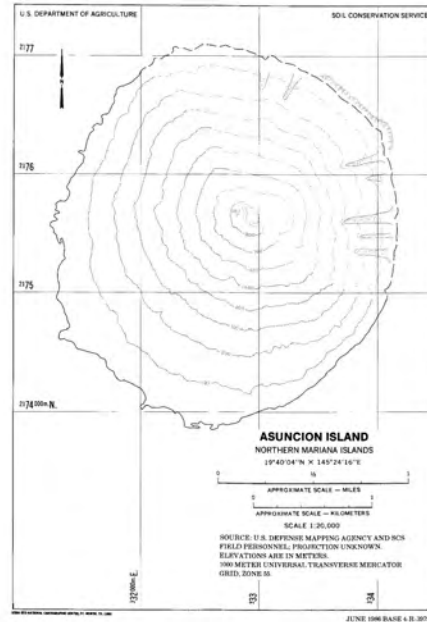
Agrihan



Agrihan

- size 43,57 km²
- coordinates 18°46' N, 145°40' E
- population Populated in 1669,; 1695 deportation to Saipan and in 1698 to Guam.
 - 1900: 37
 - 1901: 32
 - 1902: 32
 - 1935: 86 + 2 Japanese
 - 1945: 0
 - 1953: inhabited (workers village in the south west)
 - 1967: 94
 - 1969: 64
 - 1970: 56

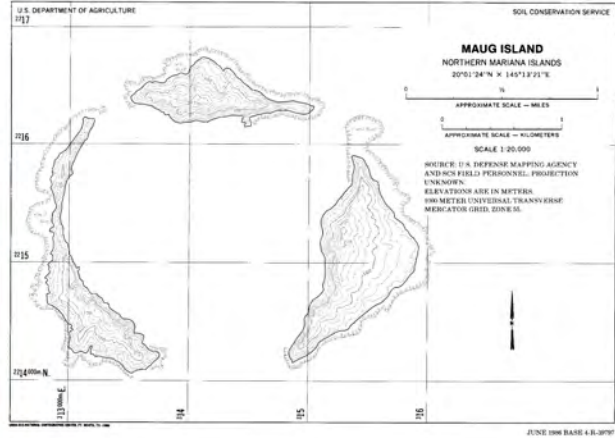
Asuncion



Asuncion

- **size** 7,33 km²
- **coordinates** 19°40¹/₄' N, 145°24¹/₄' E
- **population** 1669: inhabited; 1695: deportation to Saipan and in 1698 to Guam.
1935: 0
1945: 0
1969: 0
1970: 0

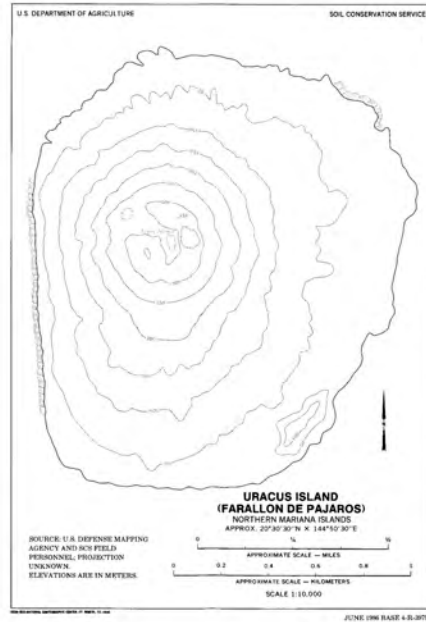
Maug



Maug

- **size** Northern island: 0,47 km², Western island: 0,70 km², Eastern island: 0,96 km²
- **coordinates** Northern island: 20°02' N, 145°13¼' E, Western island: 20°01¼' N, 145°12¾' E, Eastern island: 20°01½' N, 145°14'
- **population** 1669: inhabited; 1695: deportation to Saipan and in 1698 to Guam.
1935: 0
1945: 0
1969: 0
1970: 0

Uracus



Uracus

- **size** 2,56 km²
- **coordinates** 20°32¼' N, 144°53¾' E,
- **population** Uracus was probably never permanently settled.

The changeful history

- 1695 Deportation of all inhabitants of the Gani islands to Saipan
- 1698 Deportation of all inhabitants of the islands north of Rota to Guam
- 1816 Immigration of Carolinians to Saipan
- 1863 Resettlement of Tinian
- 1899 Northwards migration from Guam
- 1900 Resettlement of Anatahan, Alamagan, Pagan, and Agrihan
- 1905 Immigration of Carolinians to Pagan and Saipan
- 1911 Resettlement of Farallón de Medinilla, Sarigan, Guguan, and Farallón de Pájaros
- 1935 Settlements reported only for Agrihan, Pagan, Atamagan, and Anatahan
- 1945 All of the Gani islands depopulated
- 1970 Settlements reported only for Agrihan, Pagan, Atamagan, and Anatahan
- 1980 Start of the evacuation of the inhabitants of the Gani islands to Saipan and Tinian)
- 2018 No permanent human presence of the Gani islands

Where are the place names?

Except Pagan, the maps of the Gani islands do not bear any names for geo-objects on the islands. Hills, valleys, rocks, beaches, lakes, etc. remain anonymous, in a manner of speaking.

This is remarkable insofar as people have lived there for more or less extended periods of time. They were involved in agriculture, raised cattle, and were fishermen. Children were born there. In some places, they could also attend school, go to church, and bury their dead.

We assume that everyday life required of people to orient themselves spatially in their surroundings.

This necessity provides the pre-condition for the creation and use of place names.

A press release

Thomas Stolz and Nataliya Levkovych, two linguists from the University of Bremen in Germany, have come to Saipan to conduct research for two projects which involve languages of Micronesia.

The first project serves the purpose of reconstructing the place names which are missing from the contemporary maps of the northerly islands of the CNMI. The German scholars have noticed that the extant maps of islands such as Sarigan, Anatahan, Agrihan, etc. do not show any place names although the islands used to be inhabited in the recent past. Together with the Humanities Council the visitors from Bremen have prepared the continuation of the project in 2019 in collaboration with former inhabitants of the northerly islands who still remember the local place names which were in use at the time of settlement. The aim of the project is the publication of an atlas of the islands with the place names restored and added historical, cultural, and geographic annotations and comments.

Scott Russell

During his years of working for the *Humanities Council of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands*, Scott Russell extracted place names for geo-objects on the Gani islands from the extant administrative texts, travelogs, and unpublished manuscripts of the 1970ies.

His search yielded a list of 33 place names only eight of which can be attributed (with some but not with absolute certainty) to a given geo-object.

We assume that there must be many more place names stored in the memory of the former inhabitants of the Gani islands.

place name	on island	geo-object class	origin (language(s))	etymology	meaning	structure
Arctic Ocean	Anatahan		English		Arctic ocean	ADJ + N
As Biha	Agrigan		Chamorro (Spanish)	vieja	at the old woman's place	DET + N
As Mahalang	Agrigan		Chamorro			DET + N (?)
As Peligro	Agrigan		Chamorro (Spanish)	peligro	at the danger(?)	DET + N
Banko	Anatahan		Chamorro (Spanish)	banco		N
Baranka	Pagan	riff?	Spanish	barranca	riff	N
Bullitoma	Pagan					
Chapanis	Agrigan		Chamorro		Japanese	N
Faibuis	Pagan		Carolinian?			
Fais	Alamagan		Carolinian?			
Goneg	Agrigan		Chamorro?			
Hoya	Pagan		Chamorro?			
Kannat Bulao	Anatahan	valley?	Chamorro		valley of the bread-fruit tree	N + N
Lanchon Talo	Agrigan	farm/ranch ?	Chamorro (Spanish)	rancho	ranch of ?	N-LINK N
Malas	Pagan					
Nonag	Agrigan		Chamorro		tree?	N
Pahong	Agrigan		Chamorro?			
Palear	Pagan		Spanish?		to shovel	V
Pan San Mena	Pagan		Chamorro		uppep X	N + CMP+ ADV
Partido	Sarigan	settlement?	Spanish	partido	separated	ADJ
Partido	Alamagan	settlement?	Spanish	partido	separated	ADJ
Pialama	Pagan					
Quiroga	Agrigan		Spanish			N
Regusa	Pagan					
Salafae	Pagan					
Santa Cruz	Agrigan		Spanish		Holy cross	ADJ + N
Songsong	Agrigan	settlement	Chamorro		village	N
Songsong	Anatahan	settlement	Chamorro		village	N
Songsong	Sarigan	settlement	Chamorro		village	N
Songsong	Alamagan	settlement	Chamorro		village	N
Taberu	Anatahan		Japanese?	taberu	to eat	V
Talage	Pagan					
Talak Katan	Agrigan		Chamorro		northerly ?	N + ADJ

The highest degree of confidence

It is difficult to determine which place name refers to which geo-objects on a given island.

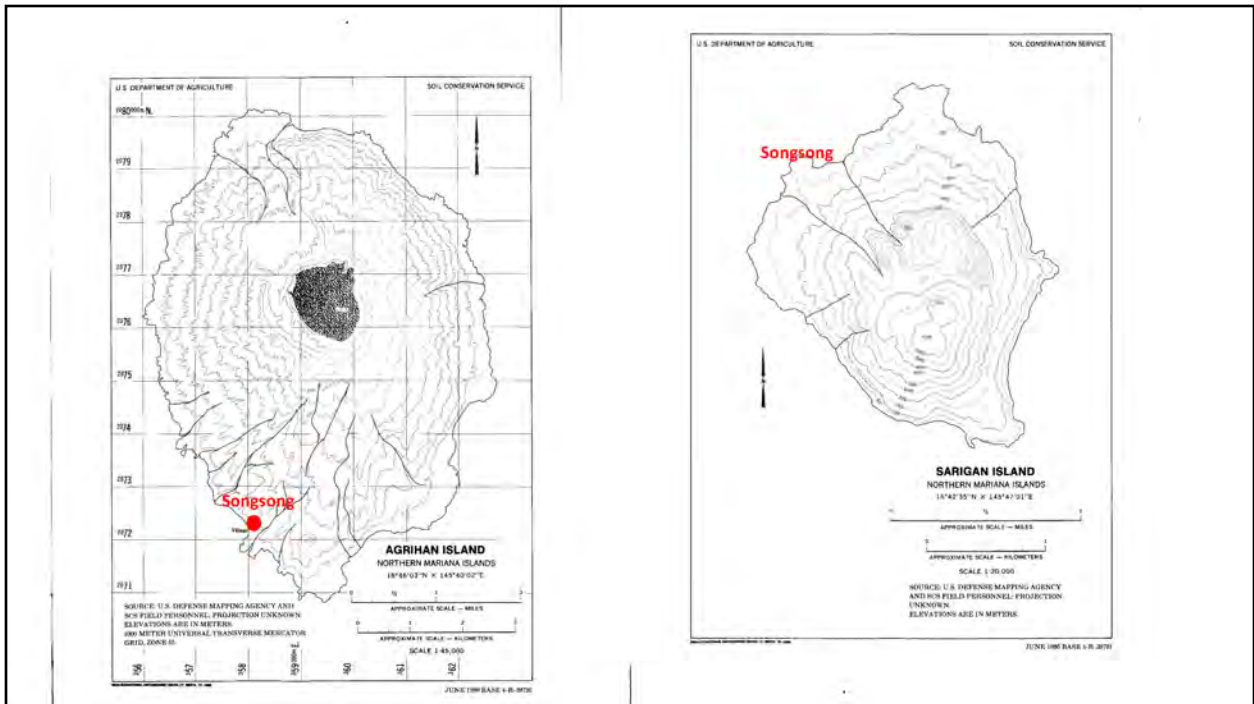
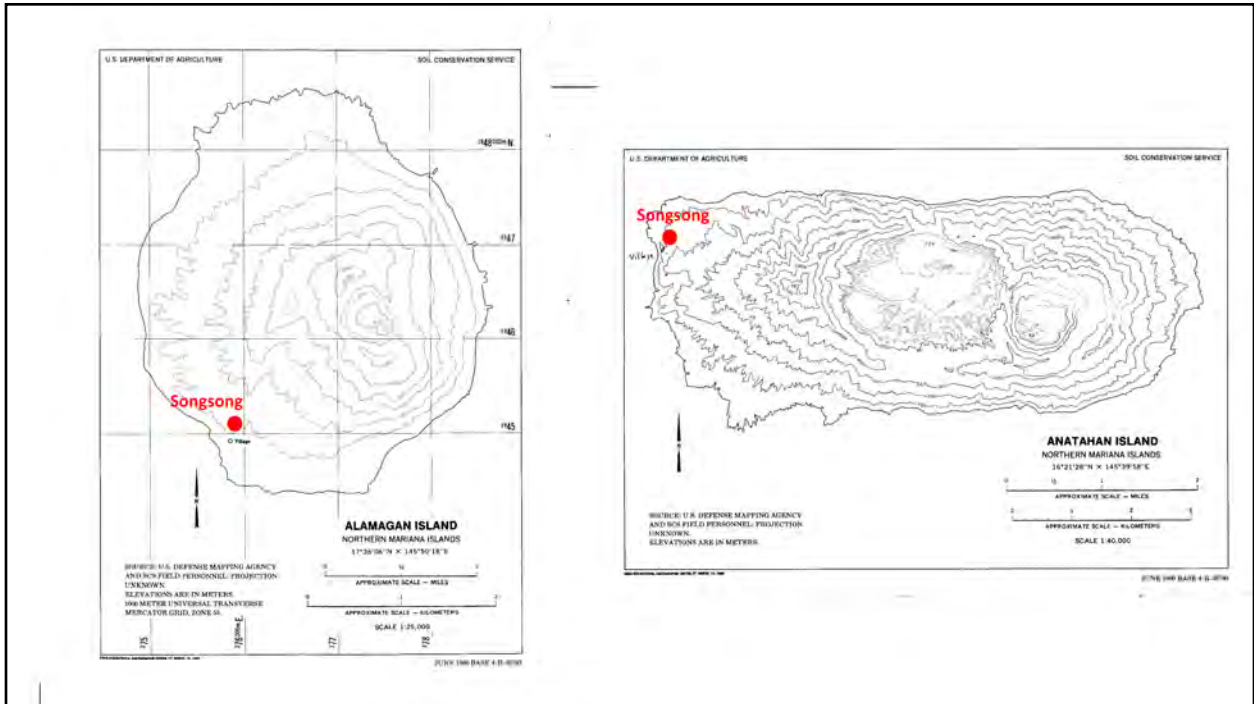
The best we can get at the moment is **Songsong** which is attested four times in Scott Russell's list.

For the islands Alamagan, Anatahan, and Agrihan, it is relatively easy to locate the place called **Songsong** on the map.

This is different in the case of Sarigan:

It is acknowledged that there was a settlement **Songsong**.

However, the exact geographical location of the village is still unknown.



A proper name or a common noun?

In Chamorro, *songsong* is ambiguous as to the word-class it belongs to.

It can either be a common noun and thus, function as translation equivalent of English *village*.

It may be used to refer to any kind of settlement which fulfills the criteria of being a village.

At the same time, *Songsong* is also a place name with specific reference (mono-reference) as in the case of *Songsong* on Rota.

Whether the name of the island *Asongsong* is related to the place-name usage of *songsong* or a folk-etymological reanalysis of Spanish *Asunción* (or vice versa), cannot be determined in this talk.

Why we wonder

The absence of place names for geo-objects on the Gani islands is special.

There are many uninhabited islands in different parts of the world whose maps nevertheless host a plethora of place names although they are of no practical use to anybody in terms of everyday communicative necessities.

There is thus no tight causal relation between permanent human presence and the existence of place names.

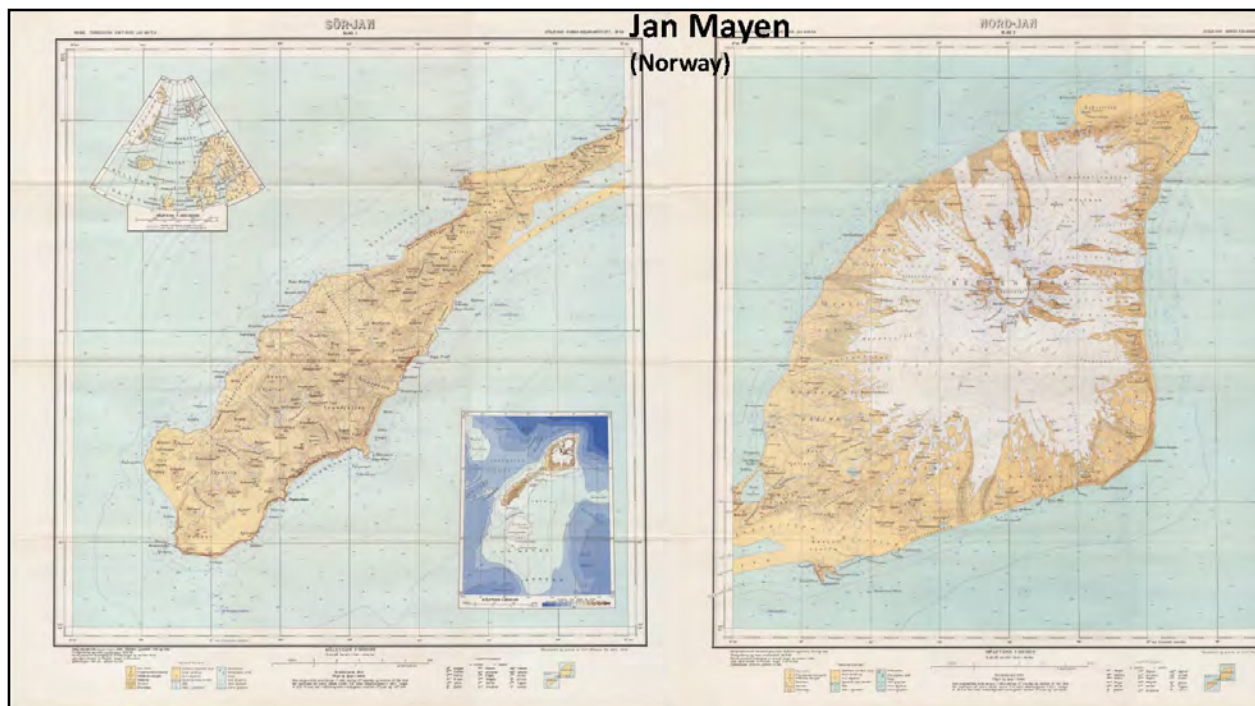
A distant case in point

Jan Mayen is a Norwegian island in the North Atlantic.

It was discovered in the early 17th century and never populated at any time because the climatic conditions are disfavorable to long-term human settlement.

Whalers used to stop by for short periods of time.

The absence of humans on the island notwithstanding, the geo-objects on the islands have been systematically named so that the extant maps of **Jan Mayen** are almost overcrowded with place names.

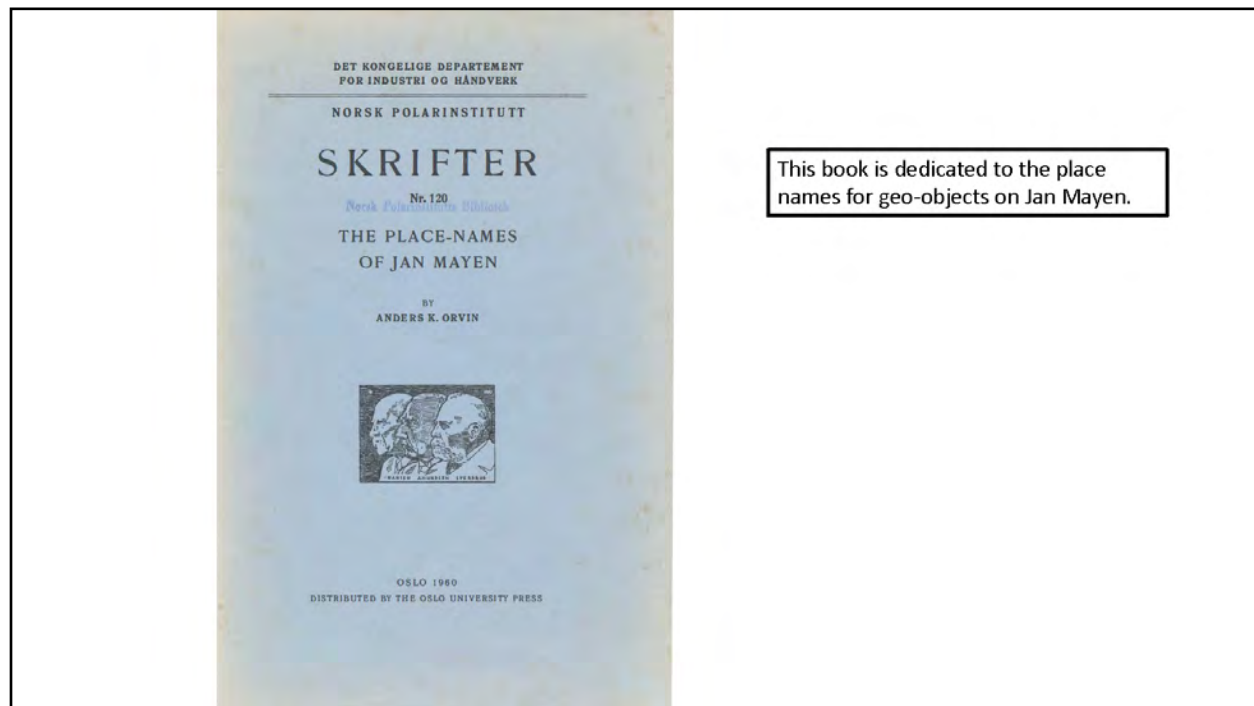


**Jan Mayen:
Northern part**



Selection

- *Kronprinsesse Märthas Bre* [glacier] lit. „Crown princess Märtha glacier“
- *Krognessryggen* [mountain range] lit. „Krogness’s back“ (person)
- *Trinityberget* [mountain] lit. „Mount Trinity“ (ship)
- *Haakon VII Topp* [peak] peak. „Haakon VII’s peak“
- *Nordkapp* [point] lit. „North Cape“
- *Kokssletta* [downs] lit. „Coke Downs“
- *Skansen* [hill] lit. „fortification“
- *Krossbukta* [bay] lit. „Kross’s Bay“ (person)
- *Varta* [hill] lit. „wart“
- *Trollstigen* [mountain range] lit. „troll stairs“



No reason for leaving the maps empty

Jan Mayen is a counter-example in the sense that it shows that geo-objects may bear names even without the permanent presence of users of these place names.

On this Norwegian islands, even those geo-objects which are physically out of reach of humans have been baptized.

In contrast to **Jan Mayen**, the Gani islands were repeatedly inhabited throughout there history.

The topographic structure of the Gani islands is by no means monotonous.

There are sufficient prominent geo-objects along the coast and in the hinterland which seem to be waiting for being named.

Project proposal

Given that we are facing remembered but still unregistered place names, we fear that an important component of the cultural heritage of the Marianas is in danger of falling into oblivion.

To safeguard the knowledge of the former inhabitants of the Gani islands to the benefit of the future generations, an effort should be made to recover the presumably rich stock of place names and document them in the format of an annotated and culturally well-informed atlas.

Cooperation

We offer our assistance in terms of linguistic and toponomastic expertise to lend a helping hand to those who are willing to attempt to reconstruct the missing place names.

We have initiated the collaboration with Leo Pangelinan at the *Humanities Council of the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands*.

It is hoped that former inhabitants of the Gani islands share their memories with the project team because without their support the atlas will not be feasible in the first place.

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Thomas Stolz is full professor of general and comparative linguistics at the University of Bremen (Germany). He has conducted a number of projects focusing on aspects of Chamorro grammar and Chamorro language contacts. He visited the Marianas in 2007, 2011, and 2018. In the framework of the project “Chamorrica” several unpublished Chamorro texts are being prepared for a critical edition. He is also interested in the reconstruction of place names of the Gani-islands.

Exploring Latte in the Marianas

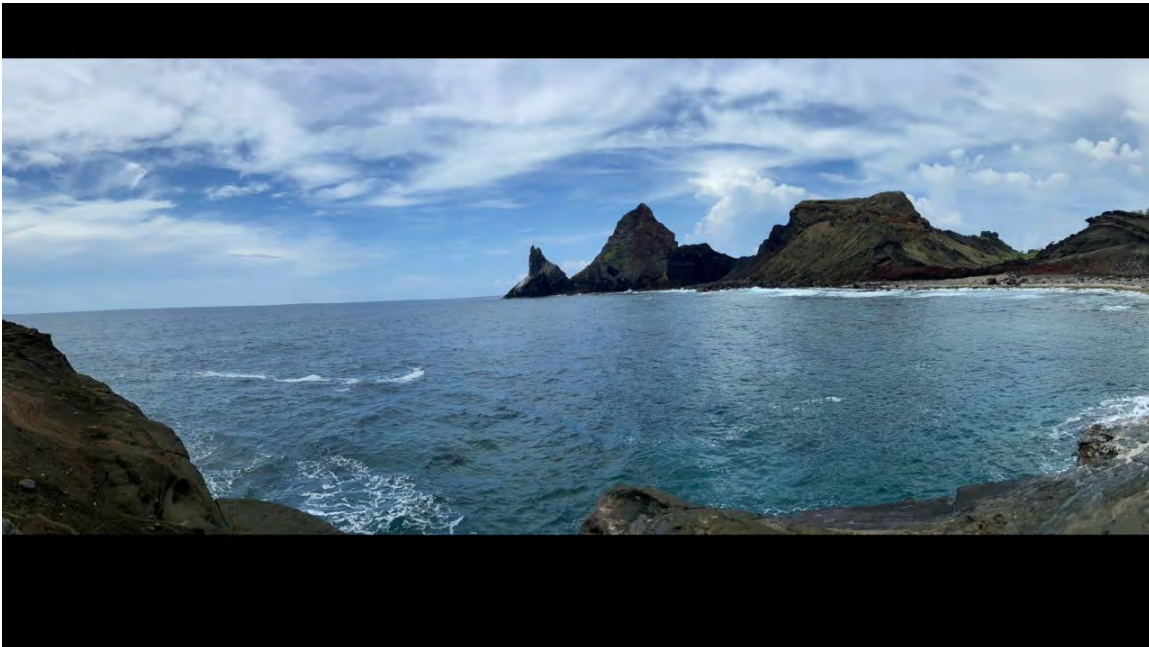
Pågan Island 2020

By Leila Staffler

CNMI Public School System

Abstract: *This presentation will consist of a short 15 minute documentary about Latte in the Marianas, with a focus on Pågan latte. I made this documentary to share the beauty and wonder of our Marianas chain, in particular, the cultural significance of Latte throughout the chain. I know in our history books and records, it is said that there are Latte on every island, but often what people don't see, they don't know exists. The purpose of this documentary is to show that there are multiple, culturally significant sites that have yet to be studied in our Marianas chain. There are untold stories of our ancestors, buried in the detritus of the land, waiting for someone to unearth them and share their wonder. With the ongoing threat of military expansion in the Marianas, losing these stories and our history forever, is a very real possibility. This documentary is intended to spark interest to help protect us from and possibly stave off military occupation in Pågan and all of Gåni.*

Documentary





Originally from the spicy island of Tinian, Leila Staffler is currently settled on the verdant island of Saipan. She has a BA in Liberal Arts from Willamette University and a MS in Educational Leadership from Western Governors University. She has been involved in public service since 2001 as a humanities advocate, public school teacher, school administrator and was recently elected to the 22nd House of Representatives.

Panel: Traditional Seafaring

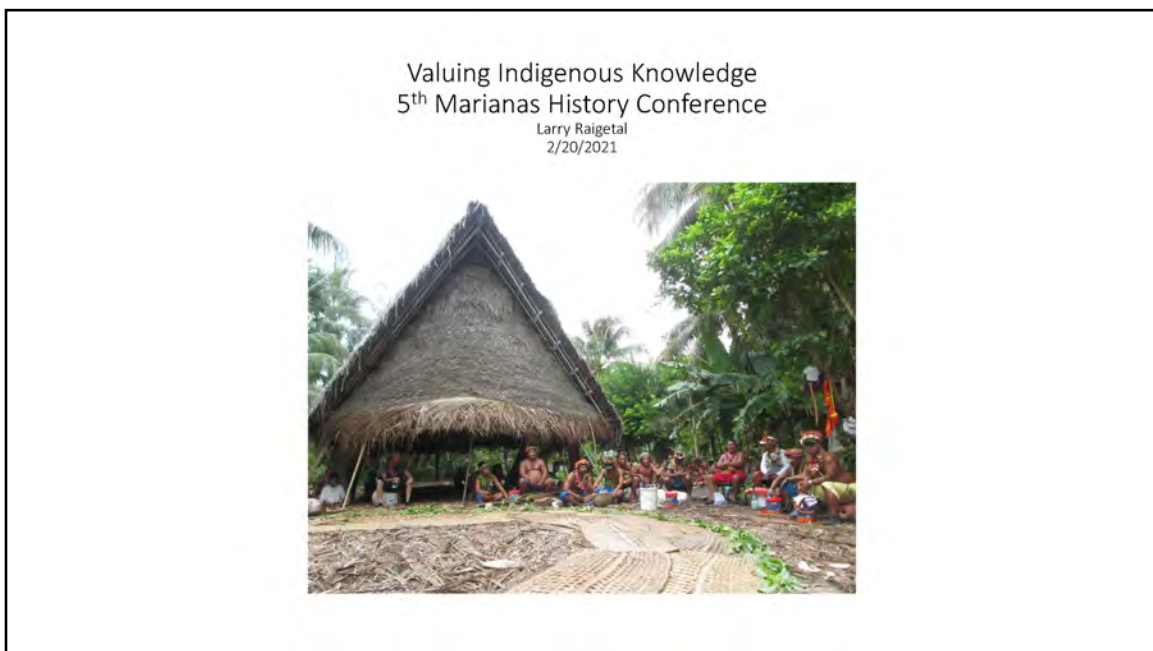
Valuing our Ancestral Knowledge in the Seafaring System

By Larry Raigetal

Waa'gey

Abstract: *In light of the present physical challenges brought upon our own desire and by natural process, we are faced by constant choices to make. Such choices will ultimately bear consequences on our lives. While for the most part, and perhaps by our cultural susceptibility, these changes are more often accepted as they come, it can be said that the “old ways” our ancestral knowledge, cultural values and practices of the past have come to a threshold. From the simplest socially acceptable behaviors within our societies to the more sophisticated cultural technologies handed down from generation to generation i.e. tradition navigation system, we must ask some fundamental questions. Are they still relevant or should they take their destiny and fade away over the horizon belonging only to ancestral past? This panel will consist of elders and knowledge holders in seafaring who will speak to current efforts to promote indigenous knowledge and cultural values by ensuring the future generation is not left to wonder who they are.*

Presentation Slides



Pwalupol

I am protected and you are protected
I protect myself from top to bottom, from bottom to top, and
The spirits don't see me, the people don't see me,
I summon the spirits and I become one, and
Because I run underneath the coral head in the depth of the ocean, and
drink from the rain drops high up in the heavens
I will rise from the fire pit of the ocean, so I can test it, and pierced through
it.
I'm fortified as glittering light, and with blessings I am luminous, then
I eat the stars in the universe, I eat life, and I eat the fruit of knowledge
I raise "Mererig" to the heaven, the guardian of this planet.

Abstract

In light of eminent change and the many challenges it poses, we face the question of what to do with our indigenous knowledge and practices handed down for generations. Should they be reinforced or promoted where appropriate? Are they still relevant or should they fade over the horizon belonging only to ancestral past?

Saipweirig

“Ranyel yalshuelog la hamoileul log, mouti pai ligerau, iye yehagu yegili, yemato haisous tag wol haimwelu we yal, sa wai mweli ye wai mathawali hatuperas. Mwai imi sheogu semoi langit me paiumasou, galosho me lengiti ngeiferan namo-ruk. haila mo hamasungu ina yegal mulopai. Bwe yechaai yale sai, seragil gasheshe wou.”



The Voyage





Story/ Palulap and his crew....

- Palulap, core values of his teaching reflected throughout (respect, humility, ku-toshiig, caring for community)
- crew members (symbolic) Rong... transcend into the spirit world
- Inter dependent on each sets of skills
- Canoe huts as central facility of learning but with extended classroom
- Land
- Ocean
- Heavens

The Classroom



Promotion of Knowledge

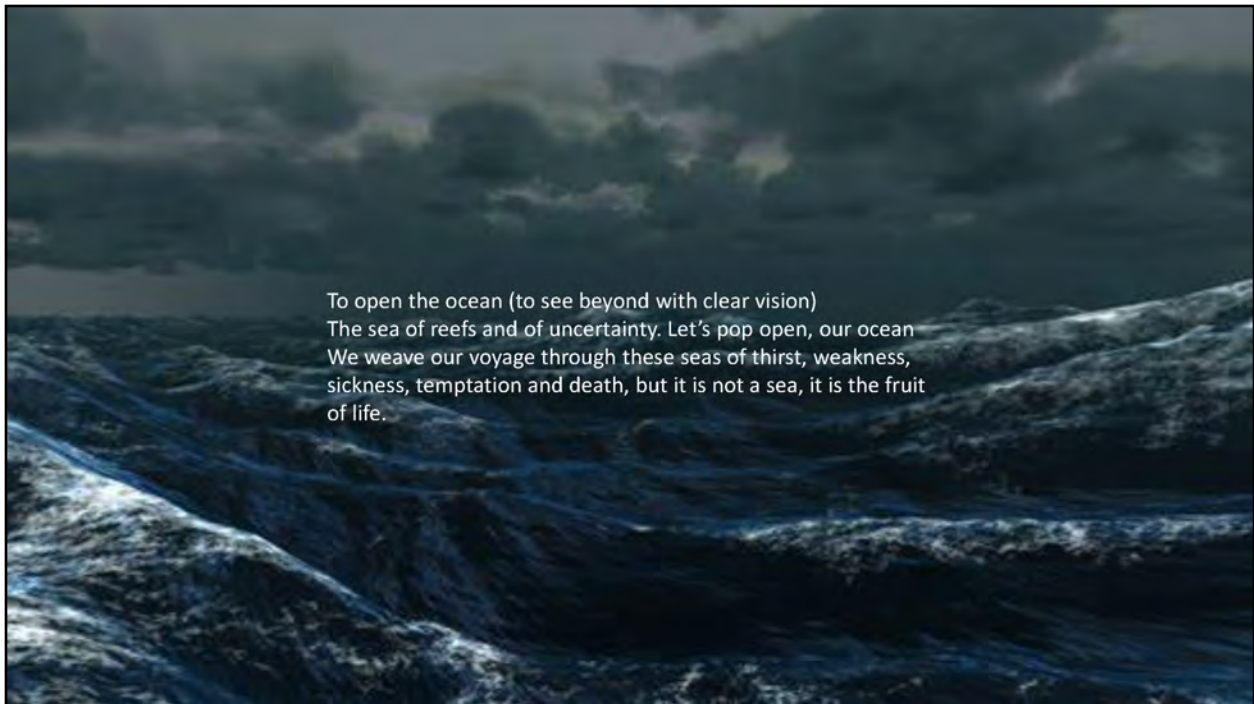


Seafaring Training/ Guam



Cultural relevancy

- 4000 years education
- Island realities
- Indigenous Math and Science
- Basic skills based on common sense
- Not just the knowledge but the values...
- Island Wisdom concept
- Broken outrigger arm and Su-methau



Larry Raigetel is a co-founder of Waa'gey, a non-profit organization in Yap State that works with communities to promote cultural heritage of the "reimethau" indigenous people in the central Caroline islands. He also serves as Waa'gey President and as a volunteer instructor in traditional canoe carving, and celestial navigation. Raigetel is an accomplished Master Canoe carver and a Weriyeng Pwo Navigator. He served as an FSM Diplomat, in his capacity as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs Department and represented his country at numerous international and regional negotiations forums. He served a cabinet post as Director of the Department of Youth and Civic Affairs, Yap State Government. He is currently a professor of practice at the University of Guam teaching courses in Traditional Seafaring and Climate Change and developing a certificate program for traditional navigation. Raigetel graduated from Xavier High School in Chuuk and obtained his undergraduate degree in Psychology from the University of San Francisco (USF). Raigetel received his graduate degree from Oxford University in International Relations.

Interpreting an Authentic Chamorro Sakman From the Historic Record

By Pete Perez

500 Sails

Abstract: *This paper looks at the development of replicas of the Chamorro Flying Proa over two hundred and fifty years after its suppression by Spanish colonials in the Mariana Islands. It provides an in-depth analysis of the historic record that informed three organizations' efforts to build authentic Chamorro sailing canoes using both wood and fiberglass - Sakman Chamorro, Inc. and 500 Sails, both based in Saipan, and Chelu, Inc. in San Diego, California. While the historic record included drawings and first- person descriptions of the canoes and how they were sailed, the record was incomplete and the construction of an accurate replica required analysis and interpretation of a wide range of factors in order to fill in the blanks. The author, who was intimately involved in all three organization's efforts to build an authentic Chamorro sailing canoe, describes that process and explains what was behind specific decisions that affected the outcome in both the design and operation of the resulting canoes.*

Zoom Recording



Pete Perez has been working for more than 15 years to revive and promote indigenous maritime traditions in Mariana Islands. He is Executive Director of 500 Sails, a Saipan-based cultural organization that he and his wife Emma Perez founded in 2014 in order to bring canoe culture back into the daily lives of the people of the Marianas. Pete runs the 500 Sails boatyard and teaches canoe building, swimming, and sailing.

Sea-Lanes of Antiquity

Canoe Voyaging in the Mariana Islands

By Dr. Eric Metzgar

Independent Researcher

Abstract: *This paper examines the ethnohistorical evidence of canoe voyaging in the Marianas archipelago by Chamorros and Carolinians. Information regarding pre-contact as well as Spanish era voyaging events between the islands are drawn from both historical records and ethnographic data. The evidence supports the view that Chamorros were capable of voyaging throughout the Marianas chain and that Carolinians were voyaging in the Mariana Islands before the Spanish colonization of Guam.*

Zoom Recording



Presentation Slides



This presentation examines the ethnohistorical evidence of canoe voyaging in the Marianas archipelago by Chamorros and Carolinians.

Information regarding pre-European contact as well as Spanish era voyaging events between the islands is drawn from both historical records and ethnographic data.

The evidence supports the view that Chamorros were capable of voyaging throughout the Marianas chain and that Carolinians were voyaging in the Mariana Islands before the Spanish colonization of Guam in 1668.

Part 1

Chamorro Voyaging

What is the earliest evidence
we have of canoes in the Mariana Islands?

The earliest evidence before European contact
comes from archeological studies.

At the entrance to the Liyang Kalabera "Cave of Skulls" in Saipan,
there is a pictograph called "Man in Canoe."



Photo by Hans Hornbostel

When the image is highlighted it is clear that the pictograph depicts a human figure in a canoe with upturned prows.



Archaeologists have determined that artifacts found in Kalabera cave indicate *latte* activities, which suggests that this image may have been created circa 1,000 AD.



Map of the Mariana Archipelago

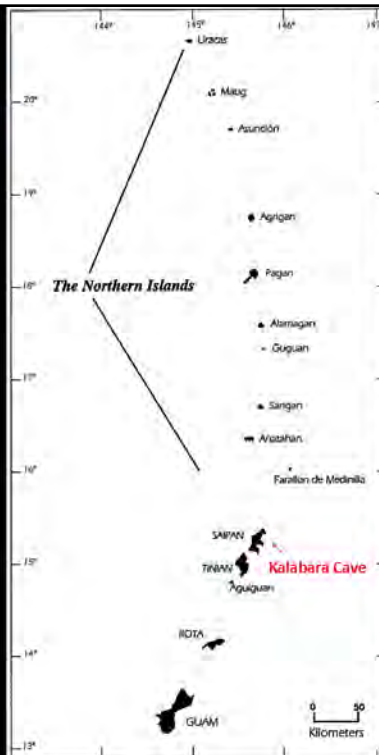
After Scott Russell, 1998. *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 21, No.4, p. 85.



Saipan, where the Kalabara Cave is located, was settled circa 1,500 BC along with Tinian, Rota, and Guam in the southern part of the Marianas chain — approximately 2,500 years before the “Man in Canoe” pictograph was made.

Map of the Mariana Archipelago

After Scott Russell, 1998. *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 21, No.4, p. 85.



It is not clear when the Northern Islands were inhabited but current thinking is that they were settled much later than Saipan, Tinian, Rota, and Guam.

The earliest radiocarbon dates for Pagan Island suggest that The Northern Islands capable of supporting settlement were occupied by 1,300 AD — which is after the time that archeologists believe the making of the Kalabara canoe pictograph was created.

Map of the Mariana Archipelago

After Scott Russell, 1998. *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 21, No.4, p. 85.

What kind of watercraft were used to settle these islands?



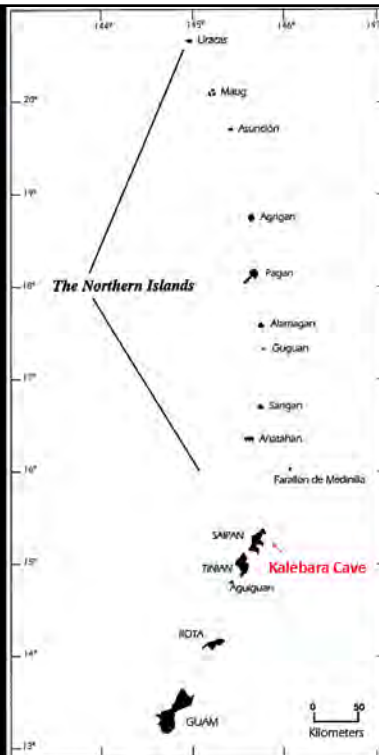
Map of the Mariana Archipelago

After Scott Russell, 1998. *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 21, No.4, p. 85.

What kind of watercraft were used to settle these islands?

Unfortunately we do not know.

No archaeological remains of canoes have been found. Probably because it is almost certain that the materials that went into their making were entirely biodegradable.



What is some of the early historical evidence that we have of Chamorro voyaging canoes?

This evidence comes mainly from Spanish documents but also from ship logs and expedition reports from other European countries.



- In 1521 when the Spanish expedition led by Ferdinand Magellan visited Guam, Francisco Alvaro made this observation:

"... many small sails approached the ship sailing so swiftly they appeared to be flying."

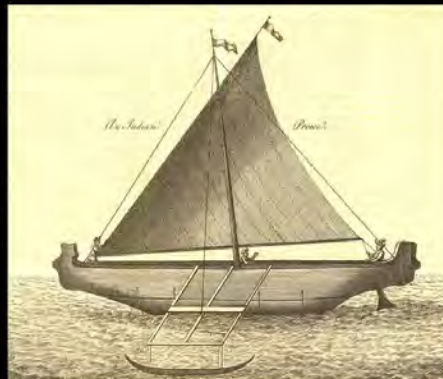
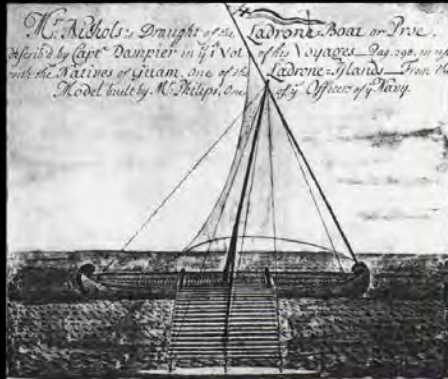


- Although inaccurate with regards to the rigging of the sail, this early sketch by Antonio Pigafetta during the time of Magellan's visit in 1521 shows the basic features of a Chamorro sailing vessel: a canoe hull, a mast with sail, and a single outrigger.



- In 1565 Miguel Legazpi's ships anchored at Guam and it was estimated that between 400 and 500 canoes came out to meet them.
- The swift, lateen sail, single outrigger canoes made such a favorable impression on all who saw them that they became known as "flying proas."

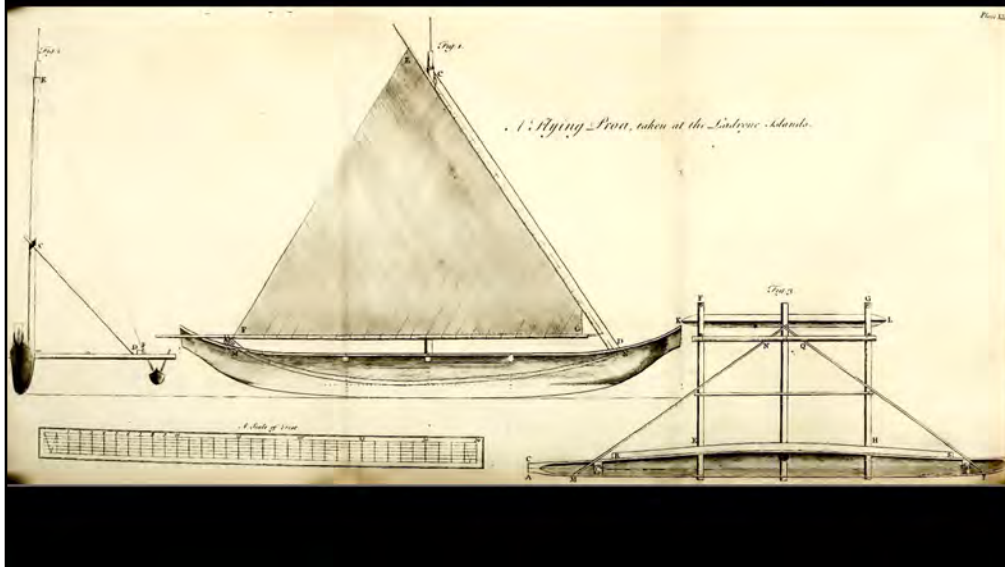
Illustrations of Chamorro "Flying Proas"





- In 1742 the Anson Expedition captured a flying proa near Tinian Island which was dismantled by Lt. Piercy Brett in order to make an accurate scale drawing of its measurements.
- Called *sakman* and measuring 40 feet from end to end, the flying proa was considered the premier voyaging canoe in Chamorro culture.

This drawing is believed to be the most accurate representation of a flying proa known to exist



Documented Reports of Chamorro Voyages

- 1597 — Fr. Fray Los Angeles, who is considered the first missionary to the Mariana Islands, was the first to report that Chamorros voyaged in their flying proas between the Mariana Islands for the purpose of bartering fish.
- 1638 — Two Chamorro proas and crews were used by Esteban Ramos and 17 survivors to sail from Guam to the Philippines after the wreck of the Spanish galleon Concepcion in Saipan.
- Between 1668 and 1672 — Fr. Diego San Vitores is reported to have used flying proas to sail to the Northern Islands to baptize Chamorros.
- 1686 — The Englishman William Dampier described Chamorro sailing canoes capable of navigating 400 leagues (approximately 1,500 miles) from Guam to the Philippines in just four days and further reported that a flying proa was able to voyage from Guam to another island 30 leagues off (approximately 100 miles), and there do their business, and return again in less than 12 hours.
- 1688 — Governor Damian Esplana sailed to the Philippines in a flying proa and left José de Quiroga in charge as acting governor. In the same year Quiroga left Guam with a frigate and 20 proas to attack and conquer Tinian.
- 1697 — Fr. Gerard Bouwens reported that the Governor José de Madrazo sent 112 sailing canoes from Guam, Rota and Saipan to remove the inhabitants from the Northern Islands for resettlement to Saipan and eventually Guam.
- Between 1709-1720 — During the administration of governor Juan Pimentel it was reported that there were usually three or four Rota-to-Guam crossings by proas to deliver meat and produce to the garrison in Guam.
- 1719 — Governor Pimentel sent several flying proas from Guam to the Northern Islands to intercept the Manila-to-Acapulco galleon and to deliver letters to the galleon's general.
- 1724 — A fleet including 3 Chamorro sailing canoes, 2 Carolinian sailing canoes and a small Spanish ship sailed with Fr. Juan Cantova to find the Caroline Islands. The ship that Cantova was on got separated from the fleet and ended up in the Philippines. Two of the Chamorro canoes got badly battered by storms and after 10 days were forced to turn back to Guam. It is not known whether or not the 1 remaining Chamorro canoe was able to stay with the 2 Carolinian sailing canoes but it is reported that after 5 weeks the Chamorro sailing canoe returned to Guam.

The Demise of the Flying Proa

It is difficult to say when the last traditionally-made Chamorro flying proa sailed. In 1742 the English Commodore George Anson observed several of them sailing between Tinian and Guam.

With the genocidal “reduction” of Chamorros and destruction of their flying proas by the Spanish who wanted to control the population, the indigenous maritime tradition of contact with neighboring islands all but vanished. In addition, with the drastic drop in population from an estimated 40,000 to less than 4,000 it is no wonder that traditional shipbuilding skills suffered as well.

In any case, by the time the Freycinet Expedition visited the Marianas in 1819 the Chamorros no longer were building and sailing flying proas, much less attempting voyages to other islands.

Moreover, with the settlement of Carolinian islanders in the Marianas beginning in the early 1800s, there was an increased Spanish dependence on Carolinian proas to perform the necessary inter-island travel.

Part 2 Carolinian Voyaging

What is the earliest evidence we have of Carolinian sailing canoes in the Mariana Islands?

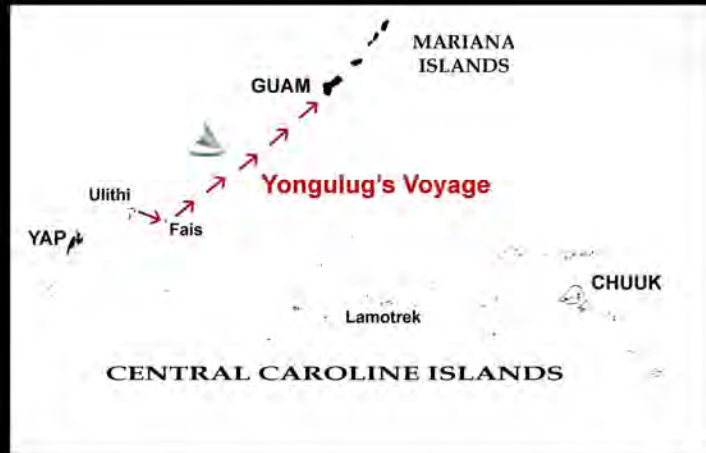
The earliest evidence before European contact comes from oral history accounts in the form of songs and chants.

“... he goes to Fais and then sails from Fais and goes to Guam ...”



Wilhelm Müller, 1918. "Yap." In Georg Thilenius, ed. *Ergebnisse der Südsee-Expedition 1906-1910*, II, B, Vol 2, Pt. 2. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter & Company, p. 807.

- In the oral history of the Caroline Islands, Yongulug was a legendary navigator from Ulithi Atoll near Yap who sailed the length and breadth of Micronesia and made voyages from the western Caroline Islands to the Philippines and back.
- In this song Yongulug is voyaging from Fais Island, which is about 400 miles southwest of Guam. He then returns to Fais the same way.



“... he goes to Fais and then sails from Fais and goes to Guam ...”



- No one knows the age of the song for certain, but from other oral histories about Yongulug we know that it is ancient.
- The song suggests that Carolinian voyagers were aware of the Mariana Islands and were sailing there before contact with Europeans.

The Pulling of Olap's Canoe

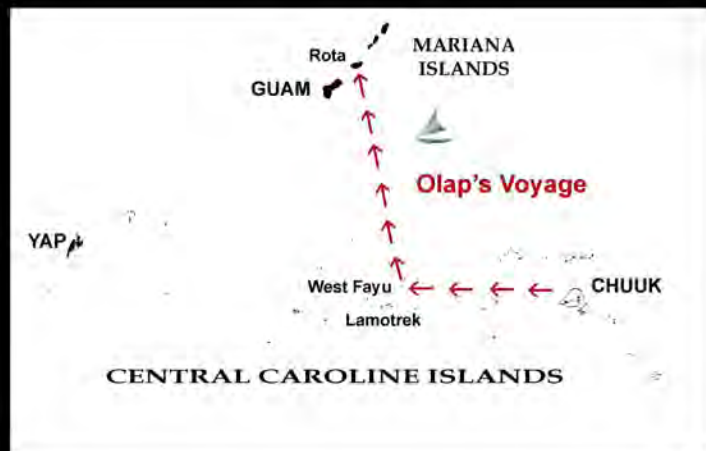
Translated by Theophil Saret Reuney

Part I: Pukueu

Looking for the suitable time, Pukueu
Went to observe the break of day at the other end of the island.¹
A steering wind blow, it blew from the east,
His canoe would be pulled out from its headrests;
Yet suddenly came his asipwar²
To stop Pukueu's voyage.
But he did not change his mind; his eager heart sought the
satisfaction
To open up those dark seas.³
Knowledgeable in the art of navigation, he begged indulgence from
Nemwes.⁴

Saret Theophil Pauney (translator), 1995 "The Pulling of Olap's Canoe,"
Island People as Space of Cultural Production, (Rob Wilson and Ann Dill,
eds), Duke University Press, pp. 345.

- In the oral history of the Caroline Islands, Olap was a legendary navigator from Uman Island in Chuuk.
- In this chant voyages are being made to islands east, west, south and north of Chuuk. Evidence in the chant suggests that on one of these voyages Olap sailed from the Caroline Islands to Rota Island in the Marianas.



“But Manina is there, and Sorota is here.”

- There is evidence that the name “Sorota” refers to the island of Rota in the Marianas. A similar name appears on one of the earliest maps made of the Mariana Islands circa 1545.
- It is unlikely, however, that the name “Manina” in the chant refers to the Mariana Islands because the Carolinian term “Manina” has been documented as referring to Manila and the Philippines.*

* Saul Priesenberg, 1972. “The Organization of Navigational Knowledge on Puluwat,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 81: 24-30.

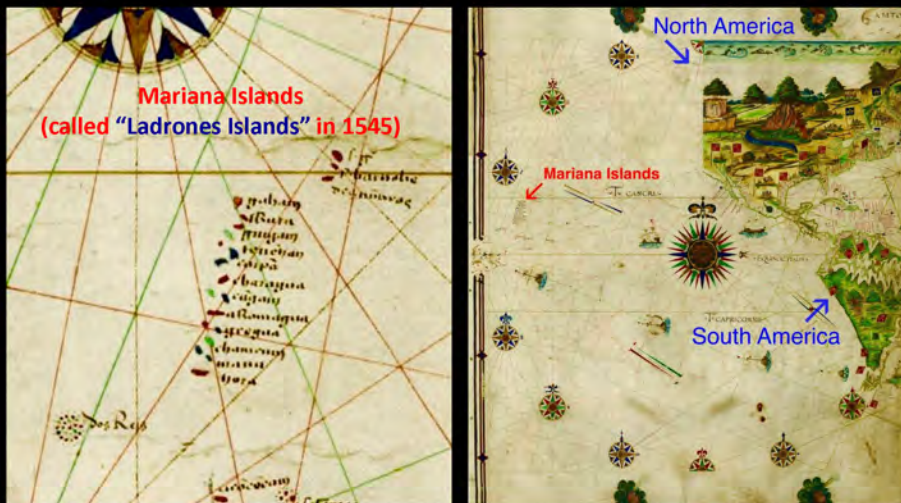
Part III: The Second Voyage of Paluelap

Getting ready was Paluelap's voyage to depart from Tawaru¹²
 He would sail the sea of Fayou.¹³
 "Rub your mast, and tap it with reverence,
 Tie it with young yellow palm shoots for those sea-openers,¹⁴
 They will blow the conch shell
 To shorten the ocean
 So that the difficulties of navigation will not overwhelm us."
 We sailed toward the rising Aldebaran
 To meet the white-arm shark
 Which usually drank the flow of those over-flowing passes.
 "Using the rising Corvus, we will unplug
 From Alimwe¹⁵ its weathervane,
 But there is Weito¹⁶ situated against the front of the outrigger,
 Fouwaan soma¹⁷ is then located at the setting of Corvus
 And the constellation Crux was hidden between the booms."
 We were afraid for we had seen
 The inhabitants of the land of anu fa¹⁸
 As they swam with their hair buns pointed upward, at Karueleng.¹⁹
 "Let us use the rising of Vega, and we will rest.
 The whale whose names are Urasa and Pwourasa.²⁰
 They guard those pompano fish which belong to wesoto.²¹
 But Manina²² is there, and Sorota²³ is here.
 Let us stop at Tiwawon²⁴

12. Tawaru: sea pass of Urasu.
 13. Fayou: East Fayu in Truk.
 14. sea-openers: those journeying navigators.
 15. Alimwe: a rock on the reef of East Fayu.
 16. Weito: a group of islands in the northwest of Truk.
 17. Fouwaan soma: reference is not clear, but it probably refers to one of the western islands in Truk, or to all of them as a group.
 18. anu fa: perhaps a legendary land.
 19. Karueleng: also known as "lon anu fa," referring to a place in the ocean, perhaps for the ghosts' dwelling only.
 20. Urasa and Pwourasa: it is not clear whether these two names are given to just one whale or to two different whales.
 21. wesoto: literally means "new canoe," but here it means "new navigator."
 22. Manina: it is not clear whether this refers to Manila or to the Mariana Islands.
 23. Sorota: some say this refers to Rota in the southern Mariana Islands.
 24. Tiwawon: the sea pass of West Fayu.

Saret Theophil Reuney (translator), 1995. "The Pulling of Olap's Canoe: Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production." *Rep. Wilson and Truk's (ed.) Truk's Islands* (Truk: Truk Islands Press), pp. 3-17.

Portuguese Antonio Pereira's Map circa 1545



Map detail

Portuguese historian Armando Cortesão makes the case that “sRuta” is Rota Island in the “Ladrones Islands” (Mariana Islands).



Pereira Map circa 1545

TABLE IV — THE LADRONES ISLANDS

A. PEREIRA	S. CABOT 1544	L. HOMER/D. HOMER 1554	1558	VAZ DOURADO 1568 (?)	MODERN CHART
1. sanº (T)	1. santiago				1. Farallon de Pajaros
2. s. bernabe de ...ras *	2. san bernabe de los maritiles			1. las dos ermanas 2. mall abrigo	2. Supply R. 3. Maug P. 4. Asuncion P. 5. Agrihan I.
14. hoas	3. hora				
13. manu	4. mahaa				
12. chameam	5. maolo 6. comoa				
11. gregua	7. gregua 8. pagan 9. guguan			3. los Jardines	6. Pagan I.
10. aRomaga 9. cigan	10. Aramagana				7. Alamagan I. 8. Guguan I. 9. Zealandia P. 10. Sarigan I.
8. charagua	11. chegua 12. naetan				11. Anatahan I. 12. Farallon de Medinilla 13. Salipan I.
7. caipi	13. saapan 14. gogan 15. tucuan				14. Tinian I. 15. Esmeralda P. 16. Agiguan I. 17. Rota or Luta I.
5. guigam 4. sRuta (T)	16. bethahum 17. baham				18. Guam or Guahan I.
3. gaham					

Names of islands are inexplicably inverted with Guam being at the top of the island chain rather than at the bottom.

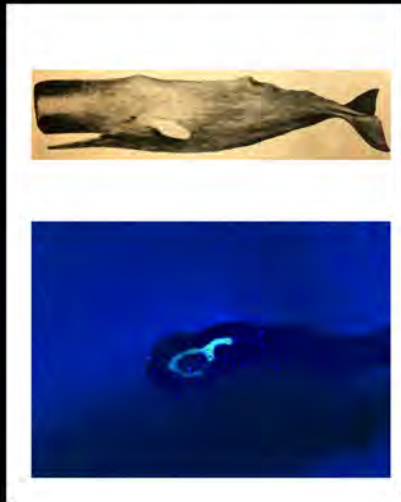
Armando Cortesão, 1976. "Antonio Pereira and His Map of Circa 1545: An Unknown Portuguese Cartographer and the Early Representation of Newfoundland, Lower California, the Amazon, and the Ladrones." *Esporas*, Vol. III, Portugal: Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, p. 252.

Sorota = sRuta = Rota Island?



- The name “Sorota” in the chant may be a cognate of the Chamorro name “sRuta” on Pereira’s Map of the Marianas Islands.
- Also, there is additional evidence in the “Pulling of Olap’s Canoe” chant which suggests that Sorota = Rota.

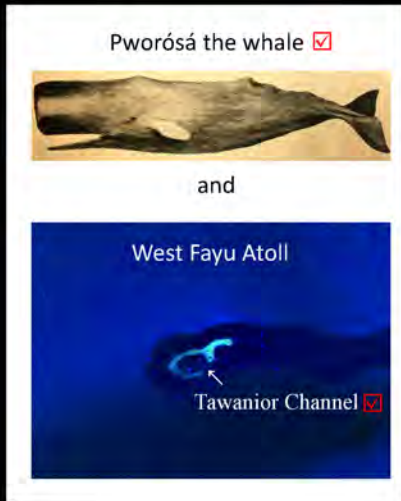
The chant gives two additional clues as to the region in the vicinity of the Marianas where the voyagers are sailing.



Part III: The Second Voyage of Paluakap
 Getting ready was Paluakap's voyage to depart from Tawaruk¹²
 He would sail the sea of Fayeu.¹³
 "Rub your mast, and tap it with reverence,
 Tie it with young yellow palm shoots for those sea-openers,¹⁴
 They will blow the conch shell
 To shorten the ocean
 So that the difficulties of navigation will not overwhelm us."
 We sailed toward the rising Aldebaran
 To meet the white-arm shark
 Which usually drink the flow of those over-flowing passes.
 "Using the rising Corvus, we will unplug
 From Atinewar¹⁵ its seawells.
 But there is Welko¹⁶ situated against the front of the outrigger,
 Fonuuen some¹⁷ is then located at the setting of Corvus
 And the constellation Crux was hidden between the booms."
 We were afraid for we had seen
 The inhabitants of the land of anu fa¹⁸
 As they swam with their hair buns pointed upward, at Karueleng.¹⁹
 "Let us use the rising of Vega, and we will meet
 The whale whose names are Urusa and Percurusa²⁰
 They guard those pompano fish which belong to wasofo.²¹
 But Maria²² is there, and Sonda²³ is here.
 Let us stop at Tawanior²⁴

12. Tawaruk: sea pass of Unaru.
 13. Fayeu: East Fayu in Truk.
 14. sea-openers: those journeying navigators.
 15. Atinewar: a rock on the reef of East Fayu.
 16. Welko: a group of islands in the northwest of Truk.
 17. Fonuuen some: reference is not clear, but it probably refers to one of the western islands in Truk, or to all of them as a group.
 18. anu fa: perhaps a legendary land.
 19. Karueleng: also known as "ton anu fa," referring to a place in the ocean, perhaps for the gheas' dwelling only.
 20. Urusa and Percurusa: it is not clear whether these two names are given to just one whale or to two different whales.
 21. wasofo: literally means "new canon," but here it means "new navigators."
 22. Maria: it is not clear whether this refers to Manila or to the Mariana Islands.
 23. Sonda: some say this refers to Pitca in the southern Mariana Islands.
 24. Tawanior: the sea pass of West Fayu.

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 The whale whose names are Urusa and Percurusa²⁰ ✓
 They guard those pompano fish which belong to wasofo.²¹
 But Maria²² is there, and Sonda²³ is here.
 Let us stop at Tawanior²⁴ ✓

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 24. Tawanior: the sea pass of West Fayu.

Pworósá the whale and Tawanior Channel at West Fayu Atoll are two clues in the chant that are evidence of voyaging to the Marianas.



- Pworósá the whale is a navigator sea marker northeast of West Fayu Atoll between the Caroline and Mariana Islands.
- A Pworósá marker in the *pwukof* system of navigational lore aids the navigator in orienting himself at sea during a voyage from the Carolines to the Marianas.
- West Fayu Atoll is a traditional jumping off island for Carolinian voyagers sailing to the Marianas.



- No one knows the age of the chant for certain, but from other oral histories about Olap we know that it is ancient.
- The chant suggests that Carolinian voyagers were aware of the Mariana Islands and were sailing there before contact with Europeans.

What is some of the early historical evidence that we have of Carolinians voyaging to the Marianas?

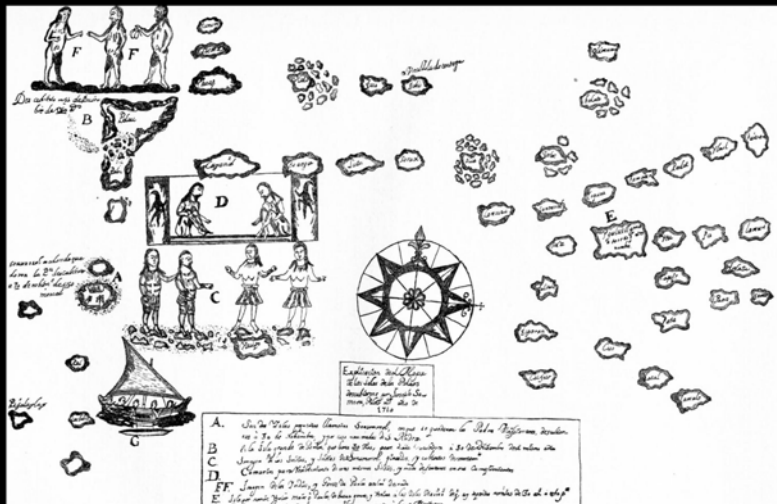
This evidence comes mainly from Spanish records but also from ship logs and expedition reports from other European countries.



In 1664, before the Spanish colonization of Guam began in 1668, a fleet of canoes from Ifaluk in the central Caroline Islands were storm driven to the Philippines. Five years later, four of the survivors were befriended by Fr. Francisco Miedes on Siau Island in what is now Indonesia.

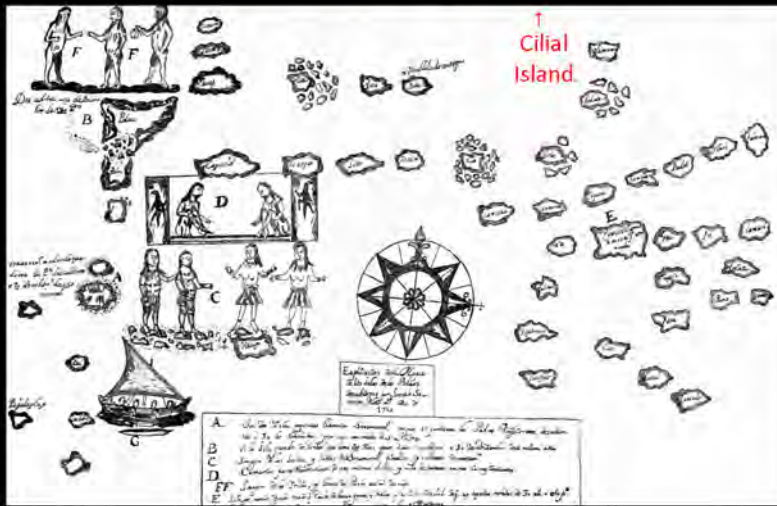
The map the Ifalukans made of their island world has been lost but the information Fr. Miedes collected from them has been preserved in a letter he sent to Manila in 1671.

The map that the Ifalukans made for Fr. Miedes may have looked something like this later one drawn by a group of Sonsorolese islanders in 1710; but unlike this map the Ifalukans included an island in the north which the Ifalukans called "Cilial."



Sonsorolese Map of the Caroline Islands

The Ifalukans told Fr. Miedes that they knew about Cilial Island before 1664 because "some swords and a little iron come there as well." This could only mean one thing — that the Carolinians were having trade relations with the Mariana Islands before the Spanish colonization of Guam in 1668.



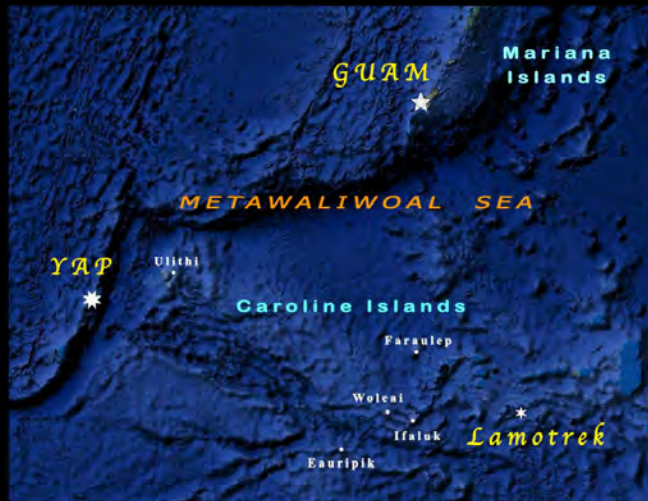
Sonsorolese Map of the Caroline Islands

Given the description of Ciliai island by the Ifalukans and its geographic location, Ciliai island could only be an island located in the Marianas archipelago. Unknown to Fr. Miedes at the time is that Ciliai is the traditional Ifalukan name for Tinian Island.

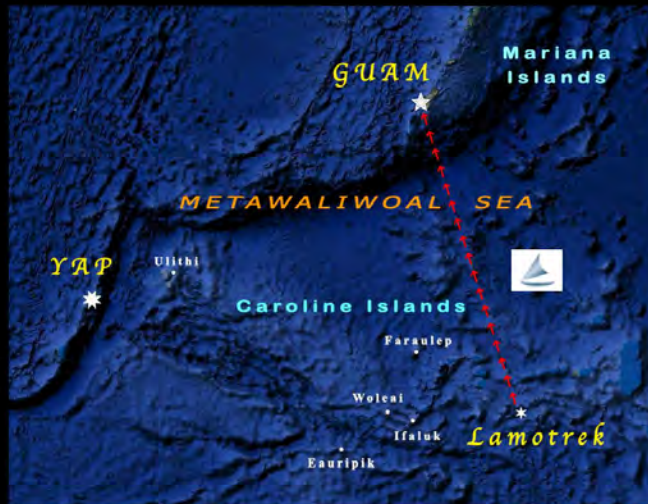


Sensorolese Map of the Caroline Islands

There is additional documentary evidence from the historical record that Luito, a navigator from Lamotrek, retraced the route to Guam with "a song from olden times" in 1788.



Luito told the Spaniards that their ancestors had previously traded with the Chamorros but had given it up after witnessing Spanish cruelty.



In the pre-Spanish era the Yapese, too, conducted voyages to the Marianas to trade. Since it was difficult and dangerous to sail directly into the prevailing northeast winds the Yapese would take a longer and more arduous route through the Caroline Islands to Guam.



Carolinian Proas in the Mariana Islands



In 1814 the Lamotrek fleet to Guam consisted of eighteen sailing canoes, and the islanders traded canoes, tortoise shell, and other curiosities for iron, glass beads, cloth and other items.



After 1815 Carolinians formed settlements in Saipan with permission of the Spanish governor.

In exchange, the Carolinians agreed to convert to Christianity and provide inter-island transportation as well as deliver meat and produce from Tinian to the garrison in Guam.

Which was similar to what the Chamorros had done for the Spanish with their flying proas 100 years earlier.

Carolinian Sea-Lanes in the Mariana Islands

One of the voyaging legacies the Carolinians left in the Mariana Islands are the names that they gave to the sea-lanes between the islands.

The body of ocean between the Mariana and Caroline Islands is called **Metawaliwoal**.

Because of its huge size the Metawaliwoal may be thought of as an ocean or sea separating the Mariana and Caroline Islands, but Carolinians view it as sea-lane connecting the two archipelagos.



The **Metawaliwoal** sea-lane between the Mariana and Caroline Islands may be translated as:
"Ocean to a Superior Place"

The other three sea-lanes have their own characteristics.

The **Metawaiut** sea-lane between Guam and Rota may be translated as:
"Sea-Lane with Strong Current"

The **Metawpwaegig** sea-lane between Rota and Tinian (including Saipan) may be translated as:
"Sea-Lane for Special People"

And the **Metaw Nnaegei** sea-lane between Saipan and Anatahan may be translated as:
"Sea-Lane of the Nnaegei Fish"*

* A surgeonfish



Song For Opening The Sea



It has been said earlier that Luito from Lamotrek navigated his way across the Metawaliwoal to Guam with "a song from olden times."

Carolinian oral traditions assert that there are songs for navigating to different islands, but these songs are not allowed to be shared outside the family.

The closest one can come to what they may sound like, I believe, is the *Sumetaw* or "Song for Opening the Sea."

To close this presentation the *Sumetaw* is recited by Satawalese grandmaster navigator Jesus Urupiy in the following film clip from the documentary "Spirits of the Voyage" ...

"Sumetaw" film clip from *Spirits of the Voyage* (also available on YouTube at: <https://youtu.be/B8DuUjwNW-o>)

Song For Opening The Sea
"Sumetaw"

*We are entering this ocean, this sea of islands, this sea for navigators.
It is a small sea, it is a short sea, but this is not a sea! It is a garland of flowers!
We are entering this ocean, this sea of islands, this sea for navigators.
It is a small sea, it is a short sea, but this is not a sea! It is a beautiful breadfruit seed!
Come daughters of the Master of the Sea, let the door be open to His house!
Open it wide! Make it wide open! So that I might see the land! The land that I am sailing for!
Best of weather, excellent weather, best weather for sailing.
Great Spirit! I am not worthy before you.
So please, Spirit of the Sky! Make me pure, and happy I will be!
Calm sea, where the sacred bamboo drifts.
Crying out in this small ocean, in this short ocean.
Be awake! Stay awake!
But this is not a sea! It is a Mistress of Goodness!
Mistress of Goodness! Master of Goodness! Where the sacred bamboo drifts.
Crying out, in this small ocean, in this short ocean.
You drift in front of my canoe, so that I might reach land.
The land that I am coming to!*

Special Thanks To

Ali Haleyalur, Pwo Navigator

Edward Olakiman, Pwo Navigator

Lawrence J. Cunningham, Ph.D.

Peter J. Perez, 500sails.org

Stanley Retogral, Principal, NICH5, Woleai



eric@tritonfilms.com

Eric Metzgar is an anthropologist and filmmaker who has been researching the seafaring traditions of Micronesia for over 40 years. He studied and sailed with the late Satawalese grandmaster navigator Jesus Urupiy and then later his Lamotrekese son, master navigator Ali Haleyalur. He was initiated into the Weriyeŋ school of traditional Carolinian navigation in a Pwo ceremony conducted by Ali Haleyalur in 2015 on Yap Island in the Federated States of Micronesia. He has an MFA in Motion Picture and Television Production from UCLA with specialization in Ethnographic Filmmaking; and a PhD in Comparative and International Education from UCLA with specialization in Educational Anthropology.



Eric Metzgar, Ph.D. is a filmmaker (aka Triton Films) and ethnographer who has been documenting and writing about the traditional arts and skills of Micronesia for more than 40 years. After first studying with the late grandmaster Satawalese navigator Jesus Urupiy, and later his Lamotrekese son, master navigator Ali Haleyalur, he was initiated into the Weriyeŋ school of navigation as a *palu* (navigator) in a Pwo ceremony held on Yap in 2015.

Panel: Maritime Resources

Of Songs of Birds and Whales, How Much Must We Lose?

By Dr. Kelly Marsh-Taitano and Hon. Sheila Babauta

Abstract: *Whales have long been a part of the ecosystems in the Mariana Islands and part of the lifeways of the ancestors of these lands. Yet in modern times we know so little about their very existence in our waters while globally, so much about them remains unknown. Which of us know that there are over 20 species of whales in our waters, or of our area's significance to their very survival? This presentation explores the relationship between 'I mambayena siha yan taotao tano' (whales and the people of the land) and the impact of whales in our lives over time. We are now at a crossroads. Once Navy active sonar was introduced to our region, for the first time in recorded history, beaked whales began washing up dead on our shores, with an unknown number perishing in the ocean. What steps are island leaders taking to protect these precious parts of our community resources? Will our whales suffer the same fate as our birds? Will we lose them before we even fully understand their significance to us?*

Zoom Recording





Kelly G. Marsh has long participated in local cultural and historical efforts. She earned a BA in history and anthropology and an MA in Micronesian studies from the University of Guam. She earned her doctorate work in cultural heritage studies in the School of Environmental Sciences at Charles Sturt University, Australia. Marsh was the former vice-chair for the Guam Historic Preservation Review Board and has worked as a History of Guam instructor at the University of Guam and at the high school level. She also served as a senator in the Guam Legislature. She authored the Guam Year-in-Review for *The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs* for several years.

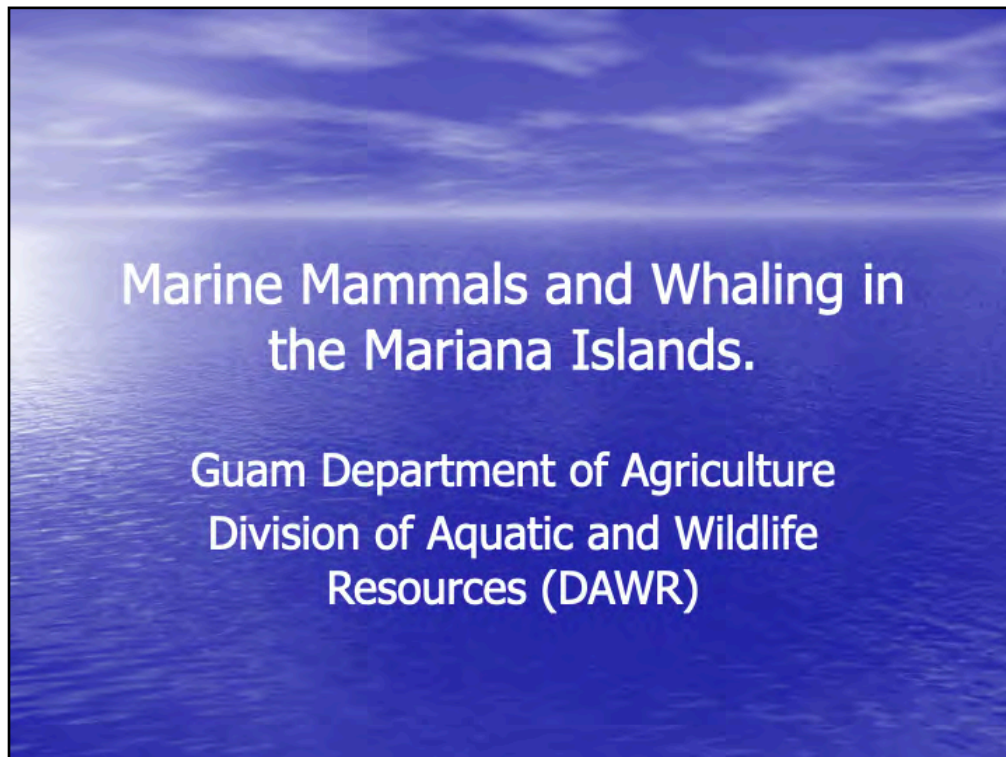
The History of Understanding Whales in our Waters

By Dr. Brent Tibbatts

Guam Department of Agriculture Division of Aquatic and Wildlife Resources (DAWR)

Abstract: *While whales have existed in the ocean surrounding the Mariana Islands for centuries if not millenia, scientists are just now collecting enough data to start determining that our waters hold significance for over twenty species of dolphins and whales, five of which are endangered. These marine mammals range from the commonly known and sighted spinner dolphins to false killer whales and humpback whales. For them, our waters are important resting, feeding, breeding, and birthing grounds. The history and breadth of their presence and our knowledge about them are an important part of understanding our islands, our ecosystems, and why they are worth protecting.*

Presentation Slides



Marine Mammals

- At least 24 types of dolphins and whales reported from the Micronesian area
- 6 types of baleen whales
- At least 18 types of toothed whales
- Rarely, dugongs reported from the Marianas

Baleen whales from Micronesia 6 species

- Humpback whale *Megaptera novaeangliae**
- Sei Whale *Balaenoptera borealis**
- Bryde's Whale *Balaenoptera edeni*
- Blue whale *Balaenoptera musculus**
- Fin Whale *Balaenoptera physalus**
- Minke Whale *Balaenoptera acutorostrata*

Toothed whales of Micronesia-18 species

- Melon-headed whale- *Peponocephala electra*
- Spinner dolphin -*Stenella longirostris*
- Killer Whale -*Orcinus orca*
- Long-finned Pilot Whale -*Globichala melas*
- Short-finned Pilot Whale -*Globichala macrorhynchus*
- Sperm whale -*Physeter macrocephalus**
- Dwarf sperm whale -*Kogia simus*
- False Killer Whale -*Pseudorca crassidens*
- Russo's Dolphin- *Grampeus griseus*
- Pantropical Spotted Dolphin -*Stenella attenuata*

Toothed whales- continued

- Blainville's Beaked Whale- *Mesoplodon densirostris*
- Ginkgo Toothed Whale -*Mesoplodon ginkgodens*
- Cuviers's beaked whale -*Ziphius cavirostris*
- Pygmy Killer whale -*Feresa attenuata*
- Common dolphin -*Delphinus delphis*
- Rough Toothed Dolphin- *Steno bredanensis*
- Pygmy sperm whale -*Kogia breviceps*
- Bottlenose Dolphin -*Tursiops truncatus*

History of Fishing in the Marianas

- Fish bones dated to 3000 BP
- Remains of pelagic fishes, reef fishes, and turtles are common components of ancient middens.
- Marine mammal remains have not been found to date.
- The earliest remain is a dolphin tooth found in a site dating to around 600 BP

Chamorros and Marine Mammals

- It appears that Chamorros did not actively hunt marine mammals for food or materials.
- Opportunistic use of dead marine mammals is more likely.
- Strandings of marine mammals on Guam are fairly common
-

Strandings on Guam

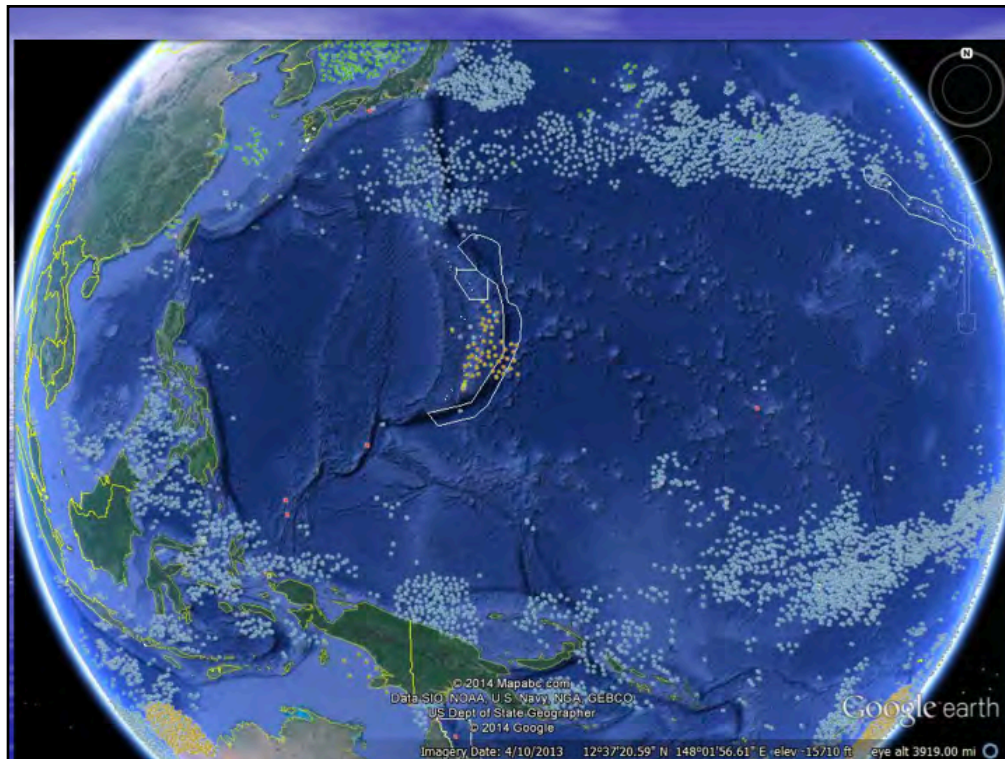
- 45 strandings reported since 1962-actual number is certainly higher
- 27 since 2000- an average of a little more than one per year.
- 13 different species have stranded on Guam.

Whaling in the Marianas

- Whaling ships began visiting Guam in 1822, last in 1903
- Initially British vessels, eventually American ships became the most common
- Guam remained a popular stopping point for whalers, with an average of more than 30 ships annually.
- Chamorro men occasionally were taken on as crew.

Whaling in the Marianas

- Whaling vessels stopped by Guam until the early 20th century, but numbers began to decline in the late 1850s
- Regionally, whaling took place primarily between the Marianas and Japan.
- Sperm whales and Sei whales commonly caught species north of Guam; Humpback whales were the species most commonly caught near the Mariana Islands.



Uses of marine mammals

- Meat for food was likely
- Blubber for torches was likely
- Bones for ornaments and/or tools likely

Other Facts

- Salungai is the Chamorro word for whales
- Bayena is Spanish word for whale
- Tuninos is Spanish word for dolphins

Fusinos design possibly based on the flensing knives used by whalers



Ipan July 1980



Beached whale found in Ipan

By JEANNE SCHULZ
Daily News Staff

An 11-foot whale, battered and bloodied, was found struggling in shallow water on the reef in Ipan yesterday. After trying unsuccessfully to help it back over the reef, George Hudson of Yona shot and killed the whale to put it out of its misery, he said.

Hudson, 50, was heading for a family picnic on the beach about a mile south of the Togcha Cemetery when he saw the stranded black whale.

"I tried to help the poor animal but I couldn't push it off the reef," he said. "I could see that its nose was all smashed and I knew it wouldn't live much longer. So I shot it twice with my pistol."

Anne Maben, an ornithologist from the Division of Fisheries and Wildlife, was on the scene taking statistics from the dead whale, and a University of Guam Marine Lab representative arrived later.

"It's probably a blackfish or pilot whale," Maben said, identifying the scientific name *globicephalus*.

There are several theories as to why a whale gets trapped on the reef or in shallow water, Maben said.

"One theory is that it comes into shallow water because there are parasites in the brain which throw it off balance," she said. "Another theory says the animals know they're



Daily News photo by Tom Stronnes

George Hudson holds the tail of whale he found; more meaty parts of the whale were barbecued at the beach.

several friends tied a rope around it and dragged it to shore with a pickup

1890s treatment for rheumatism.



Presenter biography not submitted for publication.

If Magellan Had Balutan...

An Exploration on History Single Use Plastics in the Marianas

By Moñeka De Oro

[Micronesia Climate Change Alliance](#)

Abstract: *If Magellan had used any styrofoam or polymer blend products that are common in our modern day fiesta culture, remnants of that trash may still be degrading in our shores, five centuries later. This presentation explores our island's consumption habits and our heavy reliance on imported goods. The introduction of single use plastics is fairly recent for our islands (PostWW2 era), yet it has transformed our lives in innumerable ways. So much of our food and goods are packaged in ways that are wasteful and take a lot of space in our landfills. The island of Guam alone on average creates over 30 tons of trash a day; with our lands so small and finite, it is imperative that we curb our wasteful habits and this history presentation raises community consciousness around this issue. It also will be capturing the behavior changes that are needed, so that more people will adopt more sustainable lifestyles.*

After the Marianas History Conference in February 2021, MCCA produced a 5 part webseries on the waste crisis in our region. Here is the link to our youtube channel.

Pottery Making Skills Came with First Settlers

Guam has a history of pottery-making that is more than 3,000 years long. The first people to arrive in the Mariana Islands apparently had brought with them pottery-making skills; the broken remains of their pots, called sherds, have been found at archaeological sites dating back to circa 3500 BP (Before Present). While the earliest Guam pottery shares some characteristics with similarly aged pottery collections from the Philippines and Southeast Asia, its specific place of origin remains unknown. Traditional methods of manufacture continued until the widespread introduction of new manufacturing techniques and Western manufactured vessels during the eighteenth century.

Guam's prehistoric period, spanning at least 3,000 years, witnessed significant changes in pottery styles and techniques of manufacture. Analysts on Guam describe these changes according to distinct types and specific attributes. These types and attributes are compared with radiocarbon dates taken from the same sites to develop a pottery chronology that encompasses the changes in manufacture over time.

Because the historic literature lacks descriptions of the traditional pottery making techniques and materials, archaeological research provides the basis for what is now known. Researchers

generally agree that the pots were made from locally available clays and tempering materials, using paddle-and-anvil construction techniques (although there is some evidence of coiling), and that firings took place in above-ground bonfires for relatively short times at low temperatures.

Although archaeological excavations have uncovered only a few whole pots, they have provided mounds of sherds for partial reconstructions. Much is now known about a fairly wide range of vessel forms.









[Woven goods](#) on Guampedia.com.

In ancient CHamoru society women completed the majority of the household tasks including most of the weaving. They used various leaves and palms to create items for everyday life including mats, sails, hats, baskets, bags and decorative pieces. Many pieces were created from the same material but served different purposes. For example, a mat woven out of pandanus leaves, or *akgak*, could be used for sleeping, blankets, funeral preparations, food serving platters or cloths to clean surfaces.

Typical, everyday woven items included mats, boxes and hats. Rectangular baskets (*kottot*) were used for presenting gifts of rice. Smaller boxes, some equipped with handles (*alan mamao*) or complex latches (*saluu*), were used to carry betel nut. CHamorus wove bags with lids (*balakbagk*) equipped with straps to carry items at waist level. There were also larger woven cases (*hagug*) used like a backpack for carrying provisions and food.

Coconuts

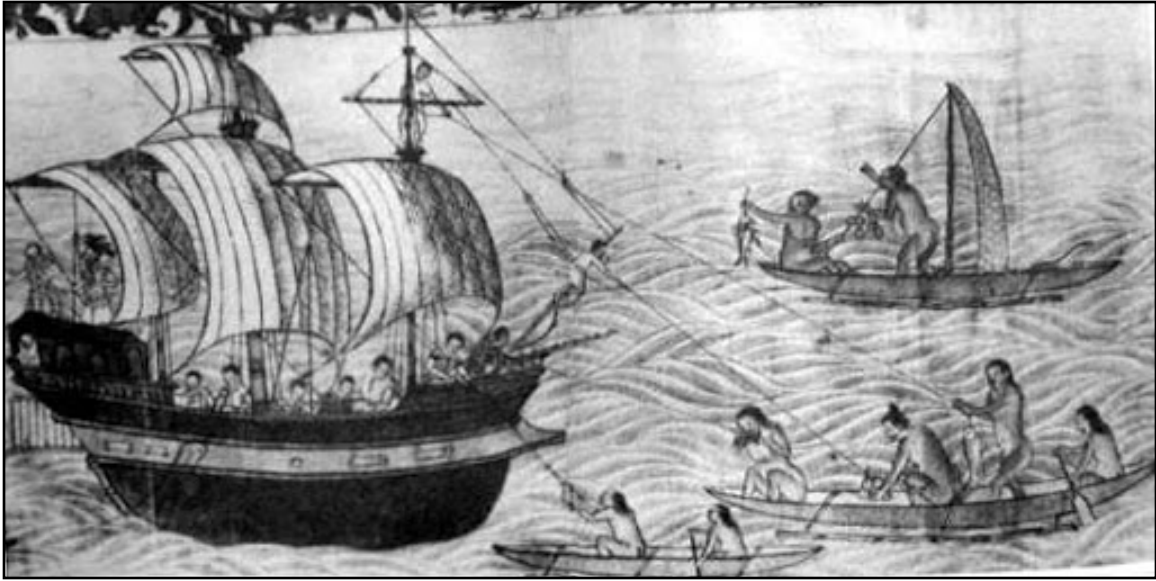
Coconut leaves, young and old, are used in a variety of ways as well. New leaves can be used as wrappings for food such as rice or rice cakes. Older leaves can be used to make brooms. Leaves were woven in the past to serve as the roofs of houses. Beyond thatching, coconut trees were often used to build houses.

Young leaves are still commonly used to make everything from hats, baskets and fans to decorations and handicrafts. Young, yellowish leaves are also used in traditional CHamoru ceremonies. Importantly, the coconut tree and all its parts are still used today in all of these ways by contemporary CHamorus.

Magellan's Encounter

Depict the exchange of goods and the violence that occurred subsequently.

Bring home the idea that if Magellan had plastics or styrofoam that it would still be degrading in our environment today. Food storage on galleons and ships



Food storage on ships in the 16-18th century





Marianas Lifestyle and diet pre WWII







History and Introduction of Plastics

Reliance on Importing

The rise of processed foods, food insecurity, NCDs and the waste crisis.

The way we treat our lands and seas manifests in our bodies. The way we choose to nourish our bodies has direct impacts on the health of our environment. It's all interconnected.

Recent Data on Plastics Pollution

US Economic Census 2017 report

Geographic Area Name	2017 NAICS code	Meaning of NAICS code	Meaning of Sale...	Year	Number of establishments	Sales, value of shipments, or re...
Guam	42	Wholesale trade	Establishments wit...	2017	4	171
Guam	42	Wholesale trade	Establishments wit...	2017	8	571
Guam	42	Wholesale trade	Establishments wit...	2017	26	4,948
Guam	42	Wholesale trade	Establishments wit...	2017	35	12,660
Guam	42	Wholesale trade	Establishments wit...	2017	41	21,903
Guam	42	Wholesale trade	Establishments wit...	2017	104	960,534
Guam	44-45	Retail trade	All establishments	2017	880	2,068,874
Guam	44-45	Retail trade	Establishments wit...	2017	4	51...
Guam	44-45	Retail trade	Establishments wit...	2017	5	32
Guam	44-45	Retail trade	Establishments wit...	2017	5	06
Guam	44-45	Retail trade	Establishments wit...	2017	25	916

Guam 2019 Imports report

CODE	COMMODITY	Jan 2019	Percent of Total/Subtotal
FOOD & NON-ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES		\$13,215,824	38.72%
0201	Meat & Edible Offal of Beef	889,513	6.73%
0203	Meat and Edible Offal of Pork	632,819	4.79%
0207	Meat and Edible Offal of Poultry	529,739	4.01%
0302	Fish, Fresh, Chilled or Frozen	649,976	4.92%
0305	Fish, Dried, Salted or in Brine and Smoked	283	0.00%
0306	Crustacean, in shell or not	244,177	1.85%
0307	Mollusks, Live, Fresh, Chilled, Frozen, Dried & Salted	161,501	1.22%
0401	Milk & Cream, not Containing Sugar	379,418	2.87%
0405	Butter	91,261	0.69%
0406	Cheese	126,421	0.96%
0407	Bird's Eggs, not in shell, Egg Yolk	120,177	0.91%
0709	Vegetables	260,331	1.97%
0810	Fruits	232,341	1.76%
1006	Rice	706,446	5.35%
1101	Flour	26,385	0.20%
1515	Oils	115,234	0.87%
1601	Sausages	1,932	0.01%
1602	Prepared or Preserved Meat or Blood	1,022,509	7.74%
1604	Prepared or Preserved Fish, Caviar & Caviar Substitutes	254,504	1.93%
1605	Crustaceans, Mollusks & Aquatic Invertebrates	60,529	0.46%
1701	Sugar	177,150	1.34%
1704	Sugar Confectionary	631	0.00%
1806	Chocolate & Other Food Preparations Containing Cocoa	950,385	7.19%
1901	Malt Extracts, Flour (Cake Mixes)	42,400	0.32%
1902	Pasta whether or not Cooked	256,314	1.94%
1903	Tapioca, Prepared from Starch	4,383	0.03%
1904	Cereals	153,004	1.16%
1905	Bread, Pastry, Cakes & Other Bakery Products	1,136,116	8.60%

CODE	COMMODITY	Jan 2019	Total/Subtotal
OTHER IMPORTS		\$5,557,032	16.28%
0603	Cut Flowers	80,066	1.44%
2300	Food Industries, Residues and Wastes Thereof	308,956	5.56%
2402	Tobacco, Cigars, Cigarettes & Cigarillos	41,641	0.75%
3004	Medicaments	210,256	3.78%
3006	Pharmaceutical Products	872,851	15.71%
3215	Tanning or Dyeing Extracts	322	0.01%
3304	Cosmetics	2,442,144	43.95%
3401	Soap & Organic Surface Active Products	331,181	5.96%
3500	Modified Starches, Glues, Enzymes	1,345	0.02%
3800	Chemical Products, N.E.S.	3,931	0.07%
5700	Carpets & Other Textiles	8,411	0.15%
6302	Bed, Table, Toilet and Kitchen Linen	69,684	1.25%
6500	Headgear and Parts Thereof	20,071	0.36%
6600	Umbrellas and Walking Sticks	6,991	0.13%
7113	Jewelry Articles of Precious Metal	827,409	14.89%
8471	Automatic Data Processing Machines	36,299	0.65%
8473	Automatic Data Processing Parts	28,567	0.51%
8506	Cells and Batteries	77,025	1.39%
9004	Sunglasses, Spectacles, Corrective or Protective	119,603	2.15%
9406	Bedding and Mattresses	48,360	0.87%
9503	Toys	3,964	0.07%
9508	Games and Sports Requisites & Acessories	508	0.01%
9608	Pens, Ballpoints, Fountain Pens	14,019	0.25%
9613	Cigarette Lighters	3,430	0.06%

January imports	2019 Dollars (\$)	Percent of Total
Imports by Air	11,681,757	34.2%
Imports by Ship	22,451,078	65.8%

Table 3

Top 20 November Imports by Country of Origin	2019 Dollars (\$)	Percent of Total
United States of America	18,173,787	53.24%
Italy	2,052,359	6.01%
China - Peoples Republic of	2,024,886	5.93%
Taiwan	1,494,973	4.38%
France	1,480,222	4.34%
Switzerland	1,416,441	4.15%
Republic of Korea	1,115,001	3.27%
Thailand	892,538	2.61%
Japan	807,772	2.37%
New Zealand	804,593	2.36%
Singapore	628,216	1.84%
Philippines	504,658	1.48%
Viet Nam	407,624	1.19%
Hong Kong	388,086	1.14%
Spain	364,526	1.07%
Great Britain	354,693	1.04%
Canada	263,958	0.77%
Nauru	149,424	0.44%
Australia	123,859	0.36%
Marshall Islands	113,661	0.33%
All Others	571,557	1.67%

Solutions

Problem with recycling

Clean ups are just band aids

Policies

CNMI and Guam Plastic Bag Policies

[Billon Single-Use Plastic Bag Ban Moves Forward](#)

[Plastic Bag Ban Takes Effect Friday](#)

FSM Styrofoam ban

[FSM Bans Styrofoam, Plastic Food Service Items and Plastic Bags](#)

RRF

[Guam's Newest Law Directs Use of Recycling Funds, Other Bills Await Governor's Action](#)

Business Ventures

Yap Eco Leafs

Kosrae banana Paper

Community Efforts

Plastic Free Palau

MCCA Precious Plastics

If Magellan Had Balutan

(*balutan* is an artform involving packing left over foods to-go)

We must wonder what he ate.

Nourishment came from the land and sea so, *bula*

Guihan, *Suni*, and *niyok* for the crew and first mate.

Our ancestors rescued all of them after 99 long days at sea.

They were sick and starving, but our generosity was great.

This clash of different cultures created great conflict

We traded our food for their dinghy because our reciprocity is innate.

Magellan burned our homes down, and named us “de los drones”

Because they came from a land and time driven by greed and hate.

That historic day 500 years ago was the bloody start of

That forever changed this blue region's fate.

Before there was plastic, there was ivory

It was used to make all kinds of finery

before an industrialized society

Almost destroying elephants entirely

Until 1863 when \$10,000 in gold was offered to someone

Bold and brash as John Wesley Hyatt who would take the cash
But little did they know they were making trash
First there was celluloid, it was malleable and strong
Bakelite was next and it wasn't before long
An outpouring of materials came along
Polystyrene combines ethylene and benzene
You have polypropylene
Followed by Polyethylene, a polymer of ethylene
Usually the clear plastic packaging
Or High density polyethylene, the structure is crystalline
Then there's Low Density Polyethylene
Usually used for large scale packaging
And now we are having a hard time managing
Our plastic waste, we are in a race against time and it's hard to define
This crisis in numbers or figures, even infographics and pictures
Sometimes aren't enough to trigger people into changing
Even though we are not sustaining the remaining parts of our land
With microplastics in jungles, oceans and sands
We are here to find a solution to global plastic pollution
Because we don't want my contribution to be plastic waste, a history erased
Because it's buried under misplaced trash
And if we look back at the past, it's not hard to say
That if Magellan left *balutan*, it would still be here today.

Before there was plastic, there was ivory
It was used to make all kinds of finery
before an industrialized society
Almost destroying elephants entirely
Until 1863 when \$10,000 in gold was offered to someone
Bold and brash as John Wesley Hyatt who would take the cash
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Or High density polyethylene, the structure is crystalline
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And now we are having a hard time managing
Our plastic waste, we are in a race against time and it's hard to define
This crisis in numbers or figures, even infographics and pictures
Sometimes aren't enough to trigger people into changing
Even though we are not sustaining the remaining parts of our land
With microplastics in jungles, oceans and sands

Plastics are cheap + easy to produce they offered salvation from uneven distribution that made some nations wealthy and left others impoverished - the invention of plastics promised material abundance available to all

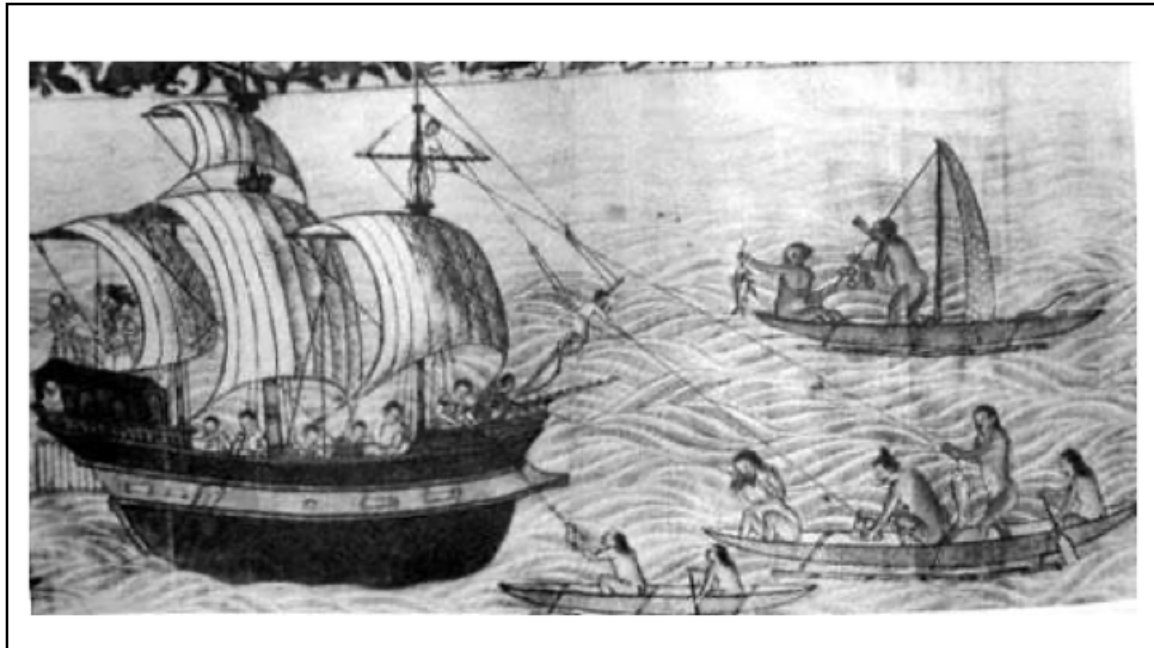
Plastic production increased by 300% during World War II and was used to make parachutes, ropes, body armor, helmet liners and more. Plastics were even essential to the building of the atomic bomb: Manhattan Project scientists relied on Teflon's supreme resistance to corrosion to make containers for the volatile gases they used.

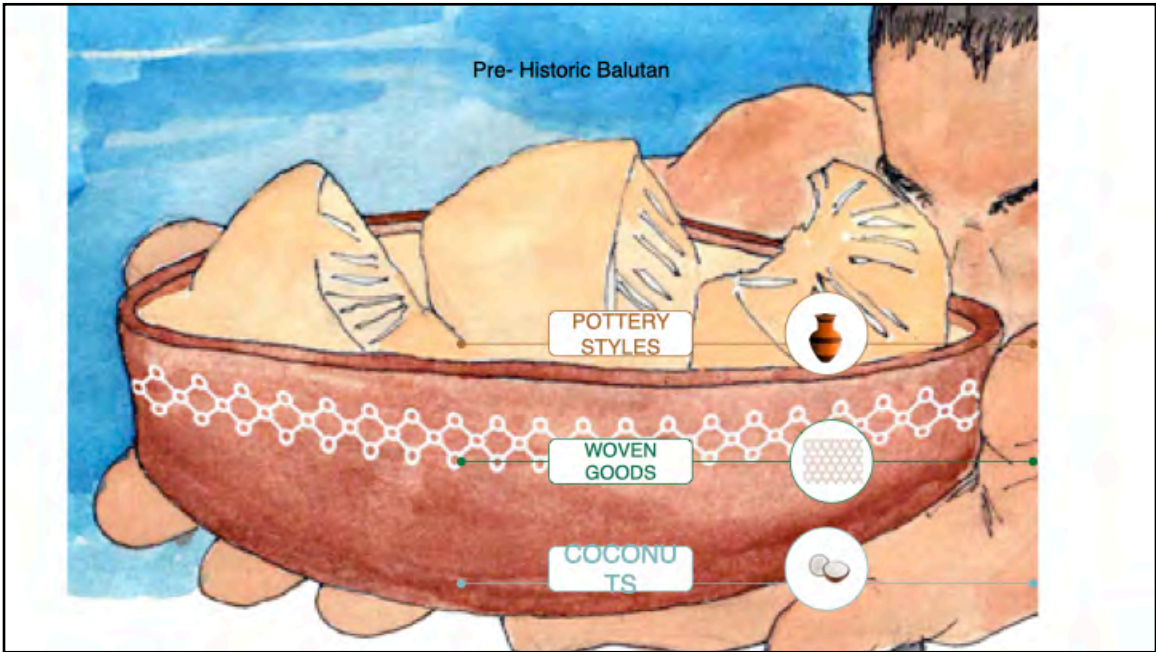
Since the 1950's 8.3 billion Tonnes of plastic has been produced which is equivalent to 800,000 Eiffel towers

I'll leave you with one last thought and that is that we are here to find a solution to global plastic pollution because we don't want our contribution to be plastic waste or a history erased because it's buried under misplaced trash and if we look back at the past it's not hard to say that if Magellan left about an it would still be here today.

Presentation slides on following page.

Presentation Slides





Balutan Today



GUAM CONTAINER GUIDE



Plastic



Ivory

Ivory was used to create products like combs, piano keys and most popularly used for billiard balls

John Wesley Hyatt created the first version of plastic using cellulose fibers found in wood

Celluloid



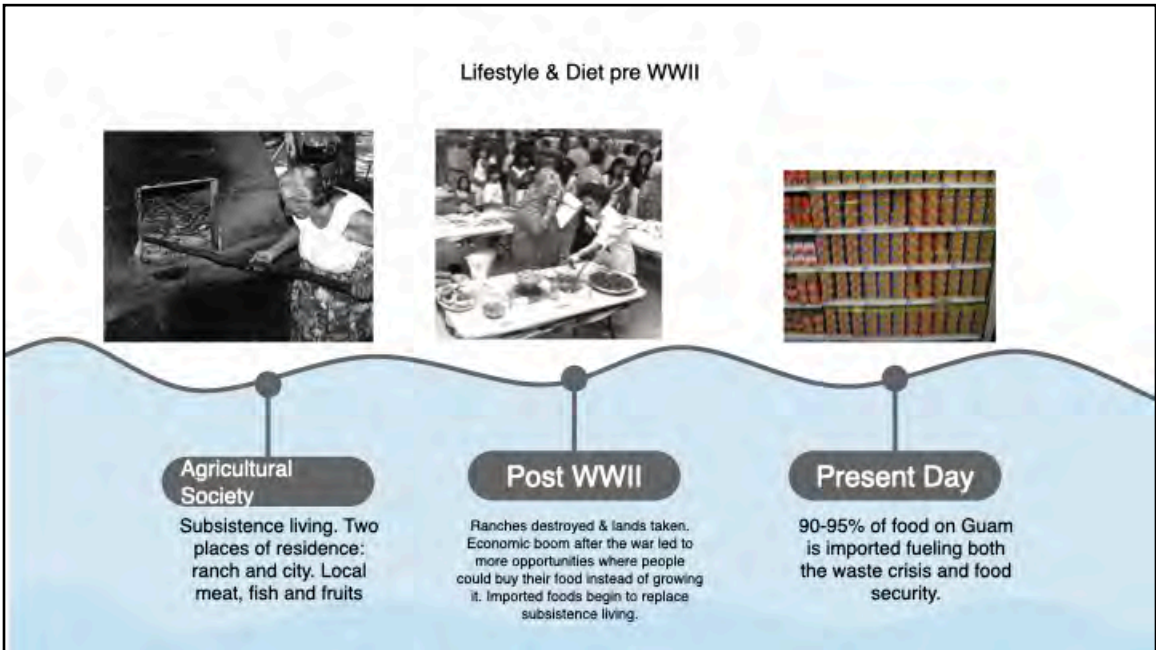
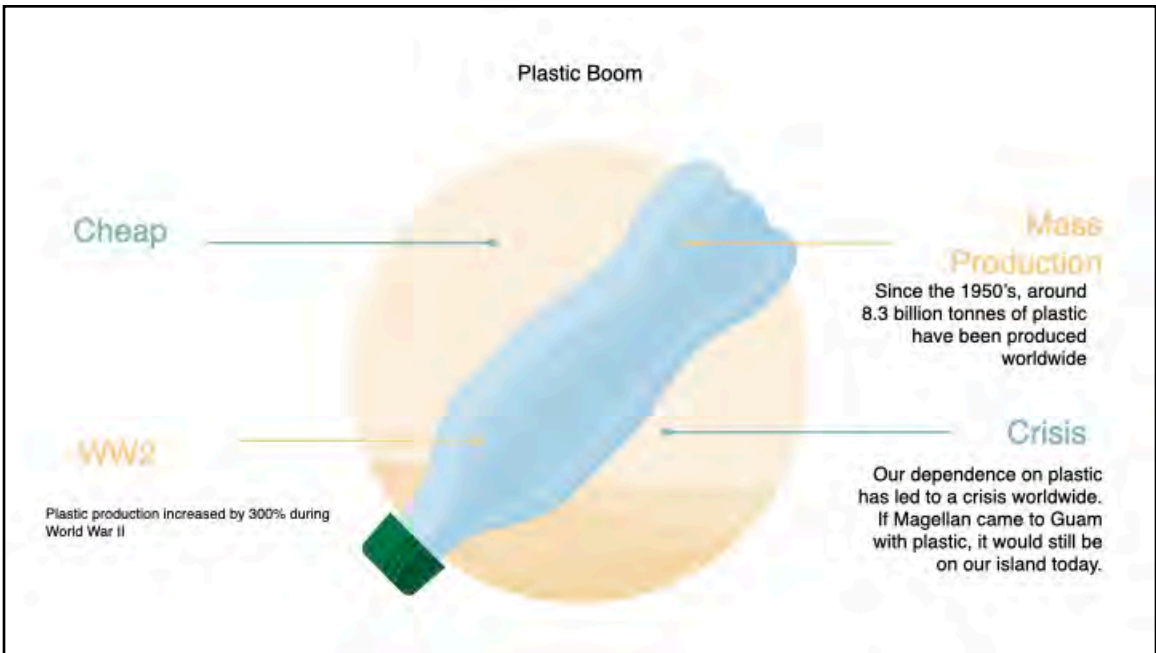
Bakelite

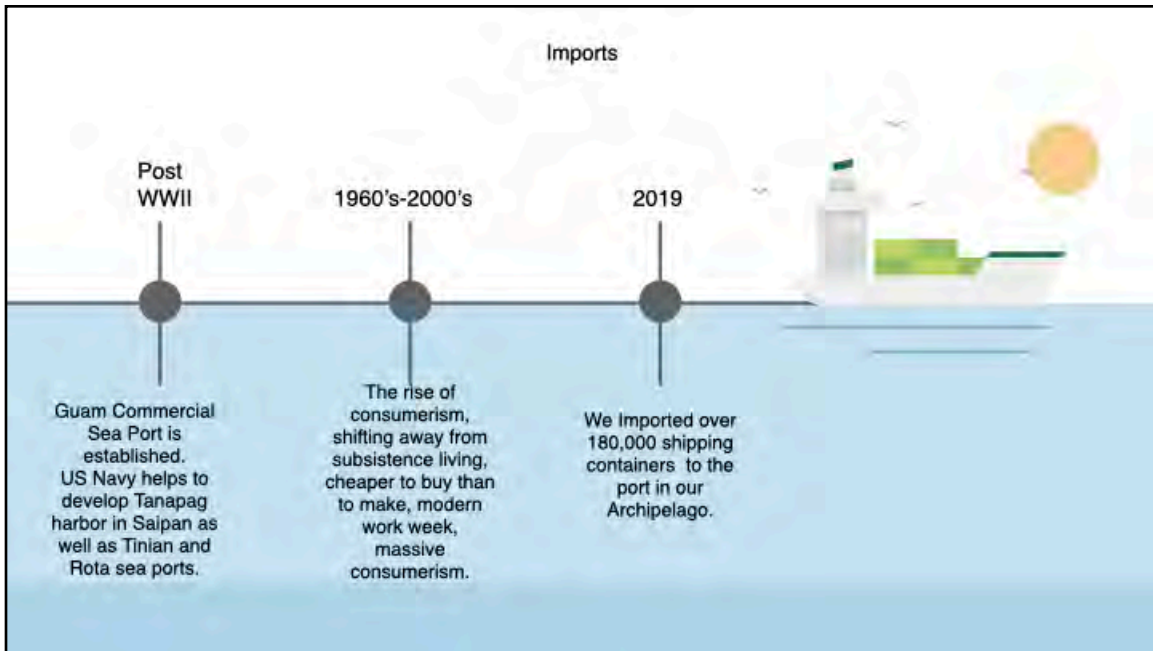
Chemists combined phenol & formaldehyde which created a hardy polymer called Bakelite, the world's first synthetic plastic which contained no molecules found in nature.

Bakelite & Celluloid led major chemical companies to invest in the R&D of new polymers. In the 20's & 30's, an outpouring of materials came from labs including teflon, kevlar & nylon

Plastic Boom







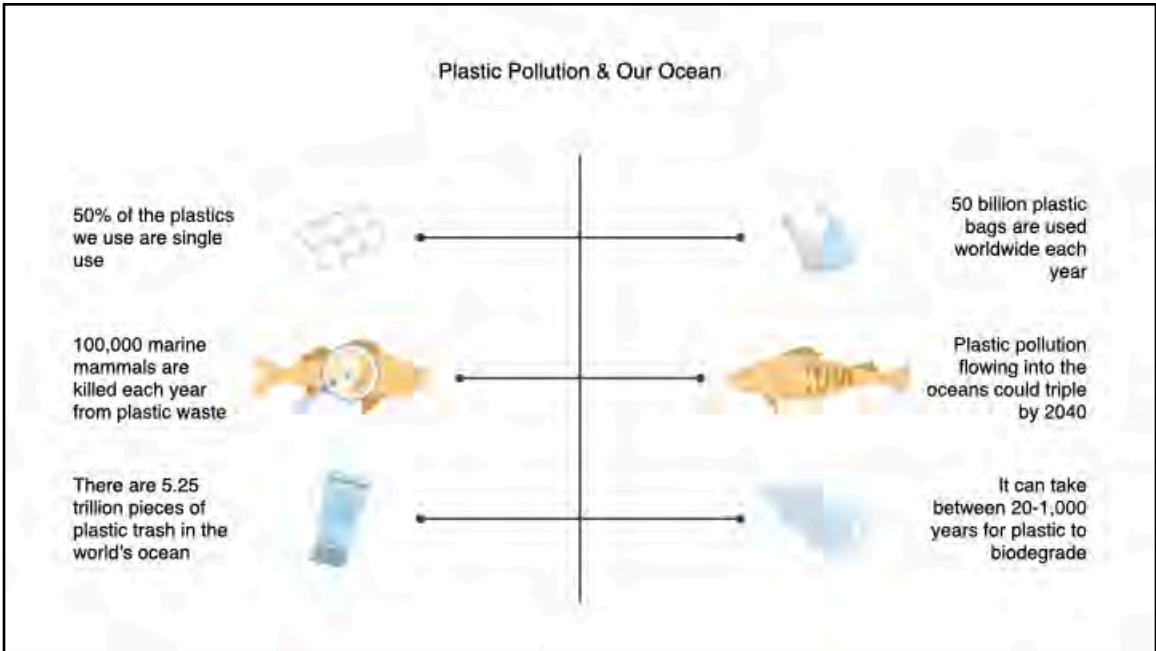
Convenience and Consumerism



So much Trash, such little land



A problem that will not go away. Proper disposal of waste—and overall waste reduction—is especially essential on islands with limited land. The EPA will be on island next week to work with Commonwealth officials on a plan to spend \$56 million for solid waste facilities on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota that is included in last year's Disaster Relief Act. (Photo: Emmanuel T. Enefano, Marianas Variety)




Pollution and our Trench and Ocean

Scientists find incredibly high levels of pollution in the Mariana Trench, including low-sodium Spam

By Jessica Hill on February 16, 2017 at 10:00 am

f t G+ Y f

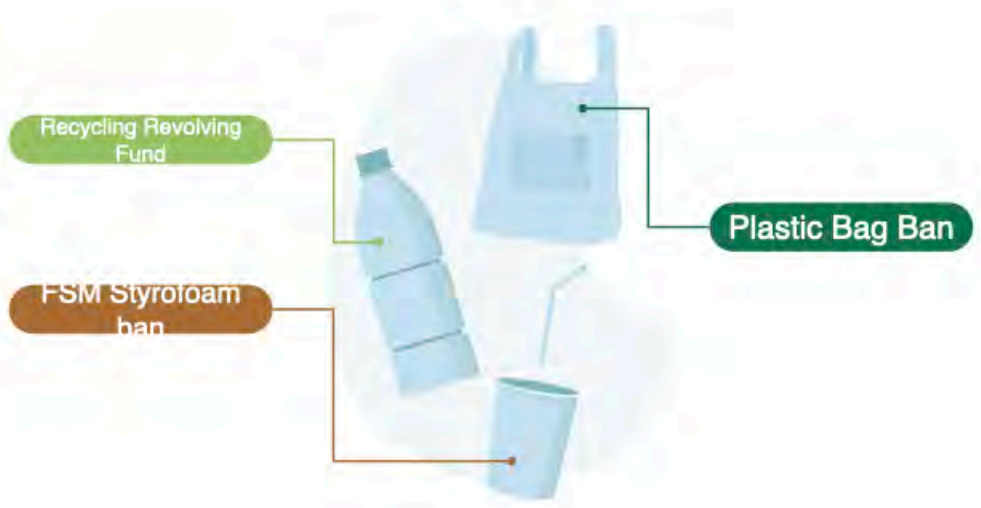




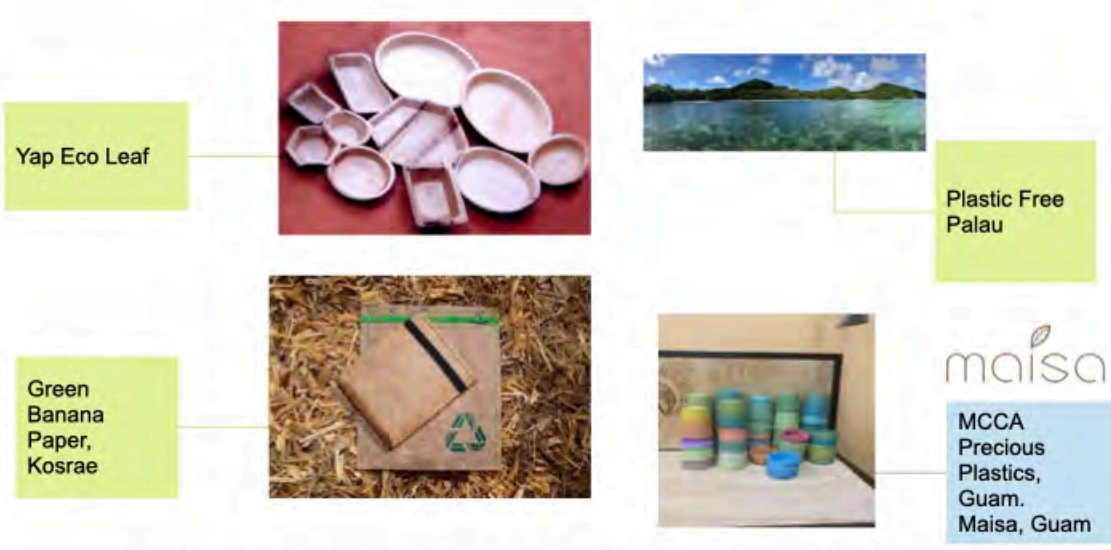
A Budweiser can seen at 3,282 meters depth at Biogen Seamount, Budweiser the official beer of sailboat inventors.



Policies in our Region tackling plastic pollution



Solutions



**Coming April 2021-
Webseries on the Climate Crisis and
Plastic Pollution in our Region**





Moñeka De Oro is an indigenous CHamoru mother, peace activist, educator and dedicated community organizer. She is deeply involved in efforts uplifting the experiences of Pacific Islanders on the front lines of the climate crisis. She is currently a Just Transition Curriculum and Policy Fellow with Climate Justice Alliance, where co-coordinates community based solutions with member organization Micronesia Climate Change Alliance. She received a BA in Anthropology in 2011 and a Micronesian Studies Graduate Program Certificate in 2019 from, both from the University of Guam. De Oro has wide professional, academic and volunteer experiences in historic preservation, environmental protection and cultural perpetuation. She is on the Board of Directors for the Guam Environmental Protection Agency, was recognized by the US State Department as a Young Pacific Leader in 2019, and is a sister in the Sierra's Club Women Earth Alliance 2020 Accelerator Program.

5th Marianas History Conference

Day 3: Sunday, February 21

Panel: Early Spanish Period

The Chamorro Village of Guam After Resettlement The New and the Old

By Fr. Francis Hezel and Dr. David Atienza

Abstract: *In pre-contact times, the Chamoru population lived in modest sized settlements scattered throughout the island. Spanish resettlement began in 1680 as an attempt to gather people into a few larger villages so that they could live within easy reach of the church. The presentation, after reviewing the main villages on each island, offers a contrast between the new village and the old. It also suggests that there were certain zones that were free from foreign influence even at that time. It will also focus on ways in which the village layout might have changed, how the life of the people was altered, and the manner in which the new church may have unconsciously adopted cultural practices, thus helping preserve them.*

Introduction

At the founding of the first Spanish mission there, the Marianas archipelago, which extends several hundred miles from Guam in the south to the much smaller islands in the north, had four well populated islands: Saipan, Tinian, Rota and Guam. Of these, Guam was the largest, with half the total land area of the entire chain, and the most heavily populated. Even the tiny northern islands were occupied at that time, with eight of them sharing a population of a few thousand. Estimates of the total population size at the time of Spanish contact vary widely, but the figure for the entire island chain is generally thought to have been about 40,000.¹ Half of that number were thought to be living on Guam, while the islands of Rota, Tinian and Saipan also had a large population.

The islands were politically fragmented at the time of early European contact. Not only was there no paramount chief linking the various islands together, but there were not even island chiefs, or the type of sectional chiefs found in other island groups in the region. The weak chiefly system was a source of amazement for the earliest European visitors: Magellan and

¹ Jane H Underwood, "Population History of Guam: Context of Microevolution," *Micronesica: Journal of the University of Guam* 9, no. 1 (1973): 11-44; Richard J. Shell, "The Ladrone Population.," *Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 2 (2001): 225-36. Shell, Richard J. "The Ladrone Population." *Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 2 (2001): 225-36.

Legazpi's crew both marveled at an island society without *señor ni capitan* (lord or captain).² The village chief represented the highest authority figure in the Marianas. As one of the Spanish missionaries wrote: "Neither the islands taken altogether, nor the individual villages have a head who governs the others."³ This statement is supported by everything else that we know of the early social and political landscape in the Marianas. Yet, despite the lack of centralized political power, the Marianas Archipelago displayed a common cultural unity. All the inhabitants of the island-chain spoke a common language, Chamorro, a member of the Austronesian language family. Other strong cultural features were its matrilineal system, affording considerable authority to women, its young men's houses in the village, the practice of marriage outside the clan, and the intense trading activity of the society throughout the years.

The Mariana Islands were, according to recent archeological discoveries, the first island group inhabited in Remote Oceania.⁴ A seafaring people navigating from the west, most likely Luzon, settled in Guam and Saipan between 2000 and 1500 BC. This extraordinary navigational event took place several hundred years before those seafarers with their distinctive Lapita pottery reached Fiji, Tonga or Samoa and two millennia before humans reached Hawaii or New Zealand.⁵ What little we know of the lifestyle of these early settlers is suggested by the archaeological evidence unearthed in recent decades. The people appear to have lived in small settlements along the coast where they had easy access to abundant marine resources. They lived in dwellings raised on poles along the shore but made use of nearby caves for meetings and other purposes. Within a few hundred years of their first settlement in the islands, these people began wandering inland to plant root crops and fruits

² Jaime Marín y Diego Marín, pilots on Legazpi expedition wrote in 1565: "A esta gente no se le reconoció señor ni capitan". Derrotero de los Pilotos de la expedición de Legazpi Jaime Marín y Diego Marín, Archivo General de Indias (AGI) MP-Filipinas, 2, f. 6. In 1521 Pigafetta observed during the first contact between Europeans and Chamorros that "these people live in liberty and according to their will, for they have no lord or superior" See Pigafetta, Antonio. *The First Voyage Round the World by Magellan: Transl. from the Accounts of Pigafetta and Other Contemporary Writers* Edited by Henry Morton Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010), 69.

³ Francisco García, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores of the Society of Jesus, First Apostle of the Mariana Islands and the Happenings in These Islands from the Year of One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-Eight, to That of One Thousand Six Hundred and Eighty-One* (Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 2004), 172. The original in Spanish García, Francisco. *Vida y martirio del padre Diego Luis de Sanvitores, de la Compañía de Jesus, primer apostol de las islas Marianas y sucesos de estas islas* (Madrid: Juan Garcia Infanzon), 1683.

⁴ Mike T. Carson, *First Settlement of Remote Oceania: Earliest Sites in the Mariana Islands*, Springer Briefs in Archaeology (New York: Springer, 2014).

⁵ Patrick Vinton Kirch, "The Pacific Islands as a Human Environment," in *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 42-62.

and so develop an early agricultural system. Even in this earliest era the islanders used ornate pottery with markings to designate their group identity and buried their dead with shell and stone ornaments to celebrate their status.⁶

The archaeological evidence suggests a significant transformation of the culture that began about a thousand years ago, at the beginning of what is known as the Latte Period.⁷ This period is distinguished by the giant latte pillars and capstones that were found throughout the islands. The mortars used in the preparation of food and medicines began to be made of stone rather than wood. The style of shell ornaments also changed markedly. Even more significant was the change in bone size and structure discovered in the burial remains from this later period. The body form of the people themselves, like the structures they erected during the Latte period, had become significantly larger and more heavy-set.⁸

The people of the Marianas had from the earliest times always lived in small settlements scattered through the islands. On Guam, the largest island of the archipelago, one early visitor estimated 400 different settlements,⁹ while a later missionary source put the number at 110.¹⁰ Whatever the number, it is easy to accept with confidence the statement of the observation, made about 1700, that “these islands are very populous. [...] and are full of villages scattered over plains and mountains, some with as many as hundred or a hundred and fifty huts.”¹¹

Early European Contact

The Marianas were the first island group that Ferdinand Magellan encountered in his historic voyage across in the Pacific in 1521. During the brief layover at Guam, Magellan and his half-

⁶ Carson, Mike T. *Archaeological Landscape Evolution: The Mariana Islands in the Asia-Pacific Region* (New York: Springer, 2016). Moore, Darlene. *Measuring Change in Marianas Pottery: The Sequence of Pottery Production at Tarague, Guam* (MA diss., University of Guam, 1983). Amesbury, Judith R. “Changes in Species Composition of Archaeological Marine Shell Assemblages in Guam.” *Micronesica* 32, no. 2 (1999): 346–66.

⁷ Carson, Mike T. “An Overview of Latte Period Archaeology.” *Micronesica* 42, no. 1 (2012): 1–79.

⁸ Heathcote, Gary M., Vicente P. Diego, Hajime Ishida, and Vicente J. Sava. “Legendary Chamorro Strength: Skeletal Embodiment and the Boundaries of Interpretation.” In *The Bioarchaeology of Individuals*, edited by Ann Lucy Wiener Stodder and Ann M. Palkovich (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 44–67.

⁹ Martínez Perez, Jesus, ed. *Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora: Historia de la pérdida y descubrimiento del Galeón San Felipe* (Avila: Diputación Provincial de Avila - Institución Gran Duque de Alba, 1997), 448. Translated in Driver, Marjorie G. *The Account of Fray Juan Pobre’s Residence in the Marianas, 1602* (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1989).

¹⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, département Cartes et plans, GE D-10208.

¹¹ Morales, Luis de, and Charles Le Gobien. *History of the Mariana Islands*. Edited by Alexandre Coello de la Rosa (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center & University of Guam Press, 2016), 109.

starved crew were able to secure provisions and repair their battered ships, even as they added the island group to the map and marked it as a suitable stopover for future Spanish ships crossing the Pacific. During Magellan's visit to the island, hostilities erupted between the crew and the islanders when the latter repeatedly made off with items from the ship—a pattern that would be repeated many times over in the course of early visits of Europeans to islands throughout the Pacific. Magellan thereupon bestowed on this island group the unflattering name “Ladrones.”

In 1565, a half century later, Miguel de Legazpi formally claimed for the Spanish Crown the Marianas Archipelago as well as the islands north of the Celebes that he baptized as the Philippines. Andres de Urdaneta, a navigator of this same expedition, discovered the *tornaviaje* the return route to re-cross the Pacific so as to avoid the Portuguese, thus marking the beginning of the annual Manila galleon route. For the next one hundred years, the Marianas, known as *Islas de los Ladrones*, were visited annually as a resupply point, even though the Spanish Crown never supported any settlement there nor did the Catholic Church undertake any official mission in the island group. Between 1521 and Legazpi's visit in 1565, however, there were occasional contacts between Europeans crossing the Pacific and the Chamorro people.¹²

In 1522, the *Trinidad* of Magellan's expedition, on its return voyage from Tidore, reached islands that they recognized as the Ladrones and drifted north to an island they called Cyco, possibly Songsong or Anataham. There they loaded water and firewood and captured a native pilot to help them navigate. When Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, now commander of the ship, was forced to return to the Marianas a few months later, the vessel put in at Maug Island, another of the northern islands of the archipelago. While the ship was taking on water, three Spaniards deserted together with the native Chamorro previously captured. Four years later, when Loaysa visited the islands, only the cabin boy Gonzalo de Vigo was founded alive. Yet, the Spaniards were well received, thanks to the mediation of the cabin boy, who by then had made friends with the islanders and was fluent in their language.¹³

The early Spanish visits continued. In 1528, Alvaro de Saavedra, on his return from Tidore where he went to assist Loaysa's expedition, touched at one of the northern Marianas islands and took on water and firewood there. Fifteen years later, in 1543, the *San Juan de Letran*, one

¹² Our gratitude to Francisco Ruiz Aldereguia, historian and Spanish navy official retired, for the information that follows.

¹³ Navarrete, Martín Fernández de. *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV, con varios documentos inéditos concernientes á la historia de la marina castellana y de los establecimientos españoles en Indias*. Vols. 4 and 5 (Madrid: Imprenta real, 1825).

of the ships in Villalobos's expedition, also anchored at one of the islands in the group, where the crew exchanged iron for fruit and water. Finally, in 1565, the Legazpi's expedition spent ten days in Guam, probably at Umatac in the south.¹⁴

These encounters between Spaniards and Chamorros increased in frequency and duration after the establishment of the yearly Manila galleon run from Acapulco to Manila.¹⁵ In 1568, the galleon *San Pablo* was shipwrecked in the archipelago, in 1601 the *Santa Margarita* was broken up on the reefs of Rota, and in 1638 the *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* sank off Saipan. In 1596, Fray Antonio de los Angeles, together with two Spaniard soldiers, jumped ship and remained in the Marianas for a year.¹⁶ Juan Pobre, a Franciscan friar, did the same thing in 1602 when he left the ship that was taking him to Manila and remained in the Marianas for six months.¹⁷

The Establishment of the Jesuit Mission

In 1668 Spain launched the first mission in the Mariana Islands. This event, the first permanent mission anywhere in the Pacific, marked the beginning of a period of intense Western contact that resulted in the evangelization and colonization of the entire Pacific. Naturally, this event and all that followed also left a permanent imprint on the history and culture of the Marianas.

When Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores and his missionary band—five other Jesuits and a group of 31 lay mission helpers from Mexico and the Philippines—arrived in the Marianas, they were enthusiastically received by a village chief and his people.¹⁸ As the priests and their helpers began their evangelization of the island chain from Guam northward, however, violent encounters soon broke out. Father Luis de Medina, one of the Jesuit priests, was wounded in Nisichan in August 1668. In October 1668, Lorenzo Castellanos and his Filipino translator,

¹⁴ AGI MP-Filipinas, 2, f.6.

¹⁵ For a review of the cultural effects of the contacts during these years on the social organization of the Chamorro people see Quimby, Frank. "The Hierro Commerce: Culture Contact, Appropriation and Colonial Entanglement in the Marianas, 1521–1668." *The Journal of Pacific History* 46, no. 1 (2011): 1–26.

¹⁶ Marjorie G. Driver, trans., "The Account of a Discalced Friar's Stay in the Islands of the Ladrones," *Guam Recorder* 7 (1977): 19–21.

¹⁷ Martínez Perez, *Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora*, 421–469.

¹⁸ For an approach to historical sources on the contact and first years of the mission see Luis de Morales and Charles Le Gobien, *History of the Mariana Islands*; Francisco Garcia, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De Sanvitores*; Francis X. Hezel, "The Early Spanish Period in the Marianas, 1668–1669" in *One Archipelago, Many Stories: Integrating Our Narratives*, vol. 3 (2nd History of the Marianas Conference, Guam: Guampedia Foundation, 2013), 127–36; David Atienza, "A Mariana Island History Story: The Influence of the Spanish Black Legend in Mariana Islands Historiography," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 4, no. 1 (2013): 13–29.

Gabriel de la Cruz, were killed in Tinian. Then, in January 1670, the first of the priests was killed when Fr. Medina met his death on Saipan. A year later, San Vitores's young assistant, José de Peralta, was assassinated in Guam, provoking the punitive killing of one of the village chiefs.

Violence was mounting as the number of hostile incidents increased. Part of this was attributed to a story that was being spread by Choco, a shipwrecked Chinese, about the poisonous effect that the baptismal waters supposedly had on children. In addition, the missionaries provoked a hostile reaction when they destroyed the ancestral skulls that islanders cherished on the grounds that they were religious idols. Finally, in April 1672, Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores was killed, together with his young assistant Pedro Calungsod, in yet another outbreak of violence. His death opened a new period, a complex era of alliances, resistance, truces, and fights.

The next thirty years brought intermittent hostilities, provoked by a continued missionary opposition to some cultural practices, islanders' retaliation for insults suffered, and simmering resentment at their treatment under the Spanish. From the outset the Spanish mission drew mixed reactions from an island people without a unified leadership system. While many of the Chamorro people came to resent the Spanish, other chiefs and their people were sympathetic to them for a variety of reasons.

By 1690 the hostilities had all but ended, claiming a total loss of life of perhaps 200 Chamorros and Spanish. Even after the end of violence, however, the precipitous drop in the population, caused largely by the diseases introduced by the newcomers, continued. From the arrival of the Spanish, the island population of an estimated 40,000 plunged to barely 4,000 by 1710. In just over 40 years the number of inhabitants in the island chain had been reduced by 90 percent.¹⁹

Resettlement of the Population

The broad dispersal of villages all over the island made the resettlement (*reducción*) into select villages necessary, while the shrinkage of the population, largely as a result of the epidemics, made it more manageable. The practice of *reducción*, a trademark of Spanish colonial administration everywhere, was intended to provide administrators and missionaries ready access to the people, especially where the local population was scattered widely, as it was in the Marianas. Already in 1680, Governor Antonio de Saravia, had taken advantage of a

¹⁹ See also Francis X Hezel, *When Cultures Clash: Revisiting the "Spanish Chamorro Wars"* (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2016).

peaceful interlude to begin the resettlement on Guam.

The relocation of the population into well-defined villages is sometimes understood as nothing more than a tool of more effective colonization. Although that purpose cannot be totally discounted, its rationale rests much more on the Christianization of the island population a goal which, even if neglected at times by the local governor, was affirmed again and again in Spanish royal documents as the main purpose of the original Spanish venture in 1668.²⁰ The Jesuit superior explained the initial relocation in 1680 as follows:

“...this year we have started to reduce the people in bigger towns, taking them out of their retired ranches and tiny villages, where it was nearly impossible to assist them because of the multitude of places that they occupied and the distance between them. With this... we will be able to administer the Holy Sacraments and to teach the Christian doctrine more frequently.”²¹

The assumption of Spanish missionaries, in these islands as in other mission fields, was that merely baptizing non-believers and expecting them to sustain their faith in isolation was to leave their work half-done. In addition, the Jesuits knew, by experience in other tropical missions, that the scattered indigenous settlement pattern with its small and outlying hamlets would have made very difficult the administration of the sacraments needed to bring the local people to the faith. Just as important as the initial evangelization was the establishment of what they would have called *cristianidad*, a faith community that would have provided the support needed to sustain the belief of these converts.

The community, of course, would be modeled on a Spanish town, considered a civilized and well-organized settlement. Everywhere in the present-day Marianas we find clear vestiges of this model: the village church and the government office with a public plaza usually situated between them. This layout, established in Hagatña from the very beginning, was introduced into other villages over time until it eventually became a standard feature everywhere in the island group.²² On the other hand, this Spanish town model was itself subject to change as

²⁰ Francis X. Hezel, “From Conversion to Conquest: The Early Spanish Mission in the Marianas,” *Journal of Pacific History* 17, no. 3 (1982): 115–37; Atienza, David. “A Mariana Island History Story: The Influence of the Spanish Black Legend in Mariana Islands Historiography.” *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 4, no. 1 (2013): 13–29.

²¹ Fr. Manuel de Solórzano in Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre, and David Atienza. *Scars of Faith: Letters and Documents of the Mariana Islands’ Jesuit Missionaries and Martyrs* (Boston: Jesuit Sources, In Press), 265.

²² After the Second World War, however, the island underwent an intense transformation; see Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre, and David Atienza. “Sobre amnesias y olvidos. Continuidades y discontinuidades en la (re)construcción de la memoria colectiva en Guam (Islas Marianas).” *Historia Social* 86 (2016): 25–46.

islanders adapted it to their own cultural features over time.

Even before the end of the fighting in the island group, the Spanish governor, with the support of the missionaries, began the “reduction” of the surviving island people on Guam into a handful of the larger villages. This initial work may have been initiated by the Spanish, but it was undertaken in collaboration with several Chamorro leaders who had become supportive of the work of the missionaries.²³ These local leaders were consulted on the selection of the official villages and were afterwards sent to obtain support of the island people.

The initial reduction was carried out promptly on Guam, although adjustments were made in later years. The resettlement was continued in the islands to the north with the dispatch of the Spanish commander in 1695 to relocate the people of Saipan and nearby Aguiguan. Soon after that the policy was extended to the northernmost islands of the archipelago, the group of small islands known as Gani, leading to the relocation of their people on Guam. The resettlement of these people, which concluded in 1698 during the interim governorship of Madrazo, led to so many casualties during the transfer²⁴ that a royal decree was later issued, with the full support of the Jesuit Superior General, banning all compulsory relocations in the future.²⁵ Even so, the consolidation of the population continued for several more years before the entire process was completed. In all, the “reduction” to villages, which was largely accomplished by 1700, extended over a 50-year period from 1680 until 1731, when the last of the people from Saipan were resettled on Guam.

Resettlement Villages

For the most part the choice of resettlement villages was not difficult. A few traditional population centers had grown up long before the arrival of the Spanish; most of them were located on the coast and would have been readily accessible by land and sea. Unless such villages had a history of hostility to the missionaries and resistance to Spanish influence, they were usually designated resettlement villages.

On Guam, the seven villages initially designated as population centers were: Hagatña, Agat,

²³ Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682, in Repetti, William Charles. “The Beginnings of Catholicity in the Marianas Islands.” *Catholic Historical Review* 31, no. 4 (1946): 434-5.

²⁴ Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús. Segunda parte. Desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716*, vol. Libro IV (Manila: Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, 1749), Cap. XXII.

²⁵ Letter from Fr. Victor Valdes to the General Procurator José Calvo of December 20, 1736. Archivo Histórico de la Provincia de Aragon (AHPA), Spain E-I-c5[h].

Pago, Umatac, Inapsan, Mapupan and Fena. By 1700, the last three of these would be stricken from the list, and the southern villages of Merizo and Inarajan added. This was the result of internal population shifts and the heavy resettlement of people from the northern islands in the southern part of Guam. Throughout most of the 18th Century the population of these villages would range between 100 and 300, with Hagatña maintaining a population of about 700.

Rota had a single village, Songsong, with a population that settled at about the same size as the Guam villages throughout the century. Saipan, further to the north, also had one recognized village, Anaguam, with a fluctuating population, but as increasing numbers of its people sailed off to Guam, the church was closed, and pastor withdrawn in 1731.²⁶

Physical Layout of the Village

As people from the surrounding area were resettled in the villages, the Spanish used the opportunity to try to reorganize the layout of the village houses in a regular pattern. As early as 1682, at the direction of the Spanish, some of the homes scattered at random along the shore were being rebuilt in the heart of the village. These houses and those of the people recently resettled from the outlying hamlets were increasingly laid out in orderly rows. Roads, too, were being enlarged and straightened by Governor Saravia's work crews and a rectangular layout seemed to be the plan for the ideal village.

Family buildings continued to be built with local materials although some modifications, based on the availability of materials, were made in time. Clay tiles first became available in 1748 when an oven for baking tiles opened in Hagatña.²⁷ The cookhouse, originally a small hut covering a fireplace, was used to prepare the food that would be distributed to the small families that made up the lineage group. Eventually it was modified so that a stone oven could be built above ground to prepare tortillas and roast new foods. The family dwelling was a long building, large enough to accommodate all the members of the extended family. People slept on plaited coconut leaf mats, the same type that were sometimes hung around the side of the building to protect those within.

The large canoe houses near the shore, usually the property of the lineage, also remained largely unaffected by the resettlement (see image 1). Clubhouses so-called *urritaos* houses were no longer to be seen in the new village. Nearly all had been destroyed at the insistence

²⁶ Hezel, Francis X. *From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands, 1690-1740*. Occasional Historical Papers Series; No. 2 (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2000), 27.

²⁷ Letter from José Eduardo del Castillo, March 30, 1748. AHPA E-1-C-6.

of the missionaries, who thought of them as little better than houses of prostitution.

One of the most visible changes in the village, as we might expect, was the church. Even before the reduction, all the main villages of Guam had at least a simple church building, usually built of wood. By that time, however, work was underway to replace it with a stone structure, along with a sturdy rectory and a cemetery. Increasingly, the church would become the center of village life, a favored gathering place for the villagers.



Image 1. “The Appearance of Agana From the Pass in the Reef”. Drawing by William Haswell during a voyage from Boston to Guam from 1801 to 1802. The canoe house is visible at the right side of the picture. Courtesy from Omaira Brunal-Perry; MARC.

Hagatña

Hagatña, by contrast, had already taken on the appearance of a colonial town by 1680. The town included 200 houses occupied by the troops, who numbered over a hundred by this time, and some of the trusted Chamorros.²⁸ Many of the troops – mostly Mexican and Filipino – were married to local women and settled their families in Hagatña, where they remained even after retirement. The whole core of the town was enclosed by a stockade, once made of wood but then being rebuilt of stone. Two gates, one facing the sea and the other the mountains, opened into the stockade. Within the stockade was a stone church that served those living within the enclosure, with the missionary residence alongside. Other buildings

²⁸ Fr. Francisco de Borja, 8 July 1680; in Lévesque, Rodrigue. *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents. More Turmoil in the Marianas, 1679-1683*. Vol. 7. (Gatineau: Lévesque Publications, 1996): 501.

included the boys' school and the girls' school, with a combined enrollment of nearly a hundred; a newly constructed hospital for the troops; the solidly built governor's home that doubled as a fort; and the royal warehouse for supplies brought in on the galleon. Outside the stockade, in adjacent barrios within easy reach of the church, were rows of wooden houses that were occupied by Chamorros.²⁹

Hagatña, formally known as the capital and home of the governor, was even in those early years developing residential suburbs. By 1728, the census recorded that six *barrios* had grown up in the surroundings of Hagatña, each one considered a suburb in its own right. Chamorros might not have had a place in the town itself, but they were able to build up small villages close by that offered them both access to the town along with the freedom to live their familiar rural lifestyle.³⁰

Hagatña was clearly a colonial center without parallel in Guam and the Marianas. Only Umatac possessed any colonial buildings that suggested governmental and religious authority: the *palacio* and a stone church. The Camino Real connected both colonial centers with the port of San Luis de Apra, developed during the mid-18th Century.³¹ This axis of communication on the western side of the island stood as a geographical marker of the colonial control in the islands, leaving the rest of the island under little more than nominal Spanish authority.

Authority in Villages

In his early attempt to concentrate the population into villages in 1680, Governor Saravia intended that local people provide the leadership in these villages, as long as they did not hinder the evangelization effort. In promoting local leadership, the governor not only recognized the legitimacy of the traditional Chamorro chief in each of the major villages, but he bestowed on each village chief the Spanish military title of *Maestre de Campo* or *Sargento Mayor*. Other prominent individuals in the village, in recognition of their contributions, were

²⁹ Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-1680, in Levesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 321; Fr. Francisco de Borja, 8 July 1680, in Levesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 501; Fr. Solórzano to Fr. Garcia, 20 May 1681, in Levesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 442.

³⁰ The settlements near Hagatña were Mongmong, Sinahaña, Anigua, and Apurguan. Around Assan the settlements of Riguan and Tepungan also sprang up, although Riguan later was abandoned. See Census of 1728 in AGI Ultramar leg 561 ff.127-177 and Census of 1758 in AGI Fil 488 ff. 1-82.

³¹ The Fort of San Luis was erected in 1737 see *Mapa y entrada del puerto de san Luis*, AGI, MP-FILIPINAS,29.

granted titles such as *Capitanes*, *Alféreces* or *Alguaciles*.³² The conferral of these titles, then, was not a means of replacing the traditional chief, but a gesture by the Spanish governor to confirm chiefly authority and to recognize others who had accomplishments to their credit.

But what happened when two or three smaller villages, each with its own matrilineal chief claims, were consolidated into a larger village? In such a case, the chieftainship seems to have gone to the traditional head of the main village, with some formal recognition given to the heads of the other smaller villages. The real authority of the village chief was limited even in traditional days, as we know from the missionary documents. But to exercise that authority in the new system, when there may have been other contenders for leadership, would have been even more difficult and required greater discretion.

With the end of hostilities and the final reduction into select villages, indigenous chiefs were required to assume a larger leadership role than previously. Somehow the village chiefs seemed to handle their expanded responsibility reasonably well for a while. But within a few years, under a string of governors who were notoriously self-serving, the chiefs would find themselves pressed by the increasing demands from the Spanish authorities for village labor for the personal enrichment of the governor. In the face of such pressure and aware of the burden it would place on their people, some of the village chiefs, pleading inability to carry out their responsibility, appealed to the governor to find someone to replace them.³³ Governor Damian Esplana and two of his corrupt successors solved the problem by appointing a Spanish creole or Filipino, usually a retired soldier, as *mayordomo* to exercise de facto authority over the village. During these years these officials abused their authority, forcing villagers to work on the public lands far longer than was stipulated by law. They were also accused of molesting village women and viciously punishing those who resisted.³⁴

By 1725 the worst was over, when the last of the corrupt governors had left office. Soon afterwards Governor Arguelles attempted to reform the abuses by eliminating the office of

³² Morales and Le Gobien, *History of the Mariana Islands*, 251. For more detail on the indigenous offices see Atienza, David. "Priests, Mayors and Indigenous Offices: Indigenous Agency and Adaptive Resistance in the Mariana Islands (1681 -1758)." *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (2014): 31-48.

³³ Ibáñez y García, Luis. *Historia de las Islas Marianas con su Derrotero, y de las Carolinas y Palaos: Desde el descubrimiento por Magallanes en el año 1521, hasta nuestros días* (Granada: Paulino V. Sabatel, 1886) 188-195.

³⁴ For further charges against these governors see AGI Fil. Leg. 99, f.33.

mayordomo and returning authority to the local village chiefs.³⁵ But the local chiefs, we are told, proved unequal to mounting relief efforts in the wake of a severe typhoon – perhaps because of the limitations on the authority of the traditional village chief. Spanish authorities at that time, as they had 45 years earlier, insisted that Chamorros be made leaders of the villages and supervise the Crown lands in the districts (*partidos*), but the Spanish would be obliged to limit their expectations of the village chiefs in the future. By mid-century the Spanish government had appointed five village administrators (*administradores de partidos*) to assist the chiefs in dealing with broader issues; but these men were all living in a section of Hagatña reserved for Spanish and mestizos, it should be noted. Local matters were left in the hands of village chiefs.³⁶

With the reform of the Spanish administration and the enforcement of the Spanish law prohibiting all foreigners from residing in any village other than Hagatña, local chiefs were left alone to handle traditional village matters. We may suppose that the successors of these chiefs were chosen, as they always had been, on the basis of their lineage. There is strong evidence to show that the title was not passed along simply on the strength of educational achievement. According to the 1758 island census, only ten out of 49 graduates of the Jesuit school on the island received any title of recognition from the Spanish. The graduates represented only a small fraction of those 120 islanders who had been granted titles bestowed by the Spanish. This would suggest that the foreign-educated had not replaced those with traditional birth claims in positions of authority.

Spheres of Political and Social Action

To appreciate the importance of the indigenous villages in the Marianas in the early 18th Century we must understand the political situation of the colony. From the “pacification” of the archipelago at the beginning of the century there were three different spheres of political and social action in the islands. These spheres were not only symbolic but also physical. First was the political and military sphere; second was the missionary agenda; and third was the

³⁵ After Fr. Felipe Maria de Muscati brought the case to the Royal Court of Manila in 1724 and Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle was prosecuted, the *mayordomos* were withdrawn from the local villages. Three years later, however, the Royal Court of Manila approved a similar figure called *administradores de partidos* to assure that the garrison of Hagatña was well supported and the compulsory work carried out in the Royal lands. For more information about the prosecution of Sanchez de Tagle see Atienza, David. “Priests, Mayors and Indigenous Offices”, 31–48. See also AGI Ultramar, Leg. 561.

³⁶ In 1758 there were five administrators in Guam: Captain don Jorge Eduardo del Castillo for Hagatña, Captain don Santiago Solis for Umatac, Merizo, and Inarajan, Captain don Juan Antonio Rotea for Agat, Captain Juan Luis Sanchez for Pago and Adjunctant Felix de Arceo for Apurguan. These administrators were married men who lived in the Barrio of Santa Cruz, a district reserved for Spanish and mestizos in Hagatña. The lack of a permanent presence of the colonial control in the villages offered the traditional chiefs greater freedom to exercise their authority at the grassroots level. See AGI Gil. Leg. 488 ff.1-88.

interests and objectives of the local Chamorros. The interests of the local people, divided as they were, conflicted with those of the missionaries in some areas but coincided in others. The same could be said for the other actors, the military and missionary.³⁷

These areas of political interest generated a distinctive physical and cultural landscape on Guam. The main village of Hagatña, designated as *ciudad* (city), was built and organized according to the Castilian model. The Spaniards laid out the streets in a perpendicular plan. In the center of the town, geographically and symbolically, were the church, the *plaza de armas*, the governor's palace, and other architectonic symbols of the imperial power. This city, the oldest colonial center in Oceania, hosted Spanish and Filipino soldiers along with their Chamorro wives and very few islanders. Umatac, a secondary governmental residence located in the south of Guam, reproduced on a minor scale the same model, but with a much greater number of local people. Thus, the city of Hagatña and the town of Umatac represented Spanish imperial power and colonial rule in a singular way. The two towns were connected by a road, el Camino Real, and by an artery that linked both with the port of Apra, developed in 1734 and surrounded by two forts, Santiago and San Luis. To complete the colonial infrastructure and landscape, the island was dotted with some *Estancias Jesuíticas*, Jesuit Farms,³⁸ founded to feed the religious and the troops, and a series of *vijías*, or lookout points,³⁹ and some additional forts to protect the colonial interest.⁴⁰ Beyond this axis of colonial control that ran from Hagatña to Umatac, the rest of the island villages were indigenous in their ethnical composition throughout the remainder of the century and well into the next century.⁴¹ The further they were from this symbolic center, the less Spanish influence they would have experienced.

³⁷ David Atienza, "The Mariana Islands Militia and the Establishment of the 'Pueblos de Indios'. Indigenous Agency in Guam from 1668 to 1758.," in *One Archipelago, Many Stories: Integrating Our Narratives*, vol. 3 (2nd History of the Marianas Conference, Guam: Guampedia Foundation, 2013), 137–58.

³⁸ Peterson, John A. "The Archaeology of Spanish Period, Guam." In *Spanish Heritage in Micronesia*. (Guam: Spanish Program for Cultural Cooperation, 2008), 12.

³⁹ Carlos Madrid, "Vigía: The Network of Lookout Points in Spanish Guam," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 5, no. 1 (2014): 49–79.

⁴⁰ Yolanda Delgadillo, Thomas McGrath, and Felicia Plaza, *Spanish Forts of Guam*, Publication Series 7 (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1979).

⁴¹ In the 1728 census, except for a single mestizo, the entire island of Rota was indigenous. On Guam the villages of Apur Guam and Inajaran were completely indigenous. In Umatac there were only four Filipinos. In Pago, three Filipinos and one African. In Agat, two Filipinos and one man from South Africa. In Merizo, one mestizo and one African. Although the ethnic composition of the other villages is not explicitly stated in the census, the indigenous names confirm the identity of most of their inhabitants. The 1758 census does not include explicit remarks about the ethnicity of village residents, but again, the presence of indigenous names confirms the fact that the ethnic composition of the villages of Guam and Rota did not change much in the thirty years between the two censuses.

The boundary between the colonial and indigenous worlds, as we have seen, was tacitly established. Even though indigenous way of life had been significantly affected by the colonial impact, the real influence of the few priests who remained in Guam after the pacification and the militia of barely 120 soldiers based in Hagatña was not nearly strong enough to maintain an exhaustive control over the lives of the native Chamorros.

Lifestyle in Villages

When an early form of the reduction was first presented in the 1670s to the people living close to Hagatña, years before it became an exclusively Spanish center, some of them were strongly opposed to moving into the village. What finally made the resettlement more acceptable to them was learning that they could retain rights to their family land outside the village.⁴² Family shuttling between their home and another land parcel over which they held rights was an age-old practice in the Marianas, just as it was in other parts of Micronesia.⁴³ In island land tenure systems, family land parcels were often scattered over a wide area. After the resettlement on Guam in the early 1700s, this back and forth movement would have increased, especially for families who had moved into the village from outlying areas. Chamorro families retained their long-held land parcels outside the new village.

The Spanish Crown, the new colonial ruler of the Marianas, permitted the Chamorro landowners to retain these plots on condition that they made productive use of their land holdings.⁴⁴ These land parcels, which came to be known as the *lâncho*, or inland farm, remained an element of central importance in the life of the islanders.⁴⁵ They afforded local people the opportunity to practice traditional agricultural and hunting techniques, along

⁴² Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-1680; Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 311-313.

⁴³ In the López-based map of 1667 some village names (like Mapas and Riguan) are shown on the coast and also inland. (Carlos Madrid, personal communication and presentation in the 2nd Marianas Conference in Guam).

⁴⁴ Brunal-Perry, Omaira. "An Overview of the Laws Regulations Affecting Land Distribution and Ownership in Guam During the Spanish Administration." In *Guam History Perspectives*, edited by Lee D Carter, William L Wuerch, and Rosa Roberto Carter, Vol. 2. (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 2005), 91-116.

⁴⁵ The existence of the temporary housing in the interior areas of Guam was a well-documented feature of life during Spanish colonial times just as it had been traditionally. The structural and temporal stability of the *lâncho* made it a force for cultural continuity, just as it had been a center of resistance to foreign control in earlier years. Boyd Dixon et al, Traditional Land Use and Resistance to Spanish Colonial Entanglement: Archaeological Evidence on Guam, in *Asian Perspectives* 59, no. 1 (2020): 61-99." James Bayman et al., "Colonial Surveillance, Lânchos, and the Perpetuation of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Guam.," in *The Global Spanish Empire: Five Hundred Years of Place Making and Pluralism*, ed. John G Douglass and Christine D Beaulé (Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 2020), 222-41.

with other indigenous practices that they could transmit to younger generations.⁴⁶ During much of the week some families would reside in the *lâncho*, hidden from any administrative control or foreign influence. On the weekend they would travel back to the villages to attend mass and other Christian formation programs offered on Sunday. These families continued to split their time between their residence in the village and their ranch (*lâncho*) a practice that would be a standard feature of life in the Marianas for the next two centuries or longer.⁴⁷

Making a Living

The island lifestyle in the early 1700s was much the same as it had been formerly. “Local people supported themselves as they always had by subsistence farming and fishing. They spent much of their time on their ancestral estates or in the case of those resettled from other islands, on the lands the Spanish had given them to farm growing rice and corn while cultivating taro and the other usual root crops.”⁴⁸

But there were also some changes in the food they produced. Besides cultivating corn and various kinds of peppers, many villagers raised animals recently introduced by the Spanish chickens, pigs and cows for their own consumption or for sale to the passing ships in exchange for trade goods: iron tools, knives, cloth and tobacco.⁴⁹ As early as 1698, one missionary reported that the products taken on by one of the Spanish ships at Guam included “pigs, calves, watermelons, bananas, pineapples, sweet potatoes and melons as good as those in Spain.”⁵⁰ The local people living in the new villages could cultivate these new

⁴⁶ The custom of spending much of the week on family land outside the village persisted everywhere. On Rota, some families seem to have abandoned Songsong to establish their principal residence in other locations. In the census of 1728, new settlements in Sosanhaya, Miune, Seac, and Agtan are listed. See census of 1728 in AGI, Ultramar, leg. 561, ff.127-177 and census of 1758 in AGI, Fil, leg. 488, ff. 1-82.

⁴⁷ In 1899, for instance, Governor Georg Fritz observed of Saipan: “Besides his dwelling in the village, each Chamorro owns a rancho, in an often distant plantation. For weeks on end, he stays there with his family not so much working, but in dreamy idleness. There he occupies himself with hunting fruitbats (*fanihi*), wild pigs, roosters, coconuts crabs (*ayuyu*) and with fishing. Only on Sundays he rides with his oxen to mass and to the cockfight in the village.” Fritz, Georg. *The Chamorro: A History and Ethnography of the Marianas*. Edited by Scott C Russell. Translated by Elfriede W Craddock. (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation, 1989), 25.

⁴⁸ Fr. Bouwens letter, 1706, in Ibáñez y García, *Historia de las Islas Marianas*, 191.

⁴⁹ Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 17. For a fuller study of food introduction and change see Pollock, Nancy J. “Food Habits in Guam over 500 Years.” *Pacific Viewpoint* 27, no. 2 (1986): 120-43. Wiecko, Cynthia Ross, *Guam: At the Crossroads of Spanish Imperial Militarization, Ecological Change, and Identity in World History*. (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 2011) or the recent work of Peña Filiu, Verónica, *Alimentación y Colonialismo En Las Islas Marianas (Pacífico Occidental): Introducciones, Adaptaciones y Transformaciones Alimentarias Durante La Misión Jesuita (1668-1769)* (Ph.D. Diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2020).

⁵⁰ Anonymous Jesuit, 19 Sept 1698, *Revista Militar*, Vol 2 (Manila 1885), 66.

crops with the confidence that they could retain the fruit of their labor, for by royal decree they were exempt from taxes for twenty years following their conversion.⁵¹

Besides their food crops, the villagers also planted tobacco. As one of the missionaries explained: “People have become so addicted to tobacco that men and women, boys and girls, walk around with pipes. In the past their only substitute for money was iron..., but now they value tobacco above all else, and tobacco has become the common currency with which one can buy and obtain anything. For a hen we pay two tobacco leaves, and for one leaf of tobacco a man will work all day.”⁵²

The Place of the Church in the Village

The church, which would play an ever larger social role through the years, established new dress standards on the island. Islanders’ dress was one of the most visible changes in this new era. Women had shed the leaf or turtle shell covering over their groin in favor of cloth skirts, which had quickly become fashionable. Men, who had once gone entirely naked, were now wearing loincloths or trousers. In 1691, one of the missionaries could report that “generally speaking, both men and women try to dress decently, even when they work in the fields”.⁵³ At the forefront of this change in fashion were the young students at the mission schools, boys decked out in white linen trousers and blue vests while girls sported “blouses and skirts of fine white cloth.”⁵⁴

Dress may have changed, but other things remained largely as they were. Gender divisions were observed as they always had been in the occupational and social life of the village. Women continued to do light gardening, shoreline fishing, and most of the preparation of the food and cooking, while men did the deep-sea fishing, gathered wild fruit and did the heavy work in the fields. Women assumed the new chore of washing the family clothing, probably in clusters as they chatted (as would have been true in other islands through the ages). This work routine was disrupted when the three notoriously heavy-handed governors held authority, but normal life resumed by 1725.

The church quickly assumed a central role in the social life of the village, as the mission letters triumphantly reported. Church bells rang at different times throughout the day to

⁵¹. Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682 in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 557.

⁵². Fr. Strobach, annual report for 1682 in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 605.

⁵³. Fr. Bustillo, annual report for 1690-1691, AGI Ultramar 562.

⁵⁴. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 20. Fr. Bustillo, 1 May 1691, AGI Ultramar 562, f 390.

summon people for prayer and to announce village events. The newly converted islanders learned their Latin mass responses, chanted their devotions, and prayed the rosary together. Those same mission letters enthusiastically highlight the dramatic changes in the life of the “*Indios*” that marked their progress toward Christianity and what the priests regarded as civilization.

But were islanders, now living in the altered village landscape with the church occupying a central position, truly jettisoning all their traditional customs and values? The bachelor houses were gone, and so were the revered ancestral skulls and the chanting to spirits that the missionaries had branded as “heathenish.” At the same time, however, the church offered an institutional template on which the islanders could make their own distinctive marks. What we know suggests that Chamorros, like so many other newly baptized peoples elsewhere, were learning to assimilate some of the features of their traditional lifestyle into this new landscape.

For one thing, church life largely honored the same gender divisions that were found in traditional life. Men were seated on one side of the church, and women on the other. The religious organizations were also largely divided by gender, with men’s and women’s associations providing social outlets for each as they did in Europe and continued to do in the islands almost up to the present. The Congregation of the Holy Name of Mary was one of the first church organizations for women, but others would soon follow.⁵⁵ These religious societies, even as they proliferated, also functioned as important social circles in the life of the village.

Women in the new church continued to play the prominent role that they had in their pre-contact village community. Although the main authority figure in the church was the foreign pastor, select women soon became recognized for their role as *techa*. Always more than simply catechism teachers, these reliable women became the heart of the parish and served as signs of stability even as they helped make key decisions in the life of the church. In other words, women acquired a role in the new church that was similar to the role they would have had in the traditional village. They might not have announced the decisions, but they certainly had a large hand in making them.

Young people may have no longer sung aloud the old creation myths as they once had, but boys and girls would sing the litanies in harmony as they romped through the hills or worked

⁵⁵. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 23. Fr. Bustillo, 1 May 1691, AGI Ultramar 562.

in the fields.⁵⁶ Young people were not alone in embracing the hymns and chants of the new faith. Women, too, seemed fond of the new church devotions set to music. In Hagatña in 1680, one Spaniard marveled, women would meet in the church to sing their prayers every evening, “with some of the prayers beginning at 7 o’clock, some at 8, and some at 9. Music could be heard even at 10 in the evening.”⁵⁷ In the church that had just become central to village life, there was a rich variety of outlets through which people could express their musical talent: parish choirs, chanted prayers, sung devotions and so many more.⁵⁸

Right from the outset the converts to Christianity displayed a strong affection for Mother Mary, “with many hugging the statue in church and praying the rosary while walking or at home.”⁵⁹ This devotion, so readily elevated to a central place in people’s understanding of their faith, may reflect the importance of women’s nurturing role in the island family and in the society at large.

Overall, we might readily conclude that the church was a significant addition to the old village life. Even so, the flavor of much of the traditional society lived on, even if now embedded in an organization that was expressly religious. Moreover, the church had a unifying effect on the people. It brought villagers together more strongly than ever before, whatever their lineage and clan. Beyond this, the church became an instrument of unification of the people of Guam, for it offered a structure broad enough to embrace all the villages of the island and beyond.

Placating the Spirits

The veneration of ancestral spirits, exhibited through preservation of the skulls of deceased family members and the employment of a spirit medium to consult with them, was as important in the Marianas as in other parts of the Pacific.⁶⁰ Upon death, the body might be honored by the family and other villagers for some days before the bones were removed,

⁵⁶. On the sung creation myths, see Coomans, Peter. *History of the Mariana Islands: 1667-1673*. Trans. Rodrigue Lévesque. Occasional Papers Series, no. 4. (CNMI: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 2000), 16-7. Regarding the children singing litanies as they romped see Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 20.

⁵⁷. Quiroga, 10 May 1680 in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 207.

⁵⁸ For a study of the role of music in the cultural process transformation see Irving, Andrew. “Jesuits and Music in Guam and the Marianas, 1668-1769.” In *Changing Hearts. Performing Jesuit Emotions between Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, edited by Yasmin Haskell and Raphael Garrod (Boston: Brill, 2019), 211-34.

⁵⁹. Fr. Cardenoso 1693, in ARSJ Filipinas 14, 83-5.

⁶⁰. García, *The Life and Martyrdom*, 174. For a broader understanding of traditional beliefs and practices related to death, see Jay Dobbin, *Summoning the Powers Beyond: Traditional Religions in Micronesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011).

cleaned and deposited in a cave for future veneration. This continued in the new Christian village, but in an altered form. Christian villagers held a formal procession from the home to the church for solemn ceremonies, and then to the cemetery for burial in a family plot. According to one account, “The priest and his servers would accompany the bier, draped in black cloth stitched with crosses, from the house of the deceased to the church, and after the funeral service... to the small cemetery next to the church for burial.”⁶¹

The custom of gathering nightly to say the rosary for anyone who had died in the village began as early as 1698, we learn from the early Spanish sources.⁶² The celebrated practice of holding the rosary for nine days, which has continued up to the present, has echoes of the traditional wake that might extend to seven or eight days and was attended by most of the villagers.⁶³ The mourners in pre-Christian times would “spend these days singing sad songs and having funeral meals around the mound they raise over the grave or near it, decorated with flowers, palms, shells and other objects which they value.”⁶⁴

A spirit venerated by a single family might have sometimes developed enough of a following to become the patron of an entire village. In the Christian village, this was transformed into the honor paid to the patron saint of the village on the saint’s feast day. After the mass was a “procession led by standard-bearers, with the congregation singing hymns, sometimes accompanied by musical instruments as the faithful wound through the village passing under decorated arches and waving palm fronds all the while.”⁶⁵ The parish fiesta, with all that it involved, soon became the village event of the year.

Besides the ancestral spirits they venerated, Chamorros had to deal with other harmful spirits: spirits of the deceased who felt wronged or nature spirits bound to a certain local feature—a rock outcropping, a tree, a particular shoal—thought to be sensitive to intrusion. The Christian village offered a wealth of symbolic means for affording the protection islanders sought. When an island leader found that rats were attacking the crops in their field, they pleaded for help from a priest. The priest instructed him to raise a cross in the middle of the field and then went out to bless the field with holy water. The missionary reports at this time (1690) are filled with stories of how people sought protection from malevolent spirits.

61. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 20. Fr. Bustillo, 1 May 1691, AGI Ultramar 562, f 406.

62. "Puntos para la carta annua de esta misión de Marianas," 1698, RAH Cortes 567, leg 12.

63. Atienza, David, and Alexandre Coello de la Rosa. “Death Rituals and Identity in Contemporary Guam (Mariana Islands).” *The Journal of Pacific History* 47, no. 4 (2012): 459–73.

64. García, *The Life and Martyrdom*, 174; Coomans, *History of the Mariana Islands*, 18.

65. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 19. Fr. Bustillo, 1 May 1691, AGI Ultramar 562, f 390.

Erecting a cross, drinking holy water against disease, and receiving priestly blessings were all used as means of protection under the new religion.⁶⁶

Summary

Reducción, as the Spanish called it, was a strategy commonly used during Spain's colonization thrust. It meant the consolidation of local people into a few centralized towns (or in the case of the Mariana Islands, villages), where the population might be better served by missionaries, more fully instructed in church life, and integrated into the Spanish governance system. Sometimes, as in Tinian and the northern islands of Gani, it meant transporting and resettling people on another island.

The resettlement, initiated by Spanish authorities and missionaries, was at first resisted by some islanders as an imposition. But its impetus was sustained by the attraction that population centers held for many islanders. Some Chamorros voluntarily moved to the centers in some cases to be closer to the church in which they had been baptized; in other cases, because of the appeal of the wonders of the Western world, including the crops and animals and trade goods more easily available there.

The impact of the *reducción* on Hagatña, at least in its early years, was of a different order of magnitude from the changes in other villages. Hagatña, with its large foreign population, was the capital and official residence of the governor, positioning the town under the direct control of the Spanish authorities in a way that other villages were not.

Change and Continuity in the New Village

The reduction of the islanders into villages, following the tumultuous 30 years of early Spanish missionary contact, certainly produced notable changes in the social environment. Yet, as we have seen, there is also evidence of substantial continuity.

From a comparison of the pre-contact village with the typical post-resettlement village, we may draw these general conclusions.

- The village after the reduction was not so much larger than it had been before, even if there were fewer villages on the island by then. Moreover, the population of these villages, with the exception of Hagatña, remained almost entirely Chamorro.
- Villagers depended for livelihood on the produce of the land and the sea as they always had, even if the range of crops had expanded with the introduction of corn and a few

⁶⁶. Hezel, *From Conquest to Colonization*, 20-21. Fr. Bustillo, 23 May 1690, ARSJ Filipinas 14, ff 400-1.

other vegetables. Moreover, the family land outside the village (*lâncho*) continued to be utilized after the reduction much as land parcels outside the village probably had been in earlier times.

- The greatest change in the new village, needless to say, was the emergence of the church as a prominent feature of village life. Although the church had been present for over a decade before the resettlement, in the new village it moved from the periphery to the center of island life.

Hence, the concentration of the population into villages did not mean a sudden and complete break with all earlier cultural practices. Traditional land use patterns, village authority, matrilineality, and the major characteristics of village life did not immediately cease. There was a carry-over of these and other cultural features into the village life at this time, whatever changes might have occurred during the following decades.

The emergence of the church as the center of village life proved to be highly significant, as the records of this period make clear. When the church became the center of village life, it undeniably introduced major new features into the life of islanders. But church life also provided the villagers with a host of opportunities to display many of the cultural features so important in their traditional social life. Among the more prominent cultural features that were absorbed into the church and its functions are: music, feasting, village gatherings, celebration of the dead and placation of malevolent spirits. The manner in which all these cultural features were expressed may have changed considerably in the new village, but the features themselves remained.

The church, then, played a dual role in the new village of the early *reducción* period and afterwards. It was both the agent of change, even as it served as the vehicle for maintaining many of the traditional elements in Chamorro society. At the center of the new village, the church provided the institutional apparatus—the rituals and devotions, the religious associations, the array of festivals—through which Chamorro cultural features might be maintained. So it was that the flavor of much of the traditional society lived on, even if now embedded in an organization that was expressly religious.

The new village of the reduction period, overall, represented both change and continuity. Hence, it was the seed of the process that would result in a new shape of the island and of its culture.

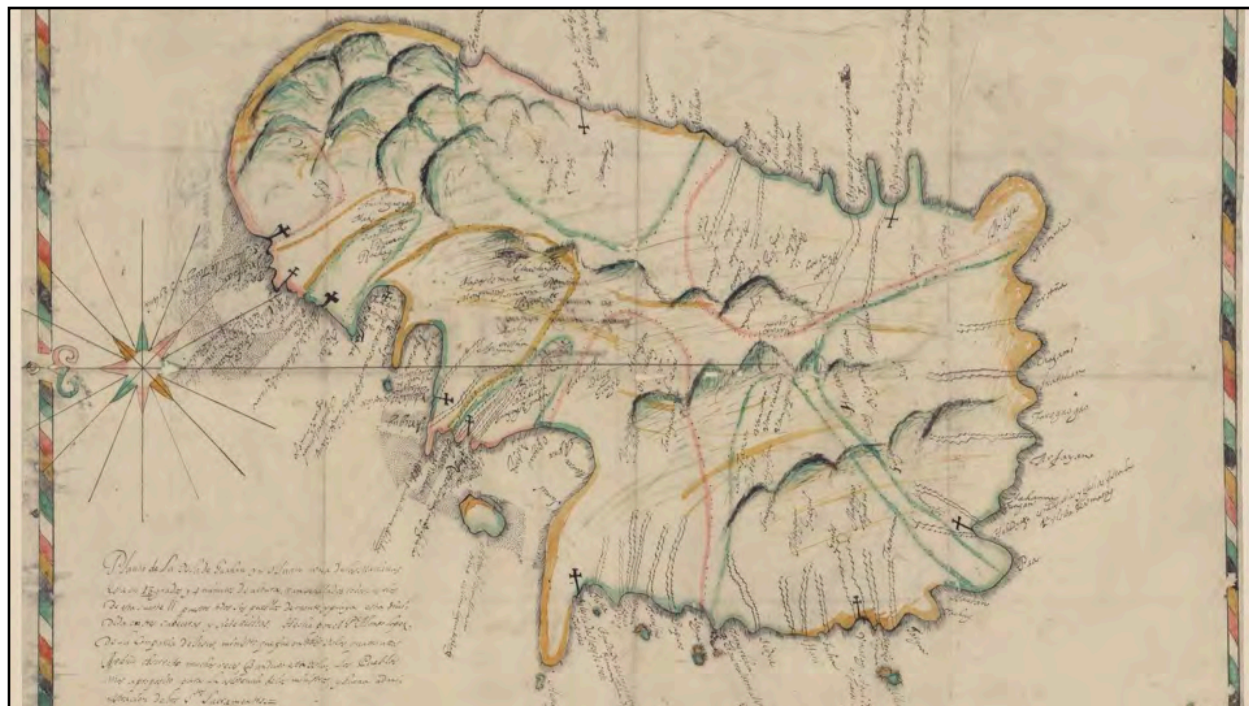
This paper is a translation of the Spanish article “Los pueblos chamorros tras las reducciones. Lo nuevo y lo antiguo” that was first published by the Universidad Nacional de

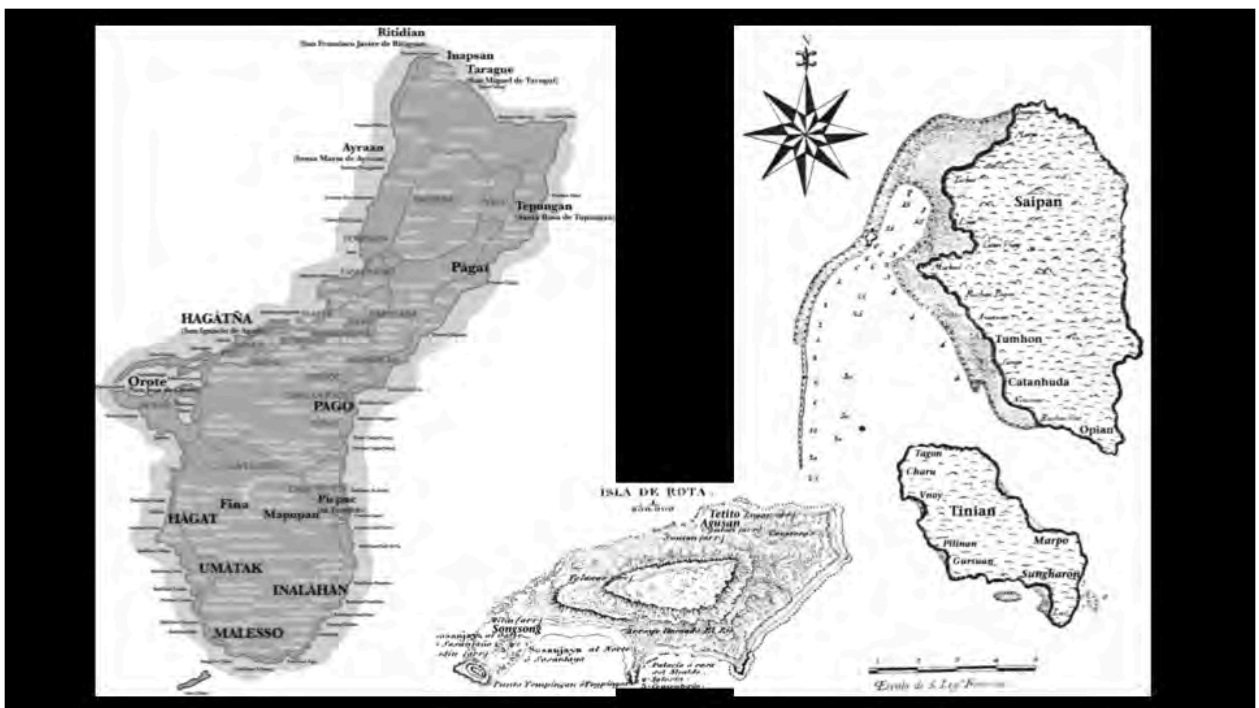
Educación a Distancia (UNED) of Spain through the Instituto Universitario Gutiérrez Mellado and by the University of Guam.

Presentation Slides

THE CHAMORU VILLAGE AFTER THE RESETTLEMENT: OLD NEW

Francis Hezel, SJ. & Dr. David Atienza





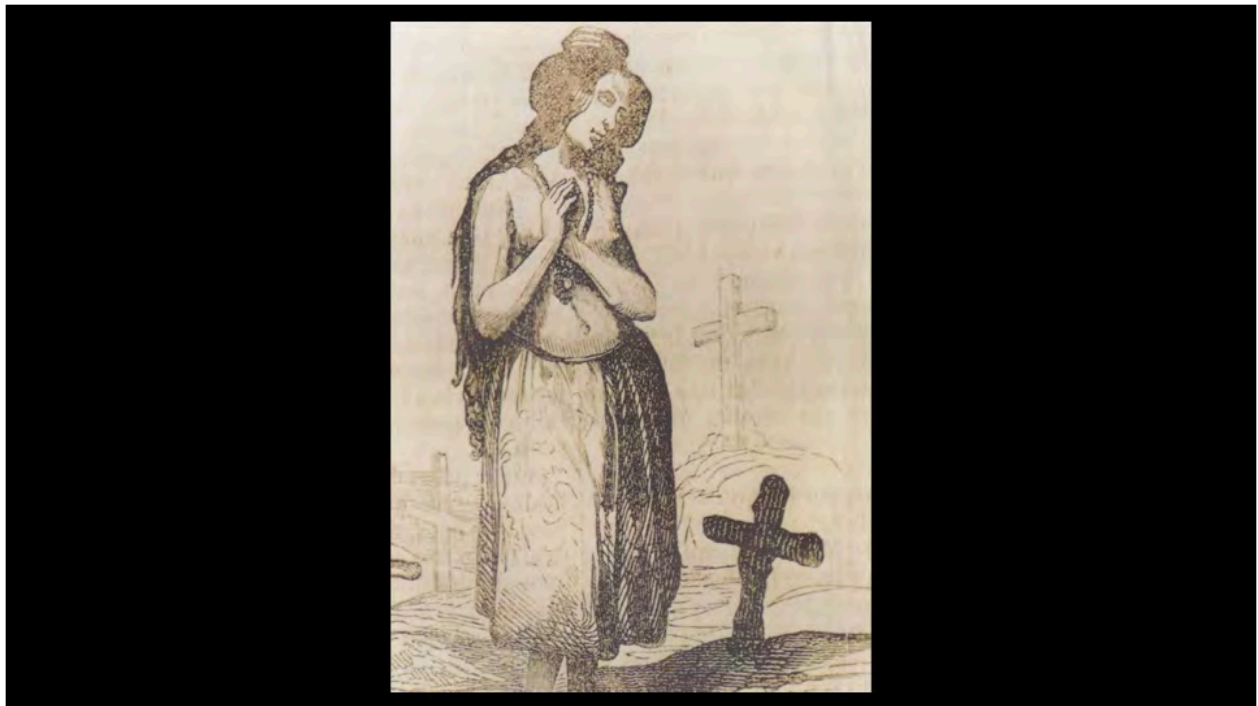


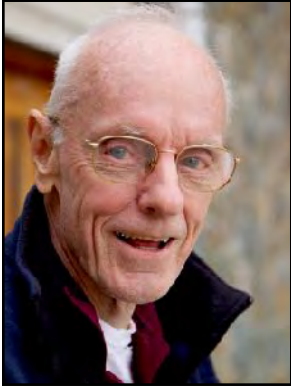
VISTA DEL FONDEADERO DE HUMATAC EN LA ISLA DE GUAHAM

49	MC	Maestre de Campo		Phelipe	Ena	Pago
50	SM	Sargento Mayor		Joan	Eo	Pago
51	C	Capitan		Francisco	Guatafe	Pago
52	A	Ayudante		Pablo	Taihania	Pago
53	MC	Maestre de Campo		Matheo Memis	Memis	Pago
54	MC	Maestre de Campo		Pablo	Atoti	Pago
55	MC	Maestre de Campo		Mathias	Galon	Pago
56	SM	Sargento Mayor		Luca	Ytutup	Pago
57	SM	Sargento Mayor		Joseph	Taiguaha	Pago
58	SM	Sargento Mayor		Marcos	Mafnas	Pago
59	SM	Sargento Mayor		Clemente	Taytinfog	Pago
60	C	Capitan		Francisco	Mejo	Pago
61	C	Capitan		Gaspar	Fagani	Pago
62			Fiscal	Bernave	Añaõ	Pago
63	MC	Maestre de Campo		Pedro	Taisagui	Agat
64	C	Capitan		Joseph	Taitiguan	Agat
65	A	Ayudante		Pedro	Laguaña	Agat
66	MC	Maestre de Campo		Thomas	Abloglagua	Agat
67	C	Capitan		Miguel	Aguan	Agat
68	C	Capitan		Diego	Mafac	Agat
69	C	Capitan		Thomas	Quedaga	Agat
70	C	Capitan		Alonso	Agua	Agat
71	C	Capitan		Phelipe	Apo	Agat
72	C	Capitan		Joseph	Chigua	Agat
73	C	Capitan		Domingo	Chanti	Agat
74	A	Ayudante	Fiscal	Basilio	Chataan	Agat
75	A	Ayudante	Fiscal	Pablo	Naputi	Agat

Census 1758







Hezel is a Jesuit priest who has worked in Micronesia for 50 years. During his early years in the islands, he taught at Xavier High School in Chuuk and then served as principal and director of the school. As a young teacher, he co-authored two Micronesian social studies textbooks and tried his hand at other curriculum development projects, including individualized instruction programs. Following this, he shifted to public education in 1982 as he became the full-time director of Micronesian Seminar, a Jesuit-sponsored research-education institute that embraced the entire region. In this capacity he has organized several conferences

on current issues and has written and spoken widely about social change and its impact on island societies. He has also published more than 100 articles and several books on Micronesian history and culture and has produced more than 70 video documentaries for local broadcast, including a seven-hour series on the history of Micronesia. He works in a parish on Guam, where he also assists migrants from Micronesia.



David Atienza received a Ph.D. in Anthropology from the Complutense University of Madrid in 2006. He has taught history, philosophy, anthropology, and applied linguistics at different institutions and universities in Spain and Guam. He is a co-founder of Xiphias Gladius, Spanish research team on René Girard's Mimetic Theory. Dr. Atienza's research interests and main works are focused on Cultural Identity Processes and historical Anthropology. Currently, he is an associate professor of anthropology and professor in the Master in Micronesian Studies at the University of Guam. Some of his publications include:

(With Alexander Coello de la Rosa) *The Scars of Faith: Letters and Documents of the Mariana Islands' Jesuit Missionaries and Martyrs* (Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies Boston College, 2020), (With David García-Ramos) *La construcción de la identidad en tiempos de crisis. El papel de la violencia y la religión* [The construction of identity in times of crisis. The role of violence and religion] (Barcelona, Anthropos-Siglo XXI, 2017) or *Viaje e identidad. La génesis de le elite kichwa-otavaleña en España*. [Travel and Identity. The Genesis of the Kichwa- Otavalean Elite in Spain] (Ed. Abya Yala, Quito, 2009).

Reporting on the Marianas and Their Inhabitants in Early 18th-Century Germany

The Jesuit 'Neue Welt-Bott' (New World Messenger) as a Source of Knowledge and Colonial Fantasy

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Abstract: *Although very few Germans in the early 18th century knew much if anything at all about the Marianas, reports from the Pacific islands on the other side of the world came to fill the front pages of Germany's most important serial missionary publication. Launched by the Jesuit Joseph Stoecklein in 1726, "Der Neue Welt-Bott" (New World Messenger) appeared in forty issues and targeted a broad educated audience. The massive collection featured information from all around the world, from missionary letters and travel reports to maps and various types of cultural commentary. Given the careful assemblage of the materials presented in "Der Neue Welt-Bott", the editor obviously made a conscious choice to open the first (and subsequent issues) with reports about the Marianas and their inhabitants. What prompted Joseph Stoecklein to give the Marianas such centrality in his publication? What knowledge about and what image of the islands and their inhabitants did the chosen texts convey to German readers? And what, if any, information can we glean from these European reports about island society under Spanish and Jesuit rule? This paper discusses the prominence, function, and content of the Marianas reports in "Der Neue Welt-Bott", including a 1684 map of the islands.*

'The Mariana Islanders Know How To Navigate This Small Ship with Great Mastery': German Jesuit Reporting on the Marianas and Their Inhabitants

It has been well established that quite a few Germans were among the Jesuit missionaries working in the Marianas during the early Spanish period. These Jesuits came mainly from two provinces of the Jesuit order's German Assistancy, the Austrian and the Bohemian provinces. Like their Spanish counterparts, German Jesuits tried to instruct the Chamoru in the Catholic faith and to inculcate in the indigenous European social and cultural norms that were more often than not rather alien to island life worlds. As did the Spanish Jesuits, Germans too described their activities, the Pacific archipelago, and its people in letters and reports sent to Jesuits, family members, and friends in their distant European homelands. Thus they added to a historical record on the Marianas dominated by European voices and discourses.

Unlike their Spanish counterparts, however, German Jesuits came from landlocked Central Europe and from an Empire without overseas colonies. Their distinct background shaped both their perspective and their work in an archipelago under Spanish colonial rule. As ‘foreign’ Jesuits, Germans were routinely assigned to the smaller islands and more remote regions, where they labored in greater solitude and therefore entered particularly complex webs of interdependency with the indigenous. Not surprisingly, German Jesuits also documented their efforts and impressions in languages other than the imperial language of Spanish. They wrote in German and quite often in Latin, and they dispatched letters to Central European regions and not the Iberian Peninsula, thereby creating a special paper trail that differed from that running through the Spanish Empire.

To date, this distinct body of German-authored primary sources has neither been made fully available to Spanish and English readers nor has it been utilized much at all in the historical scholarship on the Marianas. Some material still lingers in archives and awaits discovery and translation, but a sizable number of texts found their way into print already from the 1720s onward. These Marianas materials were featured on the pages of what became the leading Catholic serial publication in eighteenth-century Germany, *Der Neue Welt-Bott* or New World Messenger (hereafter NWB). This Jesuit print product with missionary letters from all over the world appeared from 1726 to 1761 in forty parts, usually bound together in five volumes. The NWB’s first eight issues or volume 1 alone contain sixteen reports from the Marianas ranging from 1677 to 1720 and a new map dated 1684.

The Marianas reports in the NWB are clearly shaped by the perspective and rhetorical aims of German Jesuits and contain many familiar Eurocentric tropes. As two researchers co-authoring a monograph on the NWB and its carefully constructed textual universe, we submit that these German texts, in spite of their biases, can help illuminate important aspect of CHamoru culture and history under Spanish rule. David Atienza has developed the concept of “adaptive resistance” to describe the continual process of the CHamoru “manifesting political/cultural agency under asymmetric (neo)colonial conditions.” Marianas reports published in the NWB contain additional evidence, some of it not preserved elsewhere, of how CHamoru performed “adaptive resistance” fifty years into the Spanish colonial experience and beyond.

A letter by Father Joseph Bonani (1685-1752) written on Rota on May 27, 1719 and printed in part 7 of the NWB speaks to the value of examining this German material more closely. It contains this remarkably detailed description of a flying proa and its CHamoru crew written for a Jesuit friend back in Central Europe:

The Mariana people build their ships from the tree *Dave*, or as the Spanish call it, *Palo Maria*, from which a balm gets extracted that is known in European apothecaries and of which I could give you, were we in closer proximity, entire barrels. The stem of this tree is almost like the walnut tree in that the wood rots easily outside the ocean water but gets harder and stronger in it. Out of this tree they cut thin boards and slats hardly thicker than a finger; they assemble these orderly on top of each other and tighten them with ropes; the gaps are caulked or covered with a mortar made of a certain ground stone and limestone, which holds tight even when the ocean is tossing so that not a drop of water can push through it. The length of the ship is 14 *Ellen* in total, the height is hardly four *Spannen*, and the width three. Concerning the shape, there is no difference between the front and the back part, so that they move ever more speedily and can turn around. The inhabitants call this type of vessel *Sagman* the sails of which are similar to our reed covers, but cut in the shape of a rabbit ear, the small mast-tree however is from a trunk called *Pago*, which resembles our *holler*-bush: the cables or ropes are woven from *coccos*-hair, the fishing nets are knitted from a certain sea grass, which they call *Loo* or *Roo*. There are usually three crew members on each of these ships, one next to the steering device, another next to the sail-controller; the last scoops out the water. The first is called *Umurin*, the second *Mamuxai*, the third *Manuhgui*. So that the stormy wind does not topple the ship, it is brought into equilibrium with two trees; these are brought together like a raft, and at the end they are weighted with a *Richa* or a wooden block. The Mariana islanders know how to navigate this small ship with such mastery without worry of being shipwrecked or drowning.

Bonani shows himself a student of CHamoru navigational technology in this passage: from the type of wood used for construction and how it behaves in water to the strength of the planks and how they are held together and the measurements, shape, and components of the ship. He translates some of his observations for his countryman back home, using familiar measurements (*Spannen*, *Ellen*) and comparisons (*like a walnut tree*, *resembles our holler-bush*) and resorting to imaginary (*cut in the shape of a rabbit ear*; *small mast-tree*) to help him Central European friend visualize the shape and design of the vessel. But otherwise the German Jesuit resorts to neutral descriptions and even uses indigenous terms. He obviously had observed canoe building and voyaging rather closely. He uses the ancient term *Sagman* (*Sakman* in modern orthography) for the *flying proa*. He must also have spoken to islanders to

learn CHamoru terminology for the various parts of the ship and for the three crew members (*Umurin, Mamuxai, Manughai*) with their different navigational roles.

Christian evangelization and Spanish conquest dated back some fifty years back, the equivalent of about two generations, when Bonani wrote down these observations. There may still have been some CHamoru who knew of the time before the arrival of the Jesuits from the stories of their elders yet there was also a whole generation of CHamoru that had come of age entirely under Spanish colonial rule. Violent hostilities, forced resettlement, and population decline threatened but in the end did not disrupt the transmission of pre-contact navigational technology and knowledge.

What accounts for this German Jesuit's intense ethnographic interest in *proa* construction and voyaging? A land-locked Central European unfamiliar with the sea, Bonani was apparently quite fearful of inter-island travel in his new mission site. He had arrived from Styria in Guam in June 1718 after a year-long journey that entailed three, at times terrifying ocean crossings, from Genoa across the Mediterranean to Spain, from Cadiz across the Atlantic to Mexico, and finally from Acapulco across the Pacific on the Manila Galleon. Life in the archipelago meant more exposure to a frightening travel experience in even smaller vessels. In the same letter of 1719, Bonani repeatedly stressed the dangers of inter-island voyaging, identifying it as one of the 'greatest burdens of a missionary' in the Marianas: '[I]t is often impossible to get from one island to the next, in part because of the volatility of the winds, in part because of the precarious quality of the Marianos' ships the construction of which I shall describe here briefly.'

The above-cited seemingly dispassionate ethnographic description thus flowed directly from Bonani's rather passionately felt concern about his own safety. Read in this light, one gets the sense that Bonani calmed himself with his detailed research into each part of the boat and the extensive conversations with CHamoru about its construction and navigation. His long description tellingly culminates in praise of the 'mastery' of the CHamoru navigators and the inference that one did not worry 'about being shipwreck or drowning.' Scholarship has documented that Jesuit ethnography was often written in response to specific questions that European sponsors or savants posed to the missionaries and for which Jesuits sought to supply answers.

Bonani's example is an important reminder that ethnographic reporting was also and arguably more often spurred by questions that Jesuits asked themselves; these questions could be inflected by a Jesuit's individual background. Adjusting to a new mission site and having to master its specific practical as well as emotional challenges, Jesuits routinely

confronted problems to which only the indigenous knew the answers. This was particularly true in a case like that of the Central European Bonani, who was dispatched to Rota to serve as the sole missionary for “344 souls” as he put it. Although Bonani officially was sent to Rota to lead the islanders, in reality he depended on them for a host of things in order to successfully navigate his new life in an oceanic archipelago. Transportation to Guam or Saipan to meet up with other Jesuits was only one, if a rather important, expression of his dependency on the local CHamoru.

The art of making and navigating *proas* was alive and well among the CHamorusa in 1719 when Father Bonani wrote about it. In our day and age, CHamoru seafaring traditions continue and are going increasingly strong again under the sponsorship of organizations like TASI and TASA. One of today’s voyagers, the documentary filmmaker and anthropologist Dr. Eric Metzgar, pointed out upon reading our English translation of Bonani’s description that it includes new and important information for today’s seafaring community. TASA and TASI have long borrowed the Carolinian word for navigator (*palu*) because the CHamoru term has been unknown. Rosa Salas Palomo and Dr. Lawrence J. Cunningham confirmed that Bonani’s letter indeed contains ancient seafaring terms for the crew members: *umurin* (or *Umilen* in modern orthography) refers to the helmsman; *manughui* (or *Mañohgue* in modern orthography) to the bailer; and *mamuxai* (or *Mamoksai* in modern orthography) to the captain and navigator. Apparently, Father Bonani, the Jesuit from land-locked Central Europe who was afraid of the ocean, left an ethnographic gem. We hope that discovery and translation of German reports on the Marianas under Spanish rule will produce further insights into CHamoru history relevant to today’s CHamoru and their future.

Zoom recording on following page.

Zoom Recording



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A History of 17th Century Manila Galleon Shipwrecks Santa Margarita and Nuestra Señora de La Concepción

By Aleck Tan

East Carolina University

Abstract: *In the late 16th century, Spain established the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade network connecting Asia to the Americas and Europe, which opened global trade and expanded Spain's empire. Manila galleons stopped for provisions in the Mariana Islands as part of this trade route and helped to facilitate the Spanish colonization process. In the early 17th century, two Manila galleons, Santa Margarita and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, wrecked in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Using literature and archival documents, this paper explores the history of Santa Margarita and Concepción and examines the post-wrecking events related to the two sites. The research reveals themes about the Manila-Acapulco galleon trade network and Indigenous interactions with the Spanish in the early 17th century.*

Zoom Recording



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Panel: Mid-Spanish Period

Fortifications as Geometric Machines

Marianas During the Early Modern Period

By Dr. Pedro Luengo

Universidad de Sevilla

Abstract: Previous studies have addressed the building process of fortifications in Guam during the early modern period, from the first attempts in 1671, reaching a significant number of structures before the early 19th century; located in Umatac (Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Fort Santo Angel, Fort San Jose, Nuestra Señora de la Soledad), Hagåtña (Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and San Fernando/San Rafael), Orote (Fort Santiago, Fort San Luis, Fort Santa Cruz) and a battery in Merizo. While much archival work has been done, including plans from Spanish archives in Madrid and Seville, a formal comparison with contemporary cases in Southeast Asia and America is still required. From the recent publications on the topic, this paper aims to provide a new interpretation of these projects entangled with other territories. At the same time, other aspects will be included in the discussion such as gunnery availability, their probable shot range and the general design considering the geographical context, especially reefs and water depths. As a result, the historical interpretation will explain the relationship of these islands with the global flows of the time.

Fortifications are one of the most noteworthy heritage elements of the Spanish period still preserved in Guam. For this reason, previous studies have addressed them using both archival material and their ruins¹. In addition to a few studies specifically focused on them, their close relationship with the island's history have ensured their inclusion in other, more general, historical approaches². Thanks to these efforts, most of the archival material has been identified and connected with the history of the island's Spanish settlement. On the

¹ Driver, Marjorie G. and Omaira Brunal-Perry. *Architectural Sketches of the Spanish Era Forts of Guam*. Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, 1994; Driver, Marjorie G. *Cross, Sword, and Silver: The Nascent Spanish Colony in the Marianas*. Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, 1993; Degadillo, Yolanda, Thomas B. McGrath, S.J. and Felicia Plaza, M.M.B. *Spanish Forts of Guam*. Publication Series 7. Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, 1979.

² Driver, Marjorie G. *Fray Juan Pobre in the Marianas 1602*. MARC Miscellaneous Series 8. Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, 2004; Galván Guijo, Javier. *Islas del Pacífico: el legado español*. Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 1998; Pozuelo Mascaraque, Belén. *Presencia y Acción españolas en las Islas Marianas (1828-1899)*. Tesis Doctoral. Madrid: 1997; Del Valle, Teresa. *The Importance of the Mariana Islands to Spain at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*: Educational Series 11. Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center, 1991.

contrary, the existing discourse has disengaged Guam's fortifications from the broader global development of military architecture of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. For this reason, this paper seeks to demonstrate that Guam's defensive structures emerge from the Western theories of the time, despite the marginal consideration given to them from within the empire and the lack of designs from military engineers, at least until the beginning of the 19th century. To do so, preserved projects will be reviewed and compared with contemporary examples from the Philippines, the Americas and Europe, taking advantage of the numerous recent publications on such topics. As has been done for some examples in the Americas, their effectiveness will be simulated, taking into account the possibilities of gunnery from this time period. From all these elements, it is possible to understand the importance of Guam's defensive structures in a global context better.

Island fortification was one of the most diverse examples of fortifications during the early modern period. The colonial expansion of European powers required different solutions to protect the islands they claimed. This was especially true both in Southeast Asia and the Americas. While the Dutch and English preferred to build smaller coastal batteries, the Spanish and French chose instead to protect the most noteworthy settlements, leaving the rest of the coastline sparsely defended or undefended³. Guam is another interesting example of how Spaniards focused on *entrepôts* rather than protecting the entire territory. Moreover, Dutch and English companies left the responsibility for building these defence structures, in most cases, to local populations. Meanwhile, the French and Spanish preferred to rely on the work of trained military engineers who sent their projects to the metropolis for approval. Thanks to this methodology, significant information is preserved in historical archives. Even so, the fortification system of Guam, a responsibility of military engineers in Manila, was not controlled by the empire, something that also happened in other areas under the jurisdiction of the Philippines. The lack of skillful technicians from Manila meant that most of the Asian islands under Spanish control were protected by missionaries or local soldiers, establishing an exception from the general Spanish pattern.

This state of affairs is probably a consequence of the fact that fortifications were not required during the initial stages of the Spanish presence on Guam. According to a 19th-century source, likely based on earlier documents, the first attacks came from the native population, requiring an improvised solution:

³ For the Southeast Asian context, see Luengo, Pedro. "Transcultural fights: Fortification in Southeast Asian Seas during the Eighteenth Century". *Journal of Early Modern History*, 23(1), 2019, pp. 29-66; Regarding the American context see Cruz Freire, Pedro; Gámez Casado, Manuel; López Hernández, Ignacio J.; Luengo, Pedro and Morales, Alfredo J. *Estrategia y Propaganda. Arquitectura militar en el Caribe (1689-1748)*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2020.

“Tres años iban corridos desde el primer desembarco en las islas [¿1668?] y sin embargo de que solo eran 12 soldados españoles y 19 filipinos, tal era la confianza y buena armonía en // que se había vivido que no se había pensado en hacer fuerza alguna o castillo en que defender y así fue que viendo dos mil hombres en campaña con las armas en la mano, fue preciso pensar en alguna fortificación y merced a las vacilaciones de los bárbaros que no considerándose aun seguros del éxito gastaban el tiempo en buscar nuevos aliados cercose la iglesia y la casa con estacas y talas y se levantó un torreón en que se colocó una pieza de artillería que se había salvado de la nave Concepción naufragada en Tinian y otro a la parte del monte con otra pieza del champán en que naufragó el chino Choco hallado por los españoles en esta isla”⁴.

[Three years had elapsed since the first landing on the islands [1668?] and yet there were only 12 Spanish soldiers and 19 Filipinos troops, such was the trust and good harmony in // those that had been living there that there had been no thought of constructing any forts or castles by which to protect themselves and so it was that seeing two thousand men on the field with weapons in hand, it was necessary to consider some fortification and, owing to the hesitations of the barbarians who, not even considering themselves sure of success, spent their time looking for new allies, the church and the house were surrounded with stakes and cuttings and a tower was built in which was placed an artillery piece that had been salvaged from the shipwrecked *Concepción* in Tinian and another on the part of the mountain with another piece from the sampan in which the Chinese [captain] *Choco* sunk found by the Spanish on this island.]

From this document, it can be considered that around 1671, the missionaries and a small number of troops assigned a tower as a defensive solution, although its function was closer to that of a battery⁵. Despite this initial conflict with the native population, the design of the fortifications in Guam from this time forward focused on the Western naval threat. The first defensive structure known today was the fort of Santa María de Guadalupe, built in Agaña in

⁴ Corte y Ruano Calderón, Felipe de la. *Memoria descriptiva e histórica de las Islas Marianas y otras que las rodean*. Manuscript of 1865. Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Mss/13974.

⁵ This probably corresponds with the first fort considered by Degadillo, Yolanda; MacGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

1683⁶. Its construction was overseen by the first governor of the islands, Antonio de Saravia (1681-1683), although the structure was destroyed by the June 1693 typhoon⁷:

“fabricase al presente una fortaleza en este Real de Agaña en la isla de San/
Juan lo cual por disposición de Don Antonio Sarabia hizo en mis manos
libremente jura/mento de fidelidad y vasallaje a Su Majestad con la
solemnidad y circunstancias debidas/”⁸.

[a fortress is currently being built in this Real de Agaña on the island of
San Juan, which by order of Don Antonio Sarabia made in my hands, I
freely pledge fidelity and vassalage to His Majesty with solemnity and due
circumstances.]

According to later references, the fort was located on the coast, at the settlement’s corner, just at a river’s mouth. Guam’s coastline did not provide for natural ports in the form of deep bays like those that the Spanish found in the Americas and the Philippines. For this reason, a fort on a nearby peninsula was impossible. The secondary option was this type of port where rivers were nearby, placing the defensive structure at that point. The letter discussing the process is supported by a plan for the new structure⁹. With regard to the layout of the fortification, it is a common star fort. The first proposal in this regard was done for Manila slightly after its foundation in the late-16th century, although this shape was repeated both in the Philippines¹⁰ and in the Caribbean well into the mid-18th century¹¹. In fact, it is the common solution for secondary settlements in the Spanish empire at the end of the 17th

⁶ Concerning the architectural history of the city, see Galván Guijo, Javier. “La presencia española en micronesia. San Ignacio de Agaña, primera ciudad de Oceanía”. *Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales*, XXX(116), 1998, pp. 429-448.

⁷ Driver, Marjorie. *The Spanish Governors of the Mariana Islands: Notes on their activities and the saga of the Palacio, their residence and the Seat of Colonial Government in Agaña*. Agaña: University of Guam, 2005, p. 12. According to other studies, this typhoon occurred in November 1693. See Degadillo, Yolanda; MacGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁸ AGI, Filipinas, 12, R. 1, N. 5.

⁹ *Plano de la fortaleza de Santa María de Guadalupe en la isla de San Juan (Isla de Guam, Marianas)*. 1683. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), MP-Filipinas, 12.

¹⁰ Luengo, Pedro. “Ingenieros italianos al servicio de la Corona hispana. Entre el liderazgo técnico y el espionaje”. *Presencia de ingenieros militares extranjeros en la milicia española*. Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2019, pp. 15-46.

¹¹ Cruz Freire, Pedro; Gámez Casado, Manuel; López Hernández, Ignacio J.; Luengo, Pedro and Morales, Alfredo J. *Estrategia y Propaganda...*



Fig. 1. Plano de la fortaleza de Santa María de Guadalupe en la isla de San Juan (Isla de Guam, Marianas). AGI, MP-FILIPINAS, 12. 1683.

century, with important examples found in San Severino in Matanzas (Cuba), dated to 1693¹², and San Luis of Bocachica in Cartagena de Indias (Colombia), dated to 1661-1678.

This type of structure was designed to house a large number of trained soldiers and weaponry, something that very likely was not available on the island. A later description from the soldiers shows that the professional troops were very limited in number, most of the force being composed of urban militia¹³. More specifically, in 1826 in Guam there were three companies of troops, consisting of around fifty-seven men each¹⁴, a battalion of urban militia

¹² López Hernández, Ignacio J. *Ingeniería e Ingenieros en Matanzas. Defensa y obras públicas entre 1693 y 1868*. Sevilla: Athenaica, 2019.

¹³ Salinas y Angulo, Ignacio. *Legislación militar aplicada al ejército de Filipinas: recopilada...*, p. 74.

¹⁴ According to the Degree of December 17th, 1828, the company would be integrated by a captain, a lieutenant, a second lieutenant, a sergeant, three second sergeants, two corporals, two second corporals, two drummers (*tambor*) and forty-four soldiers. Salinas y Angulo, Ignacio. *Legislación militar...*, p. 74.

in Agaña, divided in six companies including one of grenadiers (*granaderos*), one of sharpshooters (*tiradores*), three of riflemen (*fusileros*), and one in reserve¹⁵. In addition to these, four companies of urban militias composed of lancers (*lanceros*) and archers (*flecheros*) were organised according to the neighbourhood where they were recruited. This military deployment shows that professional soldiers were the exception, thus limiting the use of heavy guns or complex defensive techniques wherein forts played a crucial role. If we contrast this situation with the context of other Spanish settlements in the Americas or the Philippines, something similar happens with other military elements requested by the governor two years later¹⁶.

“remitió con carta de seis/ de junio del año de mil seiscientos/ y ochenta y tres la planta de la / fortaleza que había hecho fa/bricar capaz para cuatrocientos / hombres con cuatro baluartes/ diciendo (entre otras cosas) había// colocado en ellos cuatro piezas de / bronce y un trabuco... le man/do ... os envíe a esas islas cincuenta/ arcabuces y cuarenta mosquetes/ una docena de pinzotes, pólvora/ balas así de hierro como de plomo/ unas tinajas de salitre, azufre, pez, aguardiente y un poco de / hierro todo de buena calidad”¹⁷.

[He sent with a letter dated June 6 of the year 1683 the plan of the / fortress that he had built able to manufacture for four hundred / men with four bastions saying (among other things) that he had placed in them four pieces of bronze and a blunderbuss... I sent him... I send you to those islands fifty arquebuses and forty muskets a dozen *pinzotes*, gunpowder balls of both iron and lead, some jars of saltpeter, sulfur, pitch, hard liquor and a little iron, all of good quality.]

This, and other later sources, show that governors in Guam were disinterested in getting more cannons, which local troops probably found too difficult to use. Light artillery was probably more economical and versatile. In fact, when the galleon *Nuestra Señora de la*

¹⁵ This organisation changed on March 23, 1831 into two battalions with four companies each. Every battalion was integrated by a chief and one assistant, a flag bearer (*abanderado*) and a sergeant. Every company was composed of a captain, a lieutenant, a second lieutenant, a sergeant, three second sergeants, two corporals, two second corporals and a drummer (*tambor*). This entire organisation was updated on June 14, 1847. Salinas y Angulo, Ignacio. *Legislación militar...*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶ Aviso al gobernador de Marianas sobre aumento de su defensa. 1685. AGI, Filipinas, 331, L. 8, ff. 26r-27v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 26r-27v.

Concepción shipwrecked in Guam in 1638, all its cannons were easily recoverable, just like one was almost a century later. Neither after the shipwreck, nor at their recovery, did the governors attempt to keep any of them. On the contrary, governors submitted a list that shows a total of fifty arquebuses and forty muskets, a heavier piece that can require a gun rest. As such, a group of almost one-hundred men were required in the islands. Much more interesting is the dozen *pinzotes*. This piece was a type of gun rest for heavier pieces, to be fixed especially to a ship. The lack of information about which manner of guns would be placed on them is likely to point to the use of some type of local cannon, perhaps a *lantaca* or a *rentaka*, a gun akin to a culverin. In fact, the cannons taken from the Chinese sampan were very probably of this type and were used in Guam's fortifications from the very beginning of Spanish administration of the island.

Once the available weaponry has been identified, it is important to cross-check its effective range with the territory to be protected. Although the calibre of cannons is not specified, at this time they were effective at 1000 metres, reaching up to 3100 metres. Lighter guns, such as muskets, were more useful for closer objectives, around 100 metres, although they could reach 1100 metres. Agaña was situated on an open coastline, where cannons would be of little effect. Instead, lighter guns would be more useful for local soldiers against possible attacks once those attacks reached land.

Degadillo, McGrath and Plaza identified one final fort: a battery at the Salupat River, probably dated to around 1680, an attempt to reinforce the defence of the galleon when anchored in Umata. At different historical moments, it was named Santa Barbara or Nuestra Señora del Carmen, although all information points out that it was a temporary structure to house gunnery and not a permanent edifice. Nothing has been found about it in subsequent maps or projects.

The defence of Guam was crucial for the stability of the galleon. In this sense, archival material is rich in pointing out certain threats, such as the English one at the beginning of the 18th century. On April 13, 1710, three English frigates tried to capture the galleon, emphasizing the importance of providing further firepower to Guam¹⁸. Gunpowder, soldiers and two hundred fusils were required, again avoiding references to cannons or forts. Both at this time and later in 1721 when John Clipperton attacked the *San Andrés* anchored in Merizo, a battery was employed at this point. Unfortunately, information about its plan or

¹⁸ Orden de enviar gente, armas y municiones para las Marianas. AGI, Filipinas, 333, L. 12, ff. 20v-27v.

characteristics have not yet been identified, highlighting the possibility of it being a temporary structure¹⁹.



Fig. 2. Mapa de la entrada y puerto de San Luis, descubierto nuevamente en las Islas Marianas, el día de dicho santo a 25 de agosto del año pasado de 1734. 1738. AGI, MP-Filipinas, 29. 1738

At this point, a little-known case must be addressed: the Merizo battery, cited just once in a 1724 conflict between the local governor, Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle, and the captain of a ship from Cavite²⁰. The report of the taking of the cannons from Umata and the lack of any reference in contemporary or later maps of the region leads us to think that it was a campaign battery, and thus merely used for that one event. Some witnesses at the trial affirmed that six cannons and five *pedreros* were used against the ship from the Fuerza, what must be considered one of the forts of Umata, or from land, but it is impossible to confirm if this signifies that Merizo battery was where the ship weighed anchor or not.

¹⁹ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.

²⁰ *Carta de la Audiencia de Manila sobre Luis Antonio Sánchez de Tagle*. AGI, Filipinas, 173, N. 47, ff. 175r and 188v.

At the beginning of the 18th century, defensive interest in Agaña and Merizo seemed to decline. At this moment, Apra, a new port, gained increased attention, as the map of the Archivo de Indias shows. Today known as Sasa Bay, it provided a natural port that was easy to fortify, thus being a better option to protect the galleons. A long peninsula protected the bay while the soundings demonstrate that the ships had to approach closer to the coastline, making it easier for them to be intercepted by weaponry. The fort was constructed in 1737, created to house six cannons. Its design is far from defensive theory of the time, merely being a rectangular battery. This solution was rarely employed by Spanish military engineers, although it has been identified in the English Caribbean, specifically in Jamaica or Barbados, during the late 17th century²¹.

“Lleva añadido un fuerte de piedra que se fabricó el año pasado de 1737 y tiene cabalgadas 6 piezas de cañón para defensa de dicho puerto fabricado en la misma situación que señala dicho mapa. Su plan es de 35 varas de largo, su ancho 9 varas, su alto, hasta las troneras de 5 varas y está fabricado sobre cimiento firme de piedra viva”²²

[It has added a stone fort that was manufactured last year, 1737, and has mounted 6 pieces of cannon for the defence of said port, manufactured in the same situation as indicated on the map. Its plan is 35 *varas* long, its width 9 *varas*, its height, up to the embrasures, of 5 *varas* and it is made on a firm foundation of seashells.]

The sounding of the bay and the layout of cannons at this new battery clearly shows that the effectiveness of the weaponry was well designed. From the battery, a one-kilometre range would protect the deepest part of the bay with only a few cannons. Even so, slightly after its conclusion, under the administration of Domingo Gómez de la Sierra (1746-1749) part of its gunnery was removed, rebuilding the gun carriages in *ifil* wood²³. Interest moved to Agaña where it seems that Guadalupe was not rebuilt until the second half of the 18th century,

²¹ Cruz Freire, Pedro; Gámez Casado, Manuel; López Hernández, Ignacio J.; Luengo, Pedro and Morales, Alfredo J. *Estrategia y Propaganda...*, pp. 35 and 55.

²² *Mapa de la entrada y puerto de San Luis, descubierto nuevamente en las Islas Marianas, el día de dicho santo a 25 de agosto del año pasado de 1734*. 1738. AGI, MP-Filipinas,29.

²³ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

being named San Fernando at this time²⁴. Built starting in 1751 in lime and stone without the labour of skillful builders, it was overseen by Governor Enrique de Olavide y Michelena and was demolished in 1799 to accommodate a new structure²⁵. Unfortunately, the profile of the structure has not been included in any depiction.

In 1793, most buildings in Hagåtña burned down. Governor Manuel Muro (1794-1802) played a key role in the reconstruction of the city following a new urban and defensive plan that must have been finished in 1804, when the plans were sent to the peninsula from Manila by Alberto de Córdoba (Fig. 3)²⁶. The plot of San Fernando Fort was used for the building of the new San Rafael Fort, likely started in 1799²⁷. It was a very simple battery, with seven gunports facing the sea and two at each side with two to the rear flank, something uncommon in 18th-century Spanish examples, although it has been identified in some late-17th century solutions in the Caribbean, such as in Martinique²⁸. This fortification was used for coastal defence and, as such, Muro proposed building a new structure at the top of the nearby heights, under the name of Santa Agueda, probably in honour of his wife, María Águeda del

²⁴ Letter from the governor of the Mariana Islands to the king. June 6th, 1756. AGI, Filipinas, 920. Cfr. Ortiz de la Tabla Ducasse, Javier. *El marqués de Ovando gobernador de Filipinas*. Sevilla: EEHA, 1974, p. 189.

²⁵ “Habiendo reconocido después de haber / tomado posesión del gobierno de estas is/las Marianas (con que *Vuestra Majestad* se sirvió / honrarme) no subsister en la ciudad / de San Ignacio de Agaña, capital de / ellas, una fortaleza que el *maestre* de cam/po don Antonio de Saravia sirvi/endo este gobierno hizo fabricar por ha/ver (según he inquerido) desbaratado / los recios y frecuentes temporales / que suele haber en estas partes, deseo/so yo de desempeñar mi obligación / en cuanto sea del *real* agrado de *Vuestra Majestad*/ y para el más puntual y debido cum/plimiento de lo que por la *real* cédula ad/junta está mandado a este gobierno tocan/te al fomento y conservación de dicha// fortaleza en estas islas; di las más / vivas y eficaces providencias a fin de / construir otra fuerza en el propio lugar que/ antes estaba (que es en frente de la barra de es/ta ciudad) lo que no obstante la falta de ma/estros alarifes que hay en estas islas, queda/ ya fabricada en el mejor modo que me ha si/do posible y permite esta situación sien/do sus materiales de cal y piedra y no de / madera como me dicen estaban antes / para *mayor* resistencia de los temporales / y cualesquiera otros accidentes que puedan / acontecer./ En ella, que tiene dos baluartes y / su batería, con la muralla de bastan/te altor, para manejar la fusilería, / plaza capaz dentro, con su casamata / y otras piezas para poder resguardarse / con comodidad toda la guarnición de / este presidio *siempre* que se ofrezca alguna / invasión sea de enemigos extranjeros / o naturales de las islas, he puesto monta/dos en toda forma y disposición de lu/gar con prontitud diez piezas de bron/ce de diferentes calibres que estaban a/rumbadas sin deestino habiéndole puesto/ el nombre *San Fernando* y hecho / esta obra y las demás que refiere la certifi//cación inclusa sin causar gasto alguno a / la *real* hacienda de *Vuestra Majestad* con solo la / misma gente presidaria de plaza y sin / que esta hiciera falta para los demás me/nesteres precisos (que en circunstancia que / para su *mayor* bondad les asiste)”. AGI, Filipinas, 920, N. 31.

²⁶ He was assistant engineer in Manila, working from the final years of the eighteenth century until 1808, according to Merino, Luis. *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

²⁷ One of the first plans of the structure, dated in 1801, is preserved in the Library of the Congress in Saipan (LCS), reel 5, item 32. A report on the fortifications can be found in the same repository at item 34.

²⁸ Cruz Freire, Pedro; Gámez Casado, Manuel; López Hernández, Ignacio J.; Luengo, Pedro and Morales, Alfredo J. *Estrategia y Propaganda...*, p. 14.

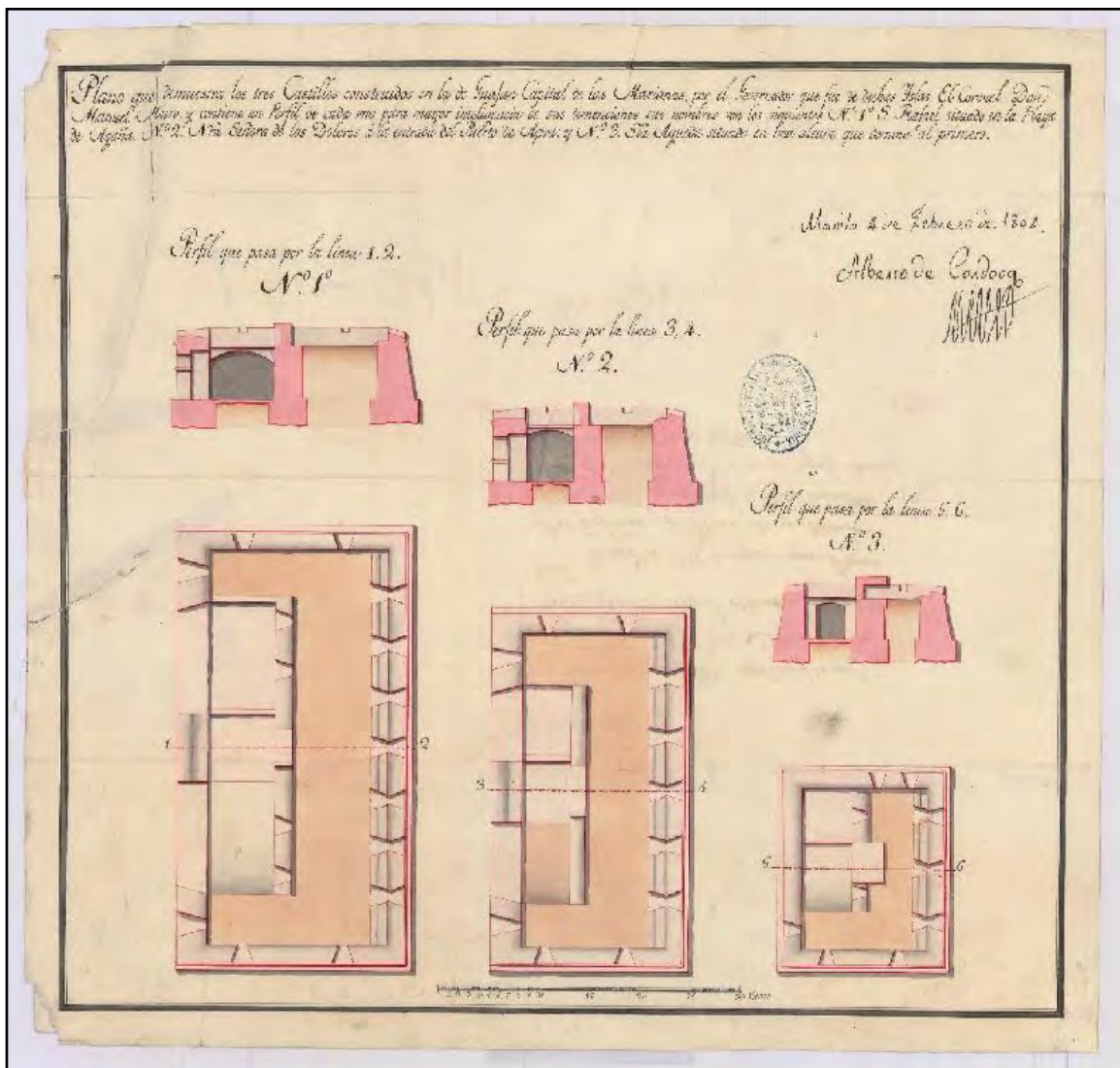


Fig. 3. Córdoba, Alberto de. Plano que demuestra los tres castillos construidos en la de Guajan capital de las Marianas por el gobernador que fue de dichas islas el coronel don Manuel Muro y contiene un perfil de cada uno para mayor inteligencia de sus dimensiones, sus nombres son los siguientes. N° 1 San Rafael situado en la playa de Agaña; N° 2, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores a la entrada del Puerto de Apra; y el N° 3 Santa Águeda situado en una altura que domina al primero. Manila: February 4th, 1804. CAGMM, IMA 01/09

Camino²⁹. It can be considered an abridged version of this recently described fortification, with only three gunports at the front. Until the beginning of the 19th century all these works were probably designed by governors and members of the military detachment without any specific training in fortifications, explaining the lack of variety as well as architectural archaisms.

²⁹ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

In the following decades, very little seems to have changed. The description of San Rafael is included in an 1833 source, supported both by the detail of an 1819 French map of the city (Fig. 4) and the plan by Goicoechea of 1832 (Fig. 5):

“Frente a la playa y a las orillas del mar hay una / batería elevada formada por un macizo de tierra de 40 varas// de longitud casi veinte de latitud, y siete de altura: su cuerpo/ de guardia está destechado: la explanada continúa que forma su / piso superior es de piedra blanda del mar, y está descompuesta/ se haya dominada casi a vista de pájaro, igualmente que Agaña, de la cordillera de montes a ochocientos pasos de la batería/ la construcción de esta solo pudo tener el objeto de oponerse a un / desembarco enemigo, que no es de esperar por tal sitio, habiendo/ tantos otros puntos más a propósito y con menos riesgo, por cuyas / razones, y serle preferible (aun en este caso) ya sea una batería/ enterrada o de nivel cubierta también por la espalda, o ya sea / piezas situadas en los momentos oportunos frente al desembarcadero/ resulta no deber componerse esta batería y deber así reputarse / inútil”³⁰.

[Facing the beach and on the seashore, there is an elevated battery formed by a massif of earth of 40 *varas* longitude almost twenty *varas* latitude, and seven *varas* high: its guardhouse protection is roofless: the esplanade continues, which forms its upper level, and is made of coral stone from the sea, and is decomposed. It has been dominated almost from a bird’s eye view, just like at Agaña, from the mountain range eight hundred paces from the battery. The construction of this [fortification] could only have the object of countering an enemy landing, which is not to be expected for such a site, there being so many other points better for this purpose and with less risk, for which reasons, and being preferable (even in this case) either a battery buried or at a level covered also from the back, or either parts located at the appropriate times in front of the landing stage it turns out that this battery should not be built and should thus be considered useless]

A square structure of 34 x 17 metres and almost 6 metres high was built in coral stone (*Piedra blanda*). As the source critiques, it is thought to counter an enemy’s disembarkment,

³⁰ Villalobos, Francisco. *Descripción local, militar y política de la Isla de Guajan. Contiene descripción de pueblos, fuertes, defensas y costas entre otros*. 1833. AMN, 0684, Ms.2237 / 022



Fig. 4. Bérard, Auguste. Plan de la ville d'Agagna, capitale de l'île Guam. 1819. Bibliothèque National de France (BNFr), GED-6650.

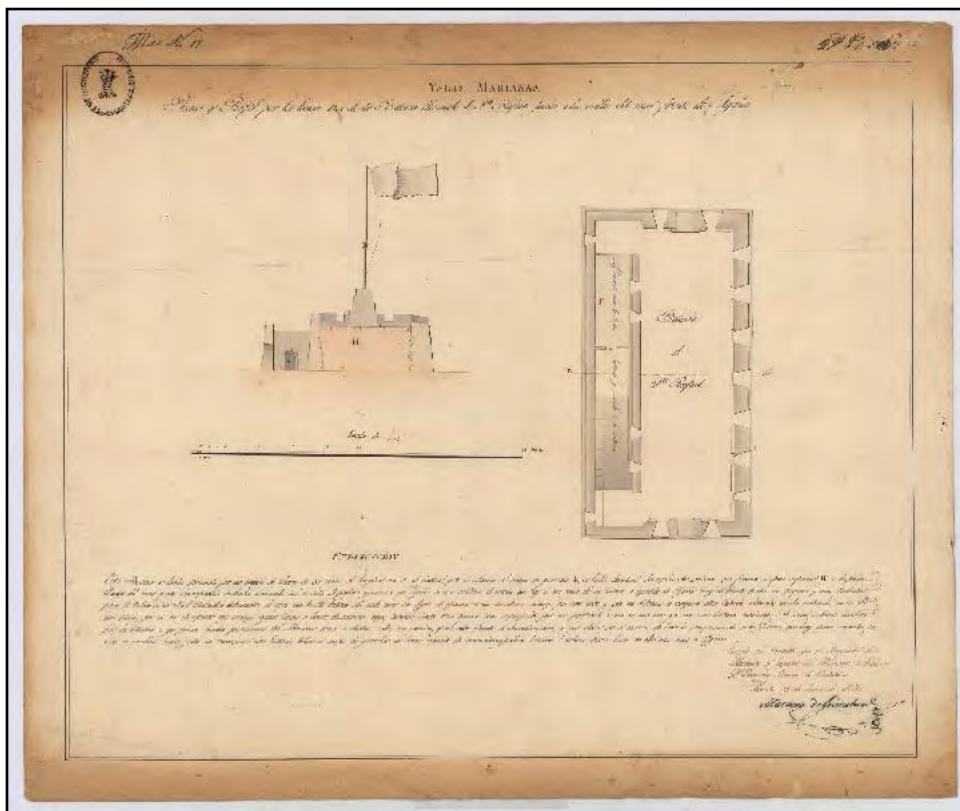


Fig. 5. Goicoechea, Mariano. Planos y perfil por la línea B.D de la batería llamada de San Rafael junto a la orilla de mar frente a Agaña. 1832. IMA 02/09.

something highly improbable at that time. Its location was probably a consequence of the original plot for the star fort, which was more logical at the time it was built.

The first military engineer identified working on the islands is Mariano de Goicoechea³¹. He was working in Manila, and it is unknown if he was in Guam or if he merely dispatched the projects to the governor. In accord with his advice, several forts were noted for Agaña: Santa Cruz³² and the renovation of San Rafael³³. The works by Goicoechea coincided with the modernization of the islands' military organisation, previously noted. Probably the most noteworthy innovation was creating a gunnery company on June 23, 1829³⁴.

At least from the late 18th century onward, a structure built on a little island in the middle of the bay of Apra, called Santa Cruz fort, is identified (Fig. 6)³⁵. Some scholars have associated it with the works of Governor Muro, dating them to 1801³⁶. However, it must be noted that this fortification was represented in maps produced as early as 1794³⁷. This building would have replaced the afore-mentioned battery of San Luis, which does not appear in 19th-century detailed maps³⁸. It repeated the dimensions of San Rafael, albeit now housing six cannons, no gunnery having been noted in San Rafael, where it was considered useless.

“En el islote de *Santa Cruz* en medio del puerto de Apra hay / un fuerte rectangular de las mismas dimensiones *aproximadamente*/ artillado con seis piezas de grueso calibre que defienden la es/trecha y difícil entrada al fondeadero interior e igualmente / imponen respeto a los buques situados en ambos fondeaderos: tiene /almacén, alojamiento para la guarnición y pipas bastantes/ de agua para resistir un sitio quince o veinte días de pie de sus / cuatro caras, los ángulos todos, y los dos lados que miran a tierra /

³¹ Merino, Luis. *Arquitectura y urbanismo en el siglo XIX: Introducción general y monografías*. Manila: Intramuros administration, 1987, p. 130.

³² Goicoechea, Mariano. *Plano y perfil del fuerte de Santa Cruz construido sobre un islote de piedra en medio del puerto de Para, distante dos horas de Agaña y una de Agat*. 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/07

³³ Goicoechea, Mariano. *Planos y perfil por la línea B.D de la batería llamada de San Rafael junto a la orilla de mar frente a Agaña*. 1832. IMA 02/09

³⁴ It was composed of four corporals, four second corporals, one drummer (*tambor*) and forty-five gunners. They were recruited in the island and trained for eight years, which could provide a clue about the limited professionalization of these forces despite these efforts. Salinas y Angulo, Ignacio. *Legislación militar aplicada...*, p. 103.

³⁵ It would be lately reformed in 1846. LCS, reel 6, item. 50.

³⁶ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.

³⁷ *Plano del Puerto de San Luis de Para en la Isla de Guahan de las Marianas*. LOC, G9417.A6 1794.P5

³⁸ Villalobos, Francisco Ramón. *Croquis de la Isla de Guajan*. 1832. Museo Naval, MN-55-6.

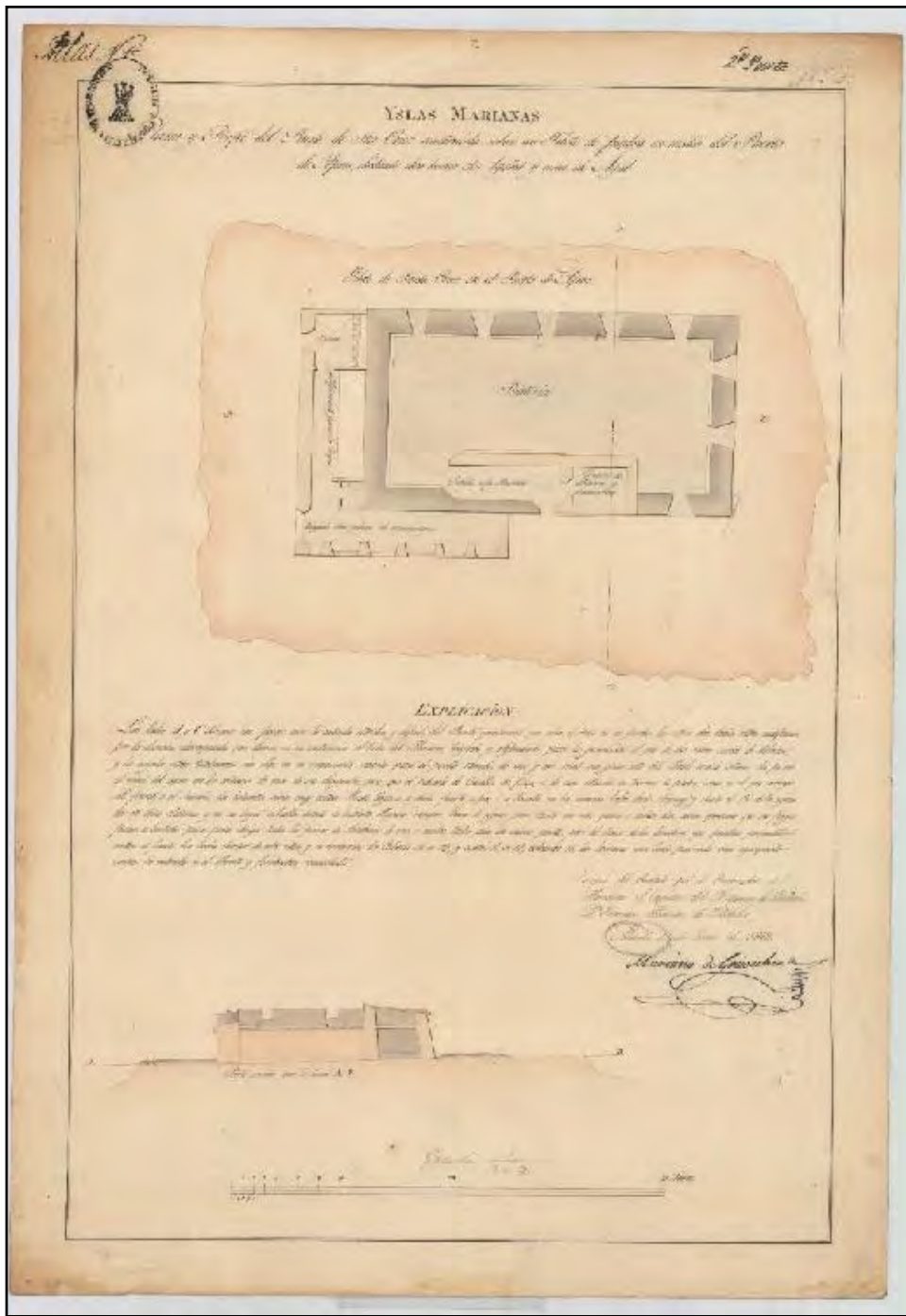


Fig. 6. Goicoechea, Mariano. Plano y perfil del fuerte de Santa Cruz construido sobre un islote de piedra en medio del puerto de Apra, distante dos horas de Agaña y una de Agat. Manila, January 13th, 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/07

no tienen defensa: puede llegarse al fuerte en las mareas bajas/ desde Sumay y desde el río de la Aguada a pie o a caballo por / el bajo no tiene sistema el fuego de artillería es por troneras / y lo custodia constantemente un destacamento de un sargento o / cabo de artillería y seis hombres de

infantería instruidos en / el manejo de las piezas para suyo servicio hay en el fuerte / bastantes municiones de todo lo demás necesario”³⁹

[On the islet of Santa Cruz, in the middle of the port of Apra, there is a rectangular fort of approximately the same dimensions, armed with six pieces of heavy-caliber weaponry that defends the narrow and difficult entrance to the interior anchorage and also imposes respect on the ships located in both anchorages: it has a warehouse, accommodations for the garrison and enough water pipes to withstand a siege of fifteen or twenty days. Standing on its four faces, all its angles, and the two sides facing land do not have protection: the fort can be reached at low tides from Sumay and from the Aguada River on foot or on horseback by ground. It does not have a system, the artillery fire is through embrasures and is constantly guarded by a detachment of a sergeant or artillery corporal and six infantrymen trained in the handling of the pieces. For their service, there is enough ammunition [and] of everything else necessary in the fort.]

While the San Luis battery was dismantled, and the bay appeared protected thanks to Santa Cruz, in the 18th century a new battery was placed on the Orote peninsula⁴⁰. The model was very similar to the one used at Santa Cruz and San Rafael, emphasizing the possibilities of small structures for smaller weaponry, which was deemed better than complex structures for heavier pieces. This leads us to consider a late-18th-century date for this structure. Nonetheless, a contemporary description shows that the few cannons of the islands, six according to the source, were located at this point, to protect the port's entrance.

“Casi a la extremidad de la península de Orote hay una / batería a barreta capaz de seis piezas, que domina la entrada a/ el puerto de Para y el fondeadero exterior: su explanada ocupa/ todo el piso y está descompuesta: su muro es de mampostería: el / alojamiento para la tropa está destechado: el depósito de mu/niciones se haya a la espalda de la batería: la elevación de esta es de 140 varas próximamente sus fuegos son fijantes el // frente de la montaña, sobre que se haya colocada la batería es / escarpado la espalda

³⁹ Villalobos, Francisco. *Op. Cit.*

⁴⁰ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13. Three very similar representations of this battery are preserved in Madrid: *Plano de la batería de Santiago de Orote: capaz de seis piezas: domina bien la entrada al puerto de Apra*. CAGMM, IMA 01/09; Goicoechea, Mariano. *Plano de la batería de Santiago de Orote*. 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/13; *Plano de la batería de Santiago de Orote: capaz de seis piezas. Domina bien la entrada al puerto de Para*. (s.f.). CAGMM, IMA 01/14.

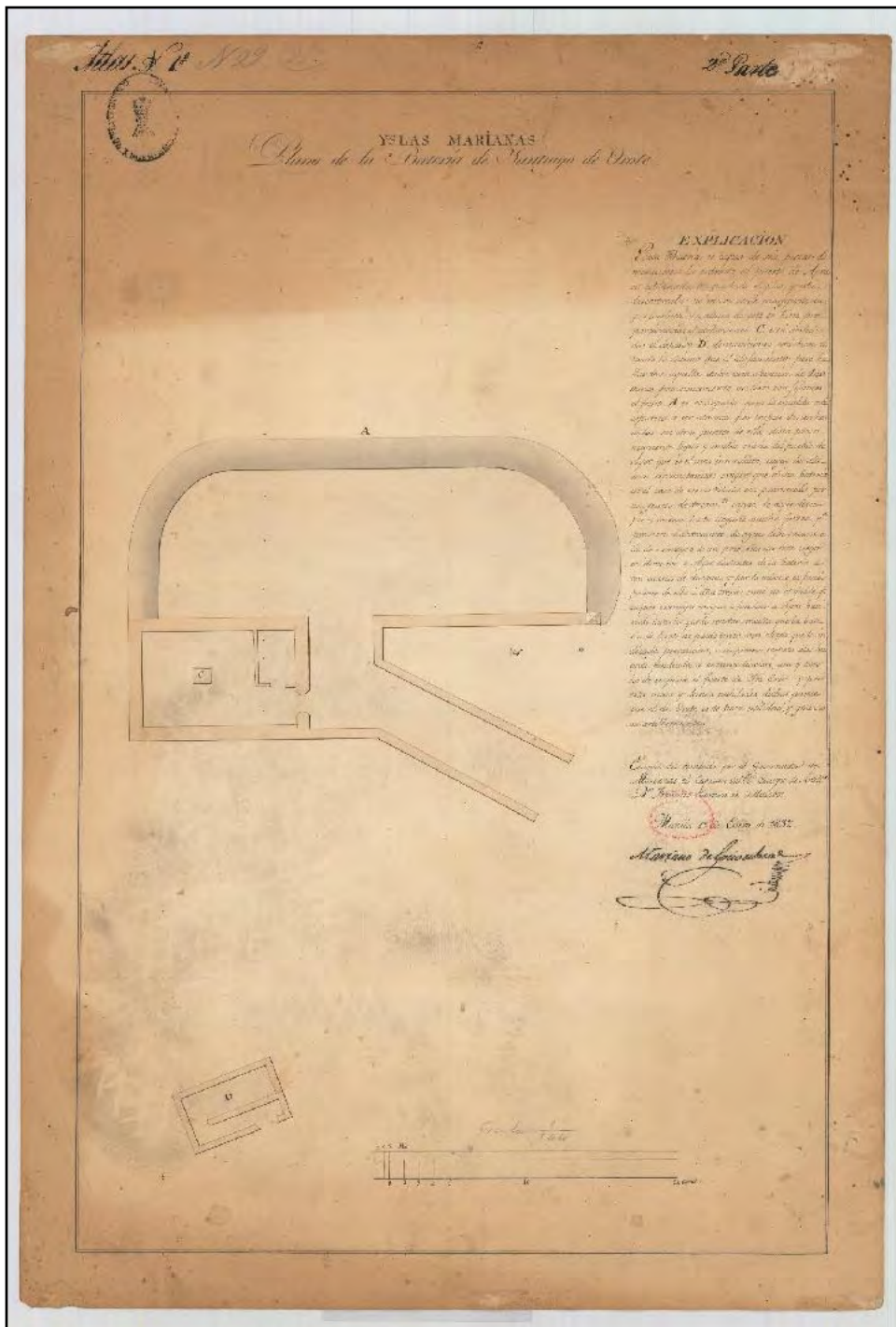


Fig. 7. Goicoechea, Mariano de. Plano de la Bateria de Santiago de Orote. Manila, January; 13th, 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/13.

está expuesta a los ataques de tropas desembarcadas / en otros puntos: el agua para el destacamento dista a lo menos tres cuar/tos de hora: los socorros más próximos en caso de ataque, deben llegarle / de Agat casi a la hora y media de distancia, cuyas razones y el desem/peñar el Fuerte de

*Santa Cruz todos los objetos de la batería de Santiago/ de Orote, demuestran que esta no debe artillarse*⁴¹.

[Almost at the end of the Orote peninsula there is barbette battery capable of [housing] six pieces, which dominates the entrance to the port of Apra and the outer anchorage: its esplanade occupies the entire floor and is decomposed: its wall is of masonry: the accommodation for the troops is roofless: the munitions store is at the back of the battery: the elevation of this is 140 *varas* as soon its arms are fixed at the front of the mountain, on which the battery is emplaced. Steep, the back is exposed to the attacks of disembarked troops at other points: the water for the detachment is at least three quarters of an hour away: the nearest relief in case of attack must reach it from Agat, almost an hour and a half away, for which reasons, along with the performance of the Santa Cruz Fort, all the objects of the Santiago Orote battery show that it should not be armed.]

The text shows that, while previous examples were built in coral stone, Santiago was constructed in masonry. Considering that the stones' availability would be just as common in Agaña as it is Apra, this should be explained as a result of the difficulty of carrying them to this peninsula, or more likely, to dating it differently, probably to the final decades of the eighteenth century. In any case, Goicoechea's and the governor's modernization of the defences in the 1830s did not place much importance on the battery's firepower. In fact, the engineer's plan does not correspond to the one included in Villalobos's, which includes a circular battery facing the bay's entrance.

The third fortified point of the island was the surroundings of modern-day Umatac, a secondary village from a military perspective but one far more protected than Agaña⁴². Unfortunately, not much information on this region's batteries during the 18th century has yet been found, most of the plans being dated in the early 19th century as part of the works of Goicoechea and the descriptions of Villalobos. Only the view of the port made by the Malaspina Expedition (1789-1794) shows something akin to a castle on the hill where Santo Angel battery would ultimately be built⁴³. It seems that the other forts were not even started.

⁴¹ Villalobos, Francisco. *Op. Cit.*

⁴² Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre. "El fénix en las Marianas (1747)". *Revista de Indias*, LXX (250), 2010, pp. 779-808.

⁴³ *Vista del puerto de Umata (Humatac)*. Archivo del Museo Naval de Madrid, AMN, Ms. 1723(33) bis.



Fig. 8. Duperrey, L. I. *Plan du port d'Umata: sur l'île de Guam. 1819.* Museo Naval (MN), 55-10.

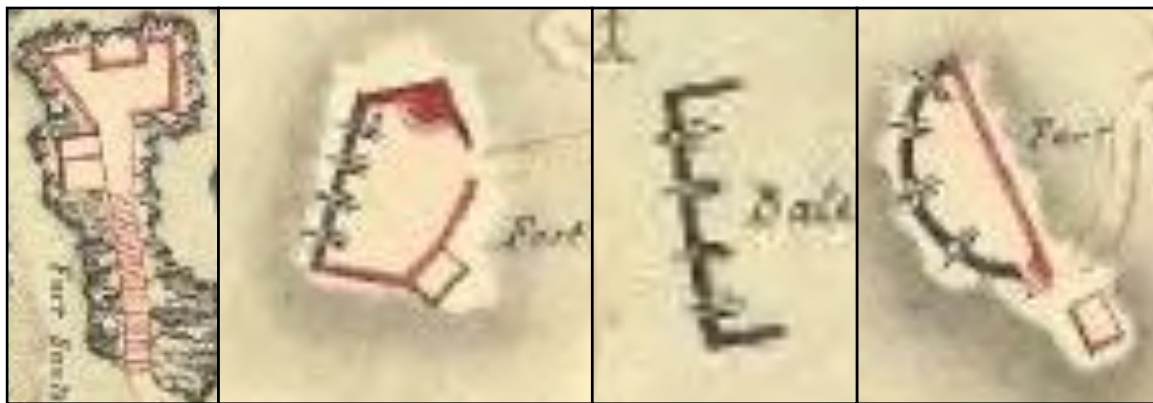


Fig. 9. Detail of the plans of *Batería Santo Angel*, *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* [¿*Santa Bárbara*?] and *San José* in 1819. Duperrey, L. I. *Plan du port d'Umata: sur l'île de Guam.* Museo Naval (MN), 55-10.

Twenty years later, in 1819, Duperrey drew a very detailed map of the fortifications⁴⁴. Santo Angel is designed as an irregular structure conforming to the foundation of the peninsula, creating two bastions. This solution was very common in early-18th-century Spanish

⁴⁴ Duperrey, L. I. *Plan du port d'Umata: sur l'île de Guam.* Museo Naval (MN), 55-10.

proposals for the Americas, which attempted to control access to the bay⁴⁵. While this structure seems to be older, both because of its design and the view of the Malaspina Expedition, the other three forts are likely examples of early-19th-century strategically located smaller structures. Nuestra Señora del Carmen and San José are common examples of rectangular and hemispherical batteries. Only Nuestra Señora de la Soledad seems to be an older design adapted to the new functions of a straight battery. All this would explain the differences in colours (red and black) of the maps. While older structures (red) were probably made in stone, newer ones (black) used masonry.

This description likely dates it to 1832, when various reports note that four batteries protected the bay. The first battery was *Batería de la Soledad*, located on a hill of ca. 67 metres high, probably built before 1810 under Governor Alexandro Parreño. It was constructed in masonry, being designed to house seven pieces of gunnery, which clearly points out that it was recently augmented, although at this time the structure was not well conserved.

“El puerto de Umata lo rodean cuatro baterías, cuya descripción es la siguiente. 1ª Batería de la Soledad sobre un cerro de 80 varas/ próximamente de elevación: su frente hacia el mar y costados se hallan / sobre laderas sumamente rápidas, su subida lo es también, aunque mu/cho menos: el muro es de mampostería a barbata y bien proporcionada / su altura es capaz de siete piezas, sus fuegos son fijantes: el aloja/miento para la tropa está destechado: su explanada es continua, y / se haya descompuesta, y puede ser grandemente atacada por la espalda”⁴⁶.

[The port of Umata is surrounded by four batteries, the description of which is as follows. First is the Battery of La Soledad on a hill of nearly 80 *varas* in elevation: its front facing the sea and sides are on extremely steep slopes, as is its ascent, albeit much less: the wall is of masonry to the barbette and well-proportioned. Its height is capable of [housing] seven pieces, its guns are fixed: the shelter for the troops is unroofed: its esplanade is continuous, and has decomposed, and can be easily attacked from behind]

⁴⁵ Cruz Freire, Pedro; Gámez Casado, Manuel; López Hernández, Ignacio J.; Luengo, Pedro and Morales, Alfredo J. *Estrategia y Propaganda...*

⁴⁶ Villalobos, Francisco. *Op. Cit.*

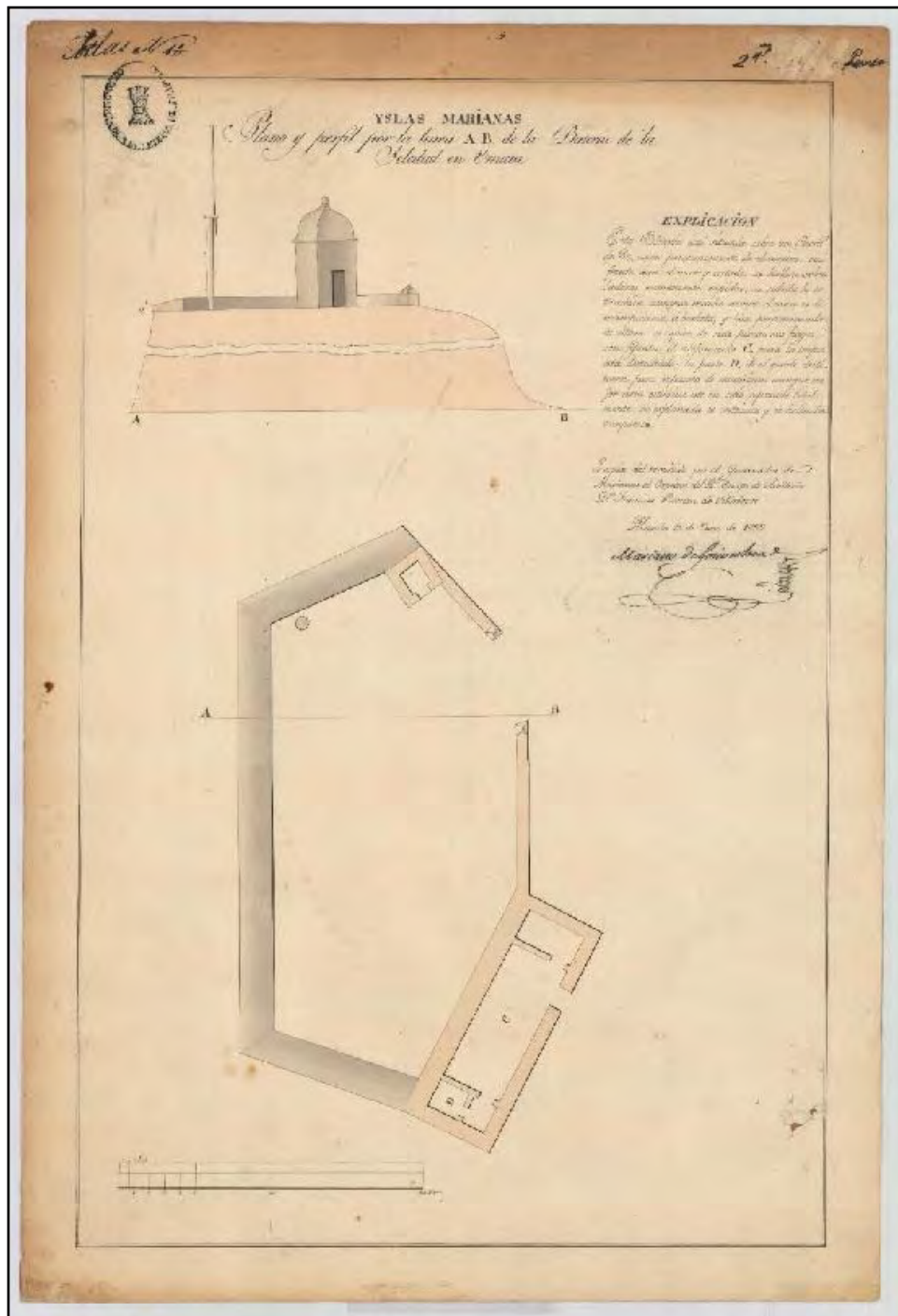


Fig. 10. Goicoechea, Mariano. *Plano y perfil por la línea A. B. de la batería de la Soledad en Umata*. Manila, January 13th 1832. IMA 02/17.

A contemporary plan by Goicoechea shows that the battery had an irregular plan, although it is difficult to confirm if it was a transformation or merely a more exact representation of the building⁴⁷. What is evident is that the deployment of weaponry has increased, although the type of pieces employed is unknown.

⁴⁷ Goicoechea, Mariano. *Plano y perfil por la línea A. B. de la batería de la Soledad en Umata*. 1832. IMA 02/17

The second structure cited by the description was the San José battery, which could house six gunnery pieces, it being built in masonry at a small height of ca. 73 metres. Although its original date was unknown, now it can be said that it was built in 1803 on a previous structure⁴⁸. Slightly later, under Governor Vicente Blanco it was required that the foundation of the building had to be altered after more than fifty years⁴⁹. As a result, new San José was built before April 1, 1805⁵⁰. In fact, it was designed to protect against disembarcations at the roadstead located at the north of Umata rather than those specifically at the settlement.

“2ª batería de San José, capaz de seis piezas: su muro es de mam/postería: la explanada es continua y se haya descompuesta: un cuarto/ de su gola está arruinado: su frente hacia el mar escarpado; el terreno de la espalda lo forma una pendiente muy rápida, igualmente / que el de la izquierda: puede ser atacada grandemente por la derecha / por infantería ligera: domina bien el puerto, pero sus tiros los hace / casi fijantes: la elevación de 40 brazas próximamente en que está / construida, y estar el fondeadero casi a su pie no tiene repuesto para / municiones a la espalda, como exige su posición; el alojamiento para / la tropa está expuesto al fuego de los buques, se haya destechado / y lleno de escombros; la batería está a la barbata y su rodillera o / altura del parapeto es proporcionada y lo que permite la de las / piezas”⁵¹.

[2nd battery of San José, capable of [housing] six pieces: its wall is made of masonry. The esplanade is continuous and has decomposed. A quarter of its gorge is ruined. Its front facing the sea [is] steep. The ground at the rear is formed by a very steep slope, as is the one on the left. It can be heavily attacked from the right by light infantry. It dominates the port well, but its shots make them almost fixed. The elevation of almost 40 fathoms from which it is built, with the anchorage being nearly at its foot, it has no spare [space] for ammunition at its rear, as its position requires. The accommodation for the troops is exposed to the fire of the ships and has been de-roofed and full of rubble. The battery is at the barbette and its

⁴⁸ *Testimonio de la consulta original con que se dio cuenta a la superioridad de Manila del graneo que se hicieron a catorce cañones; y un baluarte plano que se fabricó en la Villa de Umata. 1803, report to Manila of a foundry, and construction of a fort at Umata. LCS, reel 5, item 38.*

⁴⁹ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵¹ Villalobos, Francisco. *Op. Cit.*

platform and height of the parapet is proportioned, which allows for that of the pieces.]

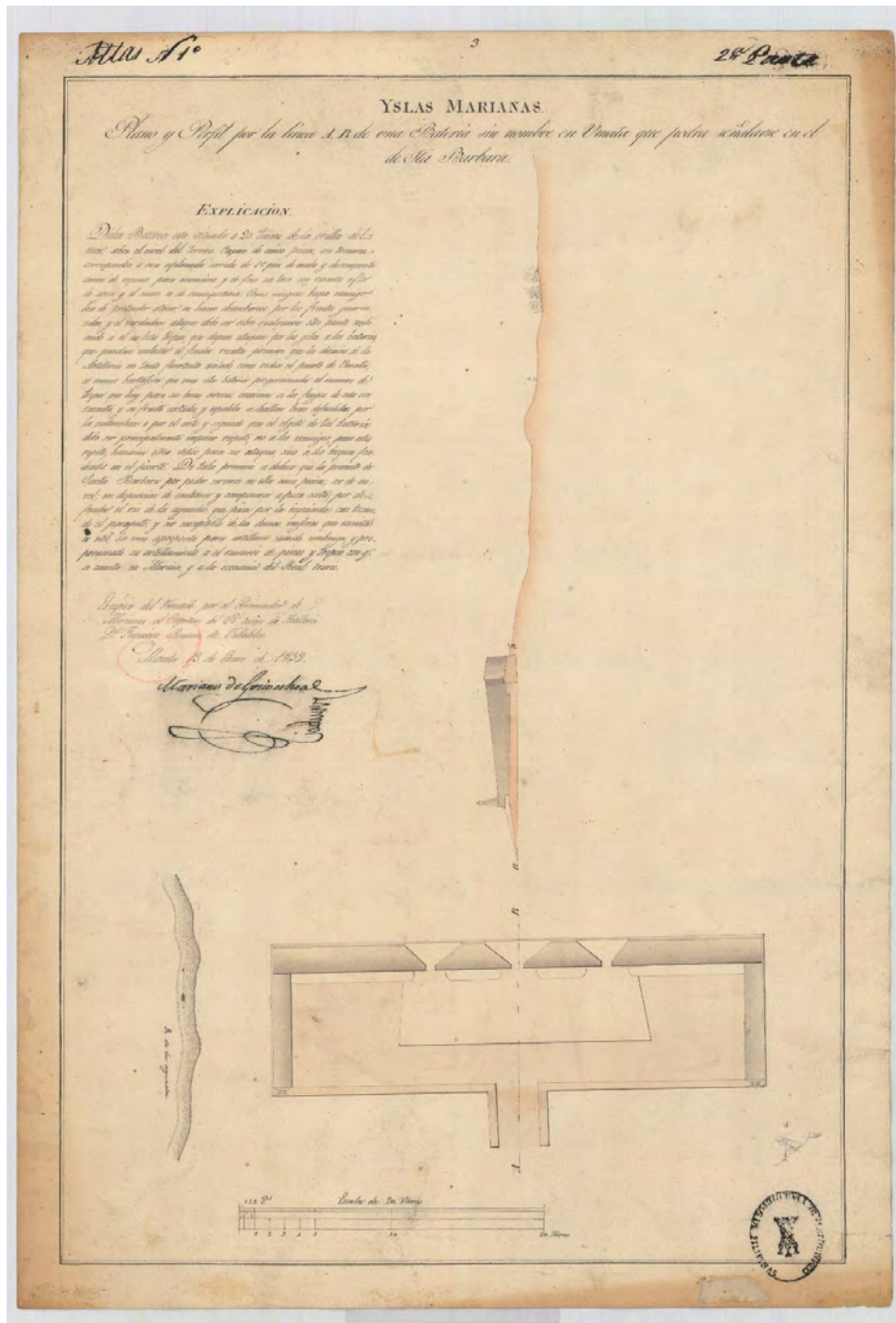


Fig. 11. Goicoechea, Mariano de. Plano y perfil por la línea aB de una batería sin nombre en un mata que podrá señalarse en el de Santa Bárbara. Manila, January 13th 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/14

While all these batteries were drawn by Goicoechea, no reference to San José was preserved in military archives inventoried in Madrid. After analysing the collection of Guam, two plans might correspond with this battery, although they were until now linked with Santo Ángel. The plan shows that it was a very simple design of a hemispherical battery, not well preserved, at least at its rear wall.



Fig. 12. Goicoechea, Mariano. Plano y perfil por la línea A.B. de la batería de San José en Umata. Manila: January 13th, 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/19.

The third fort on the list is probably the oldest and most noteworthy: Santo Ángel. Traditionally dated to 1737⁵², or slightly later under the administration of Olavide y Michelena (1749-1756 and 1768-1771)⁵³, it is located on an 11-metres-high hill and was designed to house three cannons. New sources located by this research can date the structure in 1756⁵⁴. Its parapet was rather low, a likely consequence of its poor preservation. Troop accommodations were located at the structure's rear, although a 19th-century description stresses its exposure to an attack.

“3ª batería del Santo Ángel, sobre una roca escarpada de 13 varas próximamente de elevación, es capaz de tres / piezas; su fuego puede ofender con buen éxito a los buques, pero su / muro sencillísimo y muy bajo deja descubiertas casi totalmente las / cureñas y artilleros; el alojamiento para la tropa está muy / descubierto y expuesto al fuego enemigo: no tiene repuesto para municiones según le convenía en la gola y su explanada es continua”⁵⁵.

[3rd battery of Santo Ángel, on a steep rock of 13 *varas* in elevation, is capable of [housing] three pieces; its fire can injure ships with good success, but its very simple and very low wall leaves the gun carriages and gunners almost completely exposed; the accommodation for the troops is rather uncovered and exposed to enemy fire. It has no spare space for ammunition given its placement in the gorge and her esplanade is continuous.]

⁵² Coello de la Rosa, Alexandre. “El fénix...”, p. 783.

⁵³ Degadillo, Yolanda; McGrath, Thomas B. and Plaza, Felicia. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

⁵⁴ En los mismos términos, en el puerto de la villa de Umata (donde sus navíos de la carrera de Filipinas hacen esca/la de regreso de su viaje de la Nueva España)/ habiendo visto estar la artillería *que* allá/ hay sin más reparo *que* unas canales en / las peñas sobre un cerro expuesta a mu/chas contingencias en el propio puesto / he hecho así mismo fabricar un fuerte / para *que* facilitado mejor el manejo de los / cañones, asegurados debajo de llave (co/mo quedan) y causado su respecto a los 7 navíos de enemigos o naciones extran/jeras *que* por casualidad pasen e inten/ten tomar puerto (como en *tiempos* pasa/dos ha sucedido) sea para *mayor* crédito/ de las *reales* armas de *Vuestra Majestad* a cuya *soberana/ real* clemencia ocurro reverente para / *que* merecido (como espero) de la piedad de / *Vuestra Majestad* la declaración de darse por servi/do me honre con la nueva *merced* de el / grado de *teniente coronel*

⁵⁵ Villalobos, Francisco. *Op. Cit.*

Santo Ángel is a clear example of what has been considered as a fortified peninsula in the Caribbean context⁵⁶. This type of fortification can be found during the first half of the 18th century, so this date is probably also correct for Guam. Goicoechea also depicted this structure. The only change compared with the French representation is noteworthy⁵⁷. While original bastions were rectangular or triangular, here they are irregular polygons. This, along with the low parapet, would permit a wider shot range, based on the evolution of gun carriages. It is probable that Goicoechea tried to modernize this structure with minor changes.

The final structure protecting Umata was the battery of Santa Bárbara, probably the one previously known as Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Being the simplest of the group, it was located in the city at almost 40 metres from the sea. In contrast to the other structures, which were built on heights, Santa Bárbara functioned as a low battery to attack ships at the waterline.

“4^a batería de Santa Bárbara situada a un extremo de la / población a 20 toesas de la orilla del mar, sobre el nivel del / terreno, capaz de cinco piezas y con tres troneras que correspon/den a una explanada corrida de 15 pies de ancho y descompuesta// carece de repuesto para municiones y de foso; sus tiros son rasantes/ y a flor de agua; el muro es de mampostería a poca costa puede / componerse y ocultarse de los fuegos de los buques; defiende al río / de la aguada que pasa por la izquierda de la batería casi tocando / el parapeto; y es lo bastante para que artillada imponga el respeto/ competente a los buques fondeados en el puerto”⁵⁸.

[4th battery of Santa Bárbara located at one end of the town 20 toises from the seacoast, above ground level, capable of [housing] five pieces and with three embrasures corresponding to a 15-foot-wide decomposed esplanade, lacks spare space for ammunition and a moat; its projectiles are flush and on the water's surface; the wall is made of masonry that can be made at a low cost and hidden from the ships' firings. It protects the Aguada River

⁵⁶ Cruz Freire, Pedro; Gámez Casado, Manuel; López Hernández, Ignacio J.; Luengo, Pedro and Morales, Alfredo J. *Estrategia y Propaganda...*

⁵⁷ *Plano y perfil por la línea A.B. de la batería del Santo Ángel en Umata sobre una roca.* (s.f.). AGMM, IMA 02/11; A similar source can be found in Goicoechea, Mariano. *Plano y perfil por la línea A.B. de la batería del Santo Ángel en Umata.* 1832. CAGMM, IMA 02/19

⁵⁸ Villalobos, Francisco. *Op. Cit.*

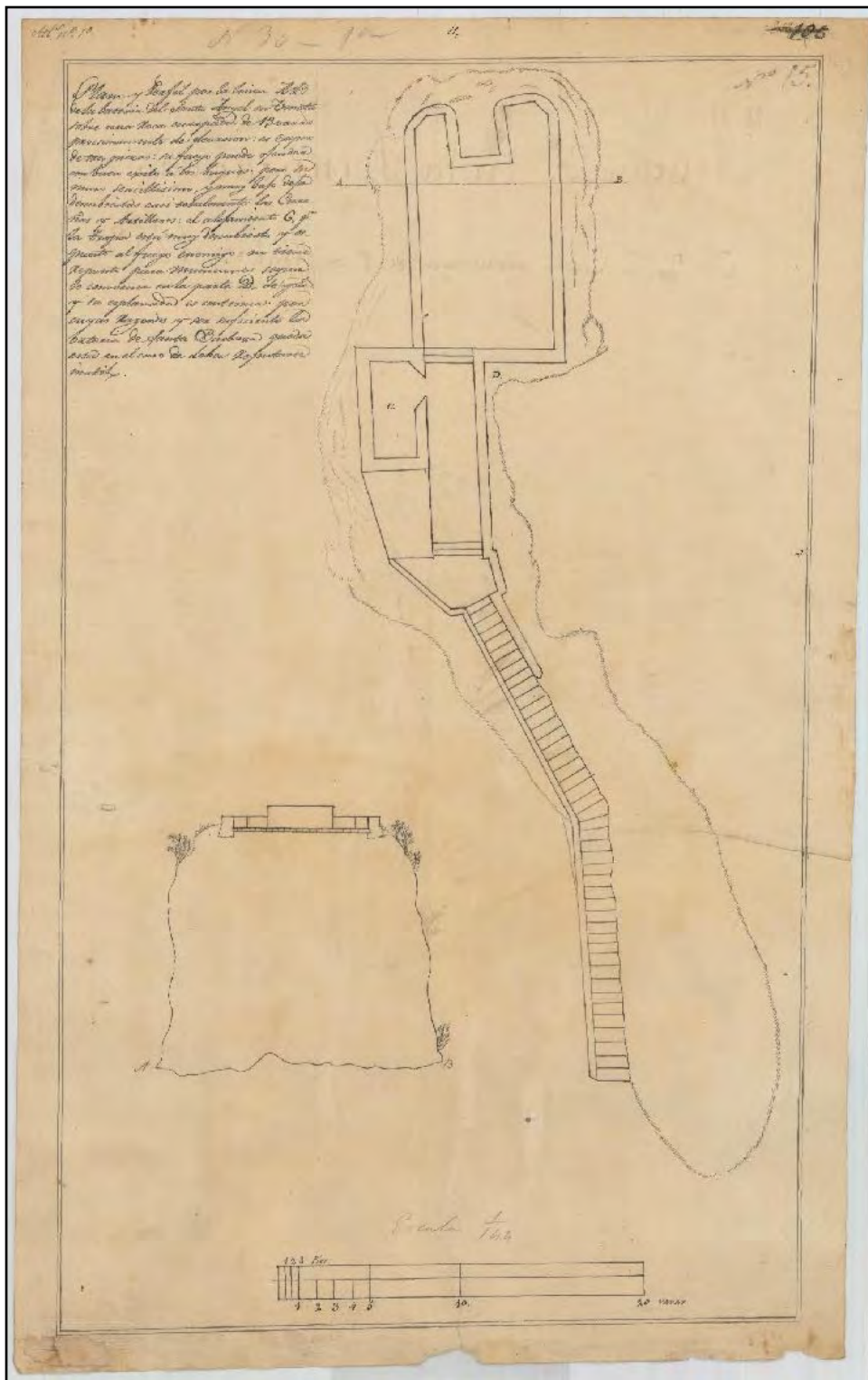


Fig. 13. Plano y perfil por la línea A.B. de la batería del Santo Ángel en Umata sobre una roca. (s.f.). AGMM, IMA 02/11.

that passes by the left of the battery, nearly touching the parapet; and it is sufficient enough for the artillery to impose respect from the ships anchored in the port.]

This four-and-a-half metres long battery was poorly preserved due to its masonry construction. It was designed to control the coast and the mouth of the river. The descriptions considered that it would be a good point to install weaponry. This interest is complemented by the Goicoechea's plans⁵⁹. Here, the five cannons for the three embrasures correspond with this plan for an "unknown" battery. The simple line that was included in the early-19th century map is here improved with lateral walls and a single access at the rear.

This quantity of fortifications has more of a visual rather than a true military impact as an English source affirms in 1870:

"Looking at the plan of Umata it appears to be a well-fortified place: there are the forts of San José, San Angel, and La Soledad, and the battery of Carmen, a tolerable number of respectable fortifications, *on paper*, and you may suppose them to be bristling with cannon, with sentries pacing the walls, and the national flag waving over one of the bastions; but there is generally a difference between imagination and reality, and the Marianas are no exception to the general rule; those castles are twin brothers to what may be seen at San Luis de Apra;-they are all small affairs, and they have not a single piece of mounted artillery. The positions no doubt were well chosen, but the buildings are fast falling to pieces"⁶⁰.

All these examples demonstrate how Guam's defensive buildings were amateur results of the Western theory of the time. This is especially interesting considering the lack of designs by military engineers until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Even at this latter period, their design seems to have originated from Manila without a direct analysis of the context. Thus, they were rare examples of how soldiers and local population addressed defence, relying on European tastes, and rejecting the Asian techniques that could be seen in other similar contexts in the Philippines⁶¹. In other words, Guam was trying to defend the Spanish empire and one of its most important trading routes, the Manila Galleon, with European fortification principles and warfare techniques, but without the support of the imperial engineer hierarchy. For this reason, probably more than in any other case of the Spanish

⁵⁹ Goicoechea, Mariano. *Plano y perfil por la línea A. B. de una batería sin nombre en Umata que podrá señalarse en el de Santa Bárbara*. CAGMM, IMA 02/14.

⁶⁰ Imray, James Fredeerick. *North Pacific Pilot: The seaman's guide to the islands of the North Pacific*. London: James Imray and Son, 1870, pp. 78-79.

⁶¹ Luengo, Pedro. "La fortificación del archipiélago filipino en el siglo XVIII. La defensa integral ante lo local y lo global". *Revista de Indias*, 77(271), 2017, pp. 727-758.

colonial world, Guam's fortifications are fine examples of technical dialogue and local contribution, something crucial for modern interpretation of defensive heritage.



Fig. 14. Detail of Villalobos, Francisco Ramón. *Croquis de la Isla de Guajan*. 1832. Museo Naval, MN-55-6.

Zoom Recording



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Jesuit Presence in the Mariana Islands

A Historiographic Overview (1668-1769)¹

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Dedicated to Marjorie G. Driver (†2019)

Abstract: *My contribution is a historiographic overview of the scholarly research about the conquest and evangelization of the Mariana Islands (XVII-XVIII centuries) in the 21st century. Since the pioneering work of renowned scholars of Micronesian history, such as Marjorie G. Driver and Francis X. Hezel, historians, archaeologists and anthropologists have analyzed Jesuit missions not only as a complement to colonial power dynamics in the Asia-Pacific, but also as a privileged field for analyzing cross-cultural encounters. Faced with essentialist approaches that question the “aboriginal” character of the current CHamoru of the Marianas, other studies reject their supposed disappearance, and appeal to their cultural continuity in historical time.*

Keywords: Jesuits, Mariana Islands, 17th and 18th centuries, Pacific Ocean, globalization.

Introduction

The island of Guåhån (or Guam) is the largest and southernmost of the isles and islands that comprise the Marianas archipelago, a set of fifteen volcanic and coral islands that extend from north to south, forming a wide arc of more than 800 kilometers in the western Pacific, between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator (Ciaramitaro, 2018, p. 198). Most of them are very small and practically uninhabited (*terrae nullius*), but the largest, inhabited islands have good aquifers and fertile land as well as bays and coves that make them accessible and safe for navigation.² Evidence suggests that the first settlers were probably Austronesians

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²The archipelago is composed of two sets of islands. The southern islands include Guåhån (also Guajan, Guahan, Guam or San Juan); Luta (also Rota, Zarpana or Santa Ana); Aquigan or Aguiguan (also Santo Ángel); Tinian (also Buena Vista Mariana); and Saipan (also San José). The northern isles, most of which are uninhabited and experience more volcanic activity, are collectively referred to as Gani in the CHamoru language, and include Farallón de Medinilla; Anatahan (San Joaquín); Sarigan or Sariguan (San Carlos); Guguan (San Felipe); Alamagán (La Concepción); Pagán (San Ignacio); Agrijan or Agrigan

originating from the northern Philippines or Maritime Southeast Asia circa 1500 BCE (Jalandoni, 2011, p. 28; Montón, S., Bayman, J., Moragas-Segura, 2018, p. 309).

The conquest and colonization of the far-off Marianas was never a profitable enterprise for the Spanish Crown. Compared to the wealth promised by the metal-rich American continent, the Marianas' lack of precious metals seemed to justify the minimal attention that the Crown paid them. Their topography, crisscrossed by small gullies and ravines, discouraged large-scale agriculture. Moreover, their coasts were not easily accessible to the galleons en route from Acapulco to Manila.³ But none of this deterred the Jesuits, who, led by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores (1627-72),⁴ wanted to plant the seed of the Gospel in these lands and join the ranks of the martyrs who died for the Catholic faith.

The contemporary historiography agrees that the permanence of the mission was not determined by geographic, economic or demographic factors – the archipelago's isolation; its poverty and lack of mineral resources; or its relatively scarce population. The first transactions between Chamoru society and Micronesian cultures, and the later trade with European ships after the initial landing of Fernão de Magalhães (1480-1521) in Guåhån on March 6th, 1521, probably in Umatac Bay,⁵ constituted different phases of a continuum of regional and global exchanges between Europeans and the inhabitants of the Marianas archipelago (e. g., Kushima, 2001; Quimby, 2011, pp. 1–26; Thomas, 1990, pp. 146–47).⁶ The frontiers, or contact zones, are not rigid lines that separate groups of culturally distinct peoples,⁷ but ambivalent spaces, fraught with contradictions, where the active agents of what Serge Gruzinski (2004) denominated “the first globalization” played a fundamental role in the cultures' transformation (Gruzinski, 2004; Mola, 2018, pp. 181-200).

In the last few decades, historians have interpreted the first modern Catholic missions not only as a complement of Western imperialism, but as a field in which complex intercultural

³ “Informe del padre Luis Pimentel, provincial de las islas Filipinas de la Compañía de Jesús de las conveniencias e inconveniencias que puede tener la reducción a nuestra sancta fe católica de las islas que llaman de Ladrones” (ARSI, Philipp. 14, ff. 64r–68r; Reichert, 2014, p. 162).

⁴ For a brief biography of Diego Luis de San Vitores, see Saborido Cursach, 1985; Baró Queralt, 2010, pp. 16-19.

⁵ Not surprisingly, Umatac Bay is nowadays an important place in the collective memory of the island of Guåhån. See Montón, S., Bayman, J., Moragas-Segura, 2018, pp. 320-21.

⁶ The exact location of Magellan's landing place is still a matter of debate. See Rogers and Ballendorf, 1989, pp. 193-208.

⁷ The concept of “contact zone” was first coined by Adorno, 2007, p. 329. See also Pratt, 1997, pp. 1-11.

encounters with several logics took place (Rubiés, 2013a, p. 267).⁸ By situating Jesuit missions in a global process that underlines the cultural and economic relations between Europe and the Micronesian islands, recent studies have looked at the possibilities and limitations of religious conversion in Guåhån and the islands north of Saipan (collectively referred to as Gani). There, the *encomiendas*, or the Spanish system of forced labor that characterized most of the Americas and the Philippines, did not prevail. Between 1686 and 1700, after the second Spanish- CHamoru war (1684), Jesuits tried to reduce the native CHamoru whom they often referred to as *Marianos* into six parishes of Guåhån.⁹ This period, known as “La reducción” (the Reduction), saw the consolidation of a series of disciplinary and heterotopic technologies on the islands (Moral de Eusebio, 2016, pp. 229-232), which resulted in a system of sociopolitical organization reductions, schools, haciendas that guaranteed the functioning and exploitation of native labor in royal haciendas (Driver, 1991; Dixon, Welch, Bulgrin and Horrocks, 2020, pp. 70-71).

At the turn of the century, the native population was dwindling, and some Jesuit missionaries contemplated the possibility of abandoning the Mariana Islands and relocating, with the reduced CHamoru, to the Visayan missions of the Society of Jesus, which were threatened by the continuous razzias sent by the Muslim states of the southern Philippines (Mindanao, Jolo) (Coello de la Rosa, 2019, pp. 729-763). Others wanted to use the Mariana archipelago as a springboard to explore and evangelize other Pacific islands further south (such as Palau and the Carolina Islands). In any case, it was in 1731, after the failure of the reconnaissance mission led by Father Giovanni Antonio Cantova (1686-1731), that the Spanish Crown decided to withdraw exploration missions and bolster its presence in the Marianas. These Oceanic islands continued the spiritual tutelage of the Jesuits until 1769, when the Society of Jesus was finally expelled from the Philippines.

The present essay shows that these imperialist strategies of power and domination have obscured other, local dynamics through which the native CHamoru opposed European normativity and/or submitted to them through transcultural processes. Likewise, it reviews a new historiography of the Marianas, which locates the islands and its peoples within the global history of Christianity. Within this framework, scholars have rejected the notion that the “true” CHamoru disappeared due to their destruction, extinction, and “mixing” with other groups, which had led to the representation of the surviving CHamoru as non-native. Defying the center-periphery model, indigenous peoples are addressed as active participants

⁸ For an analysis of the development of a “mediating contact culture” between Spaniards and CHamoru, see Quimby, 2011, pp. 1-26; Quimby, 2012.

⁹ Taitano, “[Origin of CHamoru as an Ethnic Identifier](#).” Retrieved from Guampedia.

in the elaboration of politics at a greater scale and not passive, defeated recipients of Western ideas and customs. The relationships established between European, American, Asiatic and Oceanic peoples are seen as historically changing interactions and negotiations embedded in the global circulation of ideas. Instead of emphasizing the supposed isolation and distance of the Mariana Islands, the “new missional history” works from a “glocal” perspective and situates the CHamoru in the international community as members of the Spanish empire and the global Catholic Church.

One of the main tasks when writing on the global conscience of the Jesuit project is determining the geographic limits of the territories of Spanish Asia that were a part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (Luque Talaván and Manchado López, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 13–15).¹⁰ If the Captaincy General of the Philippines was in the rearguard of what once was known as “the Spanish lake” (1513-1607) (Schurz, 1922, pp. 181–94; Spate, 1979; Bernabéu Albert, 1992; Martínez Shaw, *vol. 1*, 2001, pp. 3–25, pp. 7–17) but which should have been known, in Bonialian’s words, as “*un lago indiano*” (Bonialian, 2017, p. 136),¹¹ the Marianas were a marginal space within that rearguard, a transit point between New Spain and Manila that some French intellectuals would probably represent as a “non-place” (De Certeau, 1992, pp. 186–87; Augé, 1992). As Ulrike Strasser points out, the history of the Marianas constitutes an intriguing exception to the rule of Spanish conquest and expansion, which was officially ended in 1573. While the Spanish monarchy was undergoing a political and economic crisis, the impulse to establish a mission in the Marianas archipelago was taken up exclusively as a Jesuit initiative. The Society of Jesus, and particularly, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, longed to evangelize the natives who lived there and were entirely indifferent to the islands’ profitability or usefulness for the Crown (Strasser, 2017, p. 212; Strasser, 2020, pp. 113-46).

The Jesuit Arrival in the Philippines

By the mid-sixteenth century, the Spanish Crown had established an overseas empire of colossal dimensions (Schmidt, 2012, pp. 451–66). European trade in the Far East, established since the fifteenth century, wove a network of “articulated” circuits that played an important,

¹⁰ Transpacific trade’s importance grew after Chinese traders settled near Manila (Parián, Binondo). Traders were limited to a cargo of 250.000 pesos de 8 reales in merchandise from Manila to Acapulco. On the return trip, galleons could bring to the archipelago 500.000 *pesos fuertes de plata* (8-reales silver coins), out of which came the salaries of government employees, payroll for the soldiers, and stipends for the missionaries (the *situado*) (Yuste López, 1984, pp. 10; 14). In 1702, these quantities were increased to 300.000 “pieces of eight” of products from Asia and 600.000 pesos of silver (Yuste, art. cit., p. 15). In 1734, they were increased again, to 500.000 pesos of merchandise embarked in Manila, and one million silver pesos from Acapulco (Schurtz, 1992; Yuste López, art. cit., pp. 15-16; Yuste López, 2008, vol. 1, pp. 195-216; pp. 202-205).

¹¹ “Indianos” were the peninsular Spaniards who made their fortunes in the Americas and returned to the peninsula. In this case, they moved on to the Philippines.

if irregular, role in the growing Atlantic trading system (Bailyn, 2009, p. 4). Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Christian missions were key propagators of European “civilization” and its systems of knowledge (Prosperi, 1992, pp. 189–92). Christianity, as a matter of principle, did not tolerate religious diversity. Its universalistic vocation tied the historical and moral unity of humanity with the one true religion. As a frontier institution, the Jesuit mission sought to incorporate the indigenous peoples into the Spanish colonial empire by converting them into Catholicism, which necessitated the adoption of significant cultural norms, after having established formally recognized communities of sedentary converts under the tutelage of missionaries and the protection and sovereignty of the Spanish Crown.¹² This joint institution of indigenous communities under the tutelage of missionaries was meant to counter, or at least, check, the power of soldiers and functionaries in the expanding frontier, who often abused native labor, provoking unwanted antagonisms and discontent (Wright, 2019).

In the context of the creation of new imperial spaces,¹³ the Society of Jesus, considered the first global religious organization, led the cultural and religious assimilation of the Spanish and Portuguese eastern kingdoms (Clossey, 2006, pp. 41–58; Clossey, 2008, pp. 1–19). The Jesuits arrived in the Philippines in 1581 from New Spain, where they became agents of transformation of the cultures with which they interacted. Schools or colleges were the starting point, and from there, the members of the Society organized “flying missions”, which were soon followed by the “long missions” sent to groups of “infidels”, most importantly in the Visayas and the southern Philippines.¹⁴ To deal with these multiple fronts, General Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615) sent twenty-five priests, under the auspices of Philip II (1556–98), who promoted a royal decree that separated the mission territory in that *finis terrae* into four areas: Pampanga and Ilocos, which were to be under the tutelage of the Augustinians; Camarines and Tayabas, under the Franciscans; the Visayas, whose tutelage would be shared by Augustinians and Jesuits; and the sangleys of the Manila Parian and the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan, entrusted to the Dominicans for evangelization (García de los Arcos, 1988, pp. 50–51). The lion’s share went to the Franciscans and the Augustinians, while the Jesuits received the poorest and least populated areas of Samar and Leyte (O’Phelan, 1967, pp. 49–50; Gutiérrez, 1992, pp. 71–73; 204; Gutiérrez, 2011, p. 471).

¹² Hausberger, 1997, p. 63, cited in Ciaramitaro, 2018, p. 199.

¹³ My understanding of the concept of “empire” is invested in the idea of “webs of trade, knowledge, migration, military power, and political intervention that allowed certain communities to assert their influence and sovereignty over other groups” (Ballantyne and Burton, 2005, p. 3).

¹⁴ For an analysis of “different types of misión”, see Maldavsky, 2012, pp. 71–124.

In the Philippines and in other parts of the Spanish empire, the notion of “good government” or policing, in Aristotelian terms *politeia* entailed the care and control of the population. This was accomplished by submitting the native populations to their parishes, which were founded on the basis of a new global Catholic perspective. As argued by Richard Kagan, “for Spaniards, *policía* signified life in a community whose citizens were organized into a republic” (Kagan, 2000, p. 27). Jesuits, like the rest of the priests and missionaries, were not only acting as ministers of God, but also as political and economic administrators of the missions in their charge. In theory, they tended to reach their goals: natives were evangelized, transformed into Christians by means of the missionary activity. But in practice, the Jesuit identity was transformed by the variegated relations entered into with indigenous peoples and persons during several decades—resistance, negotiation, appropriations, resignifications, and accommodations.¹⁵

Spiritual Heroes at the Margins of the Spanish Empire

The Portuguese sailor Fernão de Magalhães named the Marianas *Islas de las Velas Latinas*, or Lateen Sail Islands,¹⁶ but after what can only be characterised as a cultural misunderstanding, he later referred to them as the *Islas de los Ladrones*, or Islands of the Thieves.¹⁷ For many years after this first encounter, the archipelago continued in its relative isolation, with the occasional arrival of ships from other Micronesian islands, Japan, China, or the Philippines, which was sometimes caused by tempests, and had been a recurring phenomenon since before the European presence in the Eastern seas (Farrell, 1991). Not to forget the addition of ships from Spanish expeditions that were still seeking a permanent route to the Moluccas, such as those led by García Jofre de Loaysa and Juan Sebastián Elcano (which arrived at the islands on September 9th, 1526); Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón (December 29th, 1527); Bernardo de la Torre (1543), who was part of Ruy López de Villalobos’ expedition (1542); and Miguel López de Legazpi, who arrived at the island of Cebu in May, 27,

¹⁵ Regarded as a specific characteristic of the Society of Jesus, “accommodation” has been defined as a process of flexibility that allowed Jesuits to accept cultural elements of non-Western societies that they believed did not conflict with Christian dogma (Catto and Mongini, 2010, pp. 1–16). On the strategies of evangelization of Italian Jesuits Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) in China, see Standaert, 2000, pp. 352–63.

¹⁶ The name referred to the great number of ships that came towards Magalhães’ ship with what are now known as tanja sails, which resembled lateen sails. See Antonio de Herrera and Tordesillas, 1601, p. 6

¹⁷ The expedition’s chronicler, Antonio de Pigafetta, mentioned this first encounter in his *Relación*, describing how the Spaniards accepted the food supplies brought to them by the natives and offered nothing in return, after which the natives stealthily boarded the ships and took various objects “in such a way that it was impossible to preserve oneself from them” (Pigafetta, 1922, p. 74). The Chamoru even took the skiff that was tied to the poop of the captain’s ship (Trinidad). In all likelihood, what they regarded as a reciprocal and ceremonial exchange of gifts, which is commonly performed in many Pacific island cultures between two groups that meet for the first time, was taken by the European expeditioners as an act of thievery.

1565, and recognizing their value as a strategic transit point in transpacific navigation and commercial routes, took possession of them in the name of the Spanish Crown (Buncan, 2017, p. 22).

Shortly after the successful discovery of the “tornaviaje” (or the return route) in October 8, 1565, king Philip II granted Legazpi the title of “adelantado” of the Ladrones Islands on August 14th, 1569, whose Instructions of government, given on the 28th of August in Madrid, insisted on the islands’ occupation and evangelization (Mira Toscano, 2016, pp. 107-122). However, the islands’ apparent lack of economic resources, and the consequent indifference displayed towards them by the Philippine governors, under whose jurisdiction they lay, meant that such instructions went unheeded (Peña Filiu, 2019, Chap. 3). In 1596, the monarch insisted, and granted Philippine Governor Francisco Tello de Guzmán (1596-1602) permission to send soldiers and missionaries to the islands. But this also went unheeded, despite the efforts of Franciscan friars Antonio de los Ángeles (1596) and Juan Pobre de Zamora (1602), however, it laid the ground for a new impetus in the process of evangelization (Driver, 1989).

During the second half of the 17th century, Father San Vitores revived the Franciscan project of the western Pacific Ocean as a widespread field for conversion. As Buschmann pointed out, “he envisioned Guam and the Mariana Islands as a beachhead for additional mission activity in the Austral lands” (Buschmann, 2014, p. 31). In May of 1665, Father San Vitores wrote a memorial entitled *Motivos para no dilatar más la reducción y la doctrina de las islas de los Ladrones* [Reasons not to delay further the congregation and the instruction of the Thieves’ Islands], in which he detailed the political and economic reasons for the archipelago’s evangelization. In some parts of the text he spoke of the islands’ abundance of resources, while in others he underlined their dearth (Peña Filiu, 2019, Chap. 3). Notwithstanding this ambivalence, San Vitores displayed a “discourse of poverty” meant to show that a complete disinterest in mundane affairs framed the enterprise that he proposed (Baró Queralt, 2010, pp. 20-21; Coello de la Rosa, 2011, pp. 779-808; Aienza, 2013, pp. 13-29).

The colonization of the archipelago started on June 15th, 1668, when San Vitores and five other Jesuits arrived at Guåhan from the Viceroyalty of New Spain with the economic support of Queen Mariana of Austria (1649-65) (Reichert, 2014, p. 161). But the Spanish period per se did not officially start until February 2, 1669, when the Jesuit Father, accompanied and assisted by a small number of soldiers and missionaries, inaugurated San Ignacio de Agaña (or *Hagåtña*, in today’s Apra Harbor), the first mission in the island of Guåhan, the site of which is the present capital of the island. The arrival of the Society’s missionaries brought about the definitive change in the archipelago’s name, which was

thereafter referred to as the Mariana Islands, in honor of then regent Queen Mariana of Austria, widow of Philip IV (1621-65) and mother of future King Charles II (1665-1700). Regarded as the “protector of the islands’ Christendom”, Queen Mariana authorized and financed with 21,000 pesos the establishment of San Vitores’ mission in Guåhan (Astrain, 1920, p. 811; De la Costa, 1989, p. 456; Ciaramitaro, 2018, pp. 196-197). Regularly from 1668 on, the annual Manila galleon crossed the Pacific in about latitude 12°-13°N., directly to Guåhan, thereby inaugurating what Thomas Calvo termed as the “Carrera of the Marianas” (Calvo, 2016; Calvo, 2020, pp. 49-80). In 1679, the archipelago was placed under the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of the Philippines and the Viceroyalty of New Spain on which it depended economically and remained part of the Spanish overseas territories for more than two centuries.

For their European counterparts, the Jesuit missionaries soon became the “heroes” of the Catholic reformation in the Pacific. From 1670 to 1731, fifteen Jesuits died for their faith in the Mariana Islands and Palau (the present Western Carolinas). As many missionaries saw their activity culminated in martyrdom, others followed suit (Schumacher, 1995, pp. 266-85; Schumacher, 2001a, pp. 287-336; Schumacher, 2001b, pp. 477-85; Mojares, 2000, pp. 34-61; Coello de la Rosa, 2011, pp. 707-45; Strasser, 2015, p. 561; Strasser, 2020).¹⁸ The first martyr was Father Luis de Medina (1637-70), who died on January 29th, 1670, alongside his Philippine catechist Hipólito de la Cruz, in the island of Saipan, where they had gone to resume their preaching.¹⁹ In 2014, Alexandre Coello and Xavier Baró reedited the martyr’s first hagiography, the *Relación de la vida del devotísimo hijo de María Santísima y dichoso mártir Padre Luis de Medina de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid, 1673), written by Father Francisco García (1641-85), SJ, with the object of raising him to the altars (Coello de la Rosa Baró i Queralt, 2014, pp. 9-36). Like Father Medina, Father San Vitores and other Mariana martyrs proved to be motivated not by the desire for profit or adventure, but by a great desire to save their own and others’ souls in the islands of the Pacific that were yet to be evangelized.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Father Charles Le Gobien (1653-1708), SJ, who had promoted the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères* (Paris: N. Leclerc, 1707-1776), supervised the composition of the first historical text on the archipelago, the *Historia de las Marianas* (Paris: Nicholas Pepie, 1700). The Jesuits had instructions of sending detailed reports of their pastoral activities in the Pacific islands to their superiors in Rome, and the narrative made use of the reports and letters written by Father Luis de Morales

¹⁸ On the connections between the renowned mystic, Catherine of Siena, and the martyrdom of the German Jesuits in the Marianas, see Strasser, 2007, pp. 23-40.

¹⁹ Hezel, SJ, “[Jesuit Martyrs in Micronesia](#).” Retrieved from *Micronesian Seminar* (last visited 2 October 2020).

(1641-1716) and other Jesuits on the topography and geology of the islands as well as their flora and fauna, and, most importantly, the culture and social and political organization of the CHamoru (Morales and Le Gobien, 2016). One of the most important sources used by Le Gobien was *The Life and Martyrdom* of his confrere, Father San Vitores, which had been published by his Jesuit companion Francisco García in Madrid in 1683 (an expanded Italian translation of this text had been published in Naples in 1686),²⁰ but Father García, a publicist of the order in King Charles II's court in Madrid, decided to write a hagiography of Diego Luis San Vitores to promote the beatification of the mission's founder, regarding his life as a re-actualization of that of the Apostle of the Indies, Father Francisco Javier, canonized in 1622 (Ciaramitaro, 2018, pp. 201-202).²¹



Scherer Map, 1702. Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC), Guåhån

²⁰ The Italian version, *Istoria della conversione alla nostra santa fede dell'Isole Mariane, dette prima de' Ladroni, nella vita, predicatione, e morte gloriosa per Christo del Venerabile P. Diego Luigi di Sanvitores, e d'altri suoi compagni della Compagnia di Giesù*, translated by Ambrosio Ortiz (Naples, 1686), includes sections that describe the CHamoru revolt of 1684. The modern English translation, *The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores First Apostle of the Mariana Islands, and Events of These Islands, from the Year Sixteen Hundred and Sixty-Eight, Through the Year Sixteen Hundred and Eighty-One*, was edited by J. A. McDonough, SJ, et al. (Mangilao, Guam, 2004).

²¹ It was not in vain that some authors, such as Baró Queralt, argue that in 1661, while San Vitores was in New Spain, he wrote the monograph on Francisco Javier titled *El Apostol de las Indias y nuevas gentes, San Francisco Javier de la Compañia de Jesús, epitome de sus apostolicos hechos, virtudes, enseñanza, y prodigios antiguos y nuevos* (Mexico: Augustin Santistevan y Francisco Lupercio, 1661), under the pseudonym Matías de Peralta y Calderón (Baró Queralt, 2010, pp. 26-29). Other authors attribute this text to Alonso de Maluenda or Cristóbal Berlanga, SJ.

As has been recently pointed out by Joan-Pau Rubiés, García's hagiography contained the first historical text of the Marianas, as is evidenced by the similarities found between it and Le Gobien's book. The second "book" of the *History*, regarded as an ethnographic jewel of the Chamoru people, follows García's writings very closely, and not just the published hagiography, but other texts copied from his narrative, such as the *Vida, y martirio del V. Padre Sebastián de Monroy, religioso de la Compañía de Jesús, que murió dilatando la Fe alanceado de los bárbaros en las islas Marianas* (Sevilla, 1690) written by Father Gabriel de Aranda, SJ (1633-1709). This would prove, as argued by Alexandre Coello in the first English edition of the *Historia de las Marianas* (Mangilao, Guam: 2016), that the true authors of the text were Spanish Jesuits, and more specifically, the procurator Luis de Morales, who probably gave Le Gobien the texts that he then used to draft the *Histoire des Isles Marianes, Nouvellement converties à la Religion Chrestienne; & de la mort glorieuse des premiers Missionnaires qui y ont prêché la Foy* (Paris: Nicolas Pepie, 1700). In any case, the attention that Le Gobien paid to the new mission of the Marianas (as Joan-Pau Rubiés points out in the prologue of that 2016 edition) was part of the Society's apologetics for the missionary activity, a propagandistic effort in which Le Gobien was becoming specialized.

At that time, the Jesuits found themselves in a delicate position throughout Catholic Europe. First, Jansenists accused them of lax morals, of following Molinism, and embracing a probabilistic theology. Secondly, by the mid-seventeenth century the Chinese Rites Controversy exploded because Father Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), SJ, had sought to make Catholicism and Confucianism's ethical principles compatible, which increased the Society's problems. Critics of Ricci's methods argued that the ritual reverence displayed by the Chinese towards their ancestors and towards Confucius himself went beyond civil rites of respect, and constituted instead a religious cult, a form of idolatry. A similar controversy arose regarding the fusion of Malabar rites and Catholicism in southern India, and all this contributed to a full-blown questioning of the Jesuit mission and its method of cultural adaptation. Nevertheless, the Society of Jesus increased and prospered in France during the reigns of Louis XIII (1610-43) and Louis XIV (1643-1715). In line with the order's propagandistic tradition, the publication of a book on the Jesuits' interest in evangelizing a people that inhabited such "marginal, poor and abandoned" islands as the Marianas meant that Le Gobien could better defend the Society's reputation against accusations that it was only interested in working in rich and prosperous societies, such as those in Japan, Siam, and, especially, China. The Marianas' mission showed that Jesuit missionaries were martyrs of the faith with a genuinely universal apostolic vocation (Rubiés, 2016).

Historians and anthropologists such as Francis X. Hezel, David Atienza, Ulrike Strasser, Alexandre Coello and Fernando Ciaramitaro, have written on the martyrial phenomenon in the Micronesian archipelagos. In a brief, unpublished article from 1983, Hezel looked at the Jesuit martyrs of the Marianas and the Carolinas, especially the consequences that their martyrdom brought to the Society of Jesus' missionary projects throughout the eighteenth century, until they were expelled from the Spanish overseas territories.²² Ciaramitaro, for his part, analyzed the Jesuit martyrdoms from the imperial Catholic perspective, that is, as titles of legitimation. The Catholic monarchy's devotional vocation was vindicated through a hagiographic and iconographic repertoire that glorified the Spanish conquest of the Mariana archipelago and the foundation of a latter "missionary state" (Ciaramitaro, 2018, pp. 195-225). The monarchical-martyrial exaltation of Queen Mariana of Austria, engraved by Joseph Mulder (1658-1742) in the work written by Father Gabriel de Aranda, *Vida, y gloriosa muerte del V. Padre Sebastián de Monroy...* (Madrid, 1690), does not constitute an exception, but the norm for the penetration of the Catholic and civilizing message into the Western Indies and the Philippines (Ciaramitaro, 2018, pp. 205-225).²³

In her superb book of 2020, Ulrike Strasser recovered a 2015 article to show "how mimesis of Francis Xavier played itself out in the lives of two Jesuits, the Spanish Father Diego Luis de San Vitores and the Bohemian Father Augustine Strobach (1646–1684), who sought to emulate the 'Apostle of the Indies' in the Marianas, long after his death and canonization" (Strasser, 2015, p. 561; Strasser, 2020). She argues that "they were 'virtual copies' of Francis Xavier with a twist: while the original Xavier longed for martyrdom in vain, San Vitores and Strobach were able to shed blood for the faith" (Strasser, 2015, p. 558). It was in the very act of preaching the Gospel to those distant souls that lived in a group of islands in the immensity of the Pacific, that the Jesuit missionaries, according to Strasser, developed a preoccupation for less distant souls: their own (Clossey, 2008, p. 134).²⁴ These powerful spiritual motives, already pinpointed by Pierre Chaunu (1960), stand in opposition to those

²² Hezel also reminded readers that the history of the Jesuits in Micronesia did not end with their expulsion: the region was again "made fertile by the blood" of Jesuit martyrs in 1944, when six Jesuit missionaries and four Palauan auxiliaries were killed by Japanese soldiers.

²³ For a study of the iconography of martyrdom in 17th century Catholic Europe, and particularly, the diffusion of the image of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores' martyrdom, see Payo Hernanz, 2015, pp. 51- 98.

²⁴ This can be perfectly appreciated in the *Litterae Indipetarum* ("indipetae") in the Fondo Gesuitico of Rome's Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI). Many Jesuits, especially those of Italian and German origins, asked the order's Superior General to send them as missionaries to the Eastern Indies, particularly the Philippines and the Marianas. Apostolic zeal and abnegation were contemplated as the most eminent of virtues by these priests who hoped to become martyrs and reach sanctity. For a recent study of the sent from Rhineland and Upper Germany, see Nebgen, 2007.

considered by scholars such as Cynthia Ross Wiecko, who recently referred to the Jesuits as mere agents of the imperial conquest of Guáhan after 1668.²⁵

Finally, David Atienza and Alexandre Coello have just published a documentary corpus composed of 149 numbered pages, which was destined to promote the beatification of Jesuit martyr Manuel Solórzano Escobar (1649-84). This epistolary is integrated by ten letters that Solórzano sent his father, Cristobal, after he was destined to depart towards the Marianas, with the first dated May 22nd, 1667, in Carmona, and the last letter that the young priest wrote to him before being stabbed in the head and throat during the second Spanish-CHamoru war (June 6th, 1684) (Coello de la Rosa and Atienza de Frutos, 2021). Solórzano's skull had been sent to Spain along with a bundle of letters by his confrere Diego de Zarzosa, to be delivered to the family of the deceased. Since Manuel's father died a few months before he could receive his son's relics, these were given to a paternal uncle of Manuel, Don Juan Ramírez de Solórzano. Upon his death, the skull and letters went to the missionary's nephew, Don Juan Casquete de Prado Solórzano, and the relics were in his family's custody for two more generations until 1984, when Josefa Jaraquemada Tous de Monsalve, deposited them in the Jesuit School of Villafranca de los Barros, where it remains to this day (López Casquete and Oyola Fabián, 2014, pp. 95-108).

Conflict, Evangelization and Local Agency in the Mariana Islands

A few years ago, the Atlantic first emerged as a field for cultural, geographic and historical studies centered on transoceanic connections, the construction of states and empires, and cultural differences (Bailyn, 2005; Bailyn and Denault, 2007, pp. 1-2; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2006; Elliot, 2007). As a unit of historical analysis, the Atlantic perspective was constructed or invented, as argued by David Armitage (e.g., Armitage and Braddick, 2002) to encourage erudition on and analysis of transoceanic history. Many European historians focused on the intra-imperial interactions between metropolitan centers and their overseas colonies. Considering both the Caribbean and the broader Atlantic world as a sub-product of European imperialism, the main preoccupations of Atlantic history were reduced to the logic of an exploitative metropolitan system.²⁶

When exploring the cultural and economic interactions and exchanges between the peoples of Western Europe, Western Africa, and the American territories, Atlantic history has adopted

²⁵ Ross Wiecko, 2013. "[Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire](#)." Retrieved from *World History Connected* (last visited 2 October 2020).

²⁶ Other scholars, such as Charles Tilly, preferred to address macro-historical processes, particularly the development of the Atlantic world economy and its continually evolving global circuits. See Leonard and Pretel, 2015, pp. 1-2.

a center-periphery perspective addressing the Spanish Empire, which is seen as a result of the modern process of globalization. In the same vein, addressing a “Pacific world” as a field of study, with its great diversity and territorial dispersion, would allow us to transcend the national, longitudinal, and teleological structures that are not always adequate, and write a kind of “horizontal”, transnational (comparative) and trans-imperial history about some of the most dynamic regions of the *Hispaniarum Rex*.

As Matt K. Matsuda pointed out, however, defining the Pacific is no easy task, but rather an enormous challenge (2006, p. 758). What should be included and what should be left out from this geo-cultural category? Which should be the limits of such an archipelagic (that is, constructed) “Pacific world”? A large part of the recent academic work on the Pacific has been done by historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, linguists, novelists and political activists who question the colonial notions of isolation, impotence and dependence associated with colonial archipelagos. This new interpretative framework regards the Pacific as a “sea of islands”, in the words of Tongan writer and anthropologist Epeli Hau’ofa (1939-2009), where constant encounters through migration and trade between peoples generated a “mediating contact culture” across what is today Oceania (1994, pp. 148–61). Instead of analyzing the causes behind the disappearance of certain cultures in lost paradises, students of the Pacific influenced by anthropological methodologies and perspectives, such as Nicholas Thomas, Jay D. Dobbin, David Hanlon, Greg Denning, and Vilsoni Hereniko, among others, pay attention to issues of intercultural contact, colonial exchange, political sovereignty, and the cultural preservation of native groups.²⁷

Having decentered the Euro-American narratives of discovery, these and other specialists seek to recover the history and cultures of the peoples of the Pacific. But, following the work of William H. Alkire (1977, p. 20) and Robert C. Kiste and Mac Marshall (1999, p. 483), which argued that the “pure” CHamoru had disappeared due to their destruction, extinction, and “mixing” with other groups (mostly from the Philippines, New Spain, and the Iberian peninsula), anthropologists such as Nicholas Thomas (2010) and Jay Dobbin (2011) still refuse to regard the CHamoru as native people (Thomas, 2010, p. 24; Dobbin, 2011). And yet, already in 1994 anthropologist Vicente M. Díaz had argued that CHamoru identity could not be expected to remain static and immobile, and that it should be analyzed as partaking of a process of indigenous agency and situational flexibility²⁸. Such interactions were indeed central in the construction of CHamoru cultural adaptation, which is reflected in the present

²⁷ On the centrality of anthropologists in the history of the Pacific, see Matsuda, 2006, p. 767.

²⁸ Díaz argued that historiographical understandings of CHamoru culture seem to have been constructed in terms of immutability, which have predefined it as a clearly contained and delimited unity that was at some point characterized by pure and essential qualities (Díaz, 1994, pp. 29-58).

neo-CHamoru culture of Guåhan (Underwood, 1976, pp. 203–209). Moreover, various studies by David Atienza and Alexandre Coello (2012), Atienza (2014) and Francis X. Hezel (2015) argue that CHamoru culture survived the ravages of colonialism, “playing an active role in the historical development of their islands and in the history of the Pacific” (Atienza de Frutos and Coello de la Rosa, 2012, pp. 459–73; Atienza de Frutos, 2014, p. 31; Hezel, 2015, pp. 9–10).

Certainly, by analyzing the interaction between the universal principles of Catholicism, these and other scholars have placed the Marianas into the framework of the global microhistory of Christianity.²⁹ David Atienza (2014, p. 31) and James Perez Viernes (2016, pp. 122–37) have critically assessed the way in which local political actors and actions conditioned the missionaries’ work. They reject the reductionist theses of Hans G. Hornbostel (1930), Ian C. Campbell (1989), Don A. Farrell (1989) and Robert F. Rogers (1995), that present the native CHamoru as a Hispanicized people, that is, fervent Catholics and/or “peonized peasants” (Hornbostel, 1930, pp. 73–80; Campbell, 1989, p. 130; Rogers, 1995; Farrell, 2011, p. 189). Others, such as Pedro Cardim, Tamar Herzog, José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez and Gaetano Sabatini (2012, pp. 3–4), challenge the center-periphery model that regards indigenous peoples as passive and silent recipients of Western innovations instead of active participants in the elaboration of politics at a greater scale.

Instead of assuming that the Mariana Islands were isolated and distant, the “new missional history” emphasized cosmopolitanism and circulation of ideas as indicators of the relationships established between European, American, Asiatic and Oceanic peoples. Resistance and/or accommodation vis-à-vis the colonial conflict and actors were significant. As Boyd Dixon, Danny Welch, Lon Bulgrin and Mark Horrocks point out, “archaeological data suggest that CHamoru farmers began (or continued to maintain) the rural farming practice known as the *lancho* not because it was thrust upon them by colonial policy (Hezel, 2015), but to accommodate Spanish repression” (2020, p. 90). The continued interaction and negotiations between the preexisting local realities and the Western attitudes and mores that were finally imposed must not be forgotten. By focusing on this local dimension, other historians have emphasized a process of missional “glocalization” through which the CHamoru entered the international community as members of the Spanish empire and the global communion of the Roman Catholic Church (Robertson, 1997, pp. 25–43; Županov, 1999; Aranha, 2010, pp. 79–204, pp. 79–83).

The book written by Father Horacio de la Costa, SJ (1916–77), *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768* (1961), is still the most comprehensive study on the activities of the Society of Jesus

²⁹ See the monographic issue edited by Bertrand and Calafat, 2019.

in the Philippine Islands.³⁰ However, said classic monograph contained very few references to the Jesuits in the Marianas, presumably because they were not considered part of the Philippine archipelago even if they were under its jurisdiction.³¹ Gender issues were also often neglected. Moral suggests that the Chamoru communities openly opposed the Jesuits' evangelizing project because they tried to impose gendered practices and discourses through the transformation of native space and architectural structures. These ethno-sexual conflicts, understood as "the clash between incompatible beliefs and practices related to sexuality", are articulated around constructed spaces, or materialities, considered sinful: the "public bachelor's house" (2016, pp. 229-232; 2020, pp. 50-51). Similarly, Montón (2019, pp. 404-29) explores the early years of the far-flung Jesuit missions in Guåhån to describe how their global policy of evangelization was not only about the expansion, conquest and colonization initiated by Spain, but also a desire to globally propagate a certain ideology and policy around sexuality.

In this way, the missionaries imposed a patriarchal system within indigenous society in an attempt to dismantle the native ways of life in the Marianas. Finally, Strasser's last book raises interesting questions. Drawing heavily from gender studies, she wonders how a remote archipelago in the margins of the Spanish overseas empire turned into a magnet of desire for Spanish and foreign Jesuits, particularly Germans, in the late 17th century. The novelty of her book is the way she links gender history to world or global history in the early modern period. Jesuit missions and missionaries were coded as masculine on Iberian domains where men were seemingly the only actors on stage. However, while patriarchal dynamics marked Jesuit history from the very beginning, missionaries were shaped by gender in different yet allegedly contradictory ways. Emotions (or more accurately, passions), are part and parcel of this study of Jesuit masculinities. As Barbara Rosenwein put it, the Jesuit order was an "emotional community" that gave free reign to stirring emotions and desires for action (Strasser, 2020, p. 31). Missionary men inspired other novices to imitate *imitatio* their illustrious forefathers as well as those Jesuit exemplars who died as martyrs of the Catholic faith on the distant missions. Male mimesis facilitated the Society's extraordinary expansion

³⁰ For a more recent analysis of Jesuit activity in the Philippines, see Descalzo Yuste, 2015.

³¹ Eighteenth century confreres of Hezel, such as Juan José Delgado (1697-1755) and Pedro Murillo Velarde (1696-1753), included ethnographic, historic and ethnobotanic data on the Marianas archipelago in their treatises on Philippine history. Near the end of the nineteenth century, Pablo Pastells, SJ (1846-1932) gathered 116 notebooks of Philippine natural and social history included in the Pastells Collection that also contained information on the Marianas. One of his assistants, Antonio Astrain, S.J., used these sources to write his monumental *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España* (Madrid, 1902-25). See also Arcilla Solero, vol. 2, 1989, pp. 377-96. The recent dissertation of Descalzo Yuste (2015) has filled the void that Horacio de la Costa left regarding the Jesuit evangelization of the Marianas, basing his work mainly on research carried out by Alexandre Coello de la Rosa.

across the early modern world, allowing for new forms of action by working the human passions (Strasser, 2020, p. 32).

In the last fifty years, the output of scholarly analyses on the Jesuit evangelization of the Mariana Islands has focused primarily on the intertwined history of the colonial Church and the Crown, and attention has been paid to emerging hostilities, particularly those related to military participation; the mutinies of the soldiers stationed in the Guåhan presidio (Mawson, 2015, pp. 128–48; Mawson, 2016, pp. 87–125); and the demographic decline that prompted the resettlement of the remaining CHamoru inhabitants of the eight northern Mariana Islands into various parishes/reductions in 1699.

The recently deceased historian Marjorie G. Driver (University of Guam and Micronesian Area Research Center) wrote key monographic texts on the colonial administration of the Marianas. Undergirded by her solid academic background and a personal knowledge of the Hispanic world, thanks to her stays in Puerto Rico, Marjorie G. Driver's work was a touchstone in the studies on the history and culture of Guåhan. Her first monograph, *El Palacio: The Spanish Palace in Agaña; A Chronology of Men and Events, 1668–1899*, published in 1984, looked at the political history of Guåhan during its 230 years under Spanish administration. In her second monograph, *Cross, Sword, and Silver: The Nascent Spanish Colony in the Mariana Islands* (1987), Driver analyzed the archipelago's dependence on the royal *situado* during the administration of Governor Damián de Esplana (1674–94). Driver showed that the Marianas were a sort of technical stop in the galleon route between Manila and Acapulco, which, due to scant attention from the Spanish Crown, created opportunities for corrupt officials such as Esplana, who generated a profitable contraband trade with the collaboration of Mexican warehouse owners.³² This enterprise necessitated the forced involvement of native labor, which led to conflicts between the governor and other officials and the Jesuit missionaries, who opposed such practices.³³

Jesuit historian Francis X. Hezel, former director of the Micronesian Seminar, a non-profit non-governmental organization seated in Pohnpei (Senyavin Islands), also dedicated much of his intellectual work to examining the dual process of Spanish colonialism and evangelization of the Mariana Islands. In his first text, “From Conversion to Conquest: The Early Spanish Mission in the Marianas” (1982), Hezel rejected the Manichaeian theses of Laura Thompson (1945) regarding the genocide perpetrated against the CHamoru people by

³² On Mexican participation in the exploitation of the Marianas, see Yuste López, 1984; Yuste López, 2007.

³³ Other historians have unearthed reports and text written by passengers and/or crewmembers of the ships, Spanish and otherwise, that periodically stopped at the Marianas, and which provided interesting descriptions of CHamoru life and customs. See especially, Barratt 2003.

Spanish soldiers and the heads of the “Spanish Catholic regime”.³⁴ Hezel’s second work, “From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Mariana Islands, 1690 to 1740” (1988), coauthored with Marjorie C. Driver, looked at the second stage of Spanish colonization in the archipelago, which had been less studied by historians. In 2015 Hezel published a text that complements his first monograph, “From Conversion to Conquest...”, under the name *When Cultures Clash: Revisiting the “Spanish-Chamorro Wars”* (2015, p. 10), and which practically restates his initial conclusion, that the scourge of imported diseases was the main cause for the dramatic population decline of the CHamoru. Thus, while Hezel continued to regard the intermittent outbreaks of violence known as the Spanish-CHamoru Wars (1671–72; 1684; 1690) as of secondary importance, other scholars have gone so far as to describe these armed clashes as genuine “civil war” (Dixon, Jalandoni and Craft, 2017, p. 197).

Some other historians have underlined the difficulties and adaptations that went with the construction of imperial hegemonies in intercultural contexts. The work of Augusto V. de Viana (2004; 2005) in particular argued, with compelling evidence, that the Spanish colonial empire could not have been constructed without the effective collaboration and participation of the Philippine’s native peoples, the Tagalogs, Visayans, and especially, the Pampanga soldiers of Macabebe. The same goes for some CHamorus, including chiefs Don Andrés de la Cruz, Don Ignacio de Hineti (or Hinesi) and Don Antonio de Ayihi, who collaborated with the Jesuits in the mission’s consolidation (De Viana, 2004, pp. 19–26; De Viana, 2004; De Viana, 2005, p. 16; Coello de la Rosa, 2019). These essential allies not only served and assisted the Spanish administration but also acted as effective soldiers and officers of the mission. The Spanish would not have been able to defeat CHamoru resistance without native CHamoru soldiers, who joined the mission’s armed contingent, which, for its part, had more soldiers of Philippine than of European origin. Native soldiers were more readily adapted to the terrain and served as valuable interpreters and mediators, both necessary elements that proved vital for the conquest and colonization of the islands. The experiences and history of the soldiers themselves—most of them conscripts and former convicts—have also been addressed in the new historiography, with Stephanie Mawson (2015) specifically looking at the mutinies carried out by the soldiers stationed at the Guåhan presidio in 1680, and their loyalty and commitment to the construction of the Spanish empire in the Pacific (Mawson, 2015, pp. 128–48; Mawson, 2016, pp. 87–125).

Until the present, work on the Marianas has benefited from the *History of Micronesia* edited by Rodrigue Lévesque (1992). An encyclopedic series that spans the period between the

³⁴ An important and well-read history that adopted Laura Thompson’s genocide thesis rather uncritically, was Carano and Sanchez, 1964, p. 86.

sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, it contains a wealth of information on the diverse islands of the Pacific. The series transcribes a selection of documents from the main archives and libraries of Europe and the Americas, and despite some notorious mistranslations, it is an inestimable source for scholars interested in any aspect of the islands' histories.³⁵ It is comprised of reports (or *relaciones*), royal decrees, and maps, as well as extracts of the Annual Letters (*Cartas Anuas*) written by the Society of Jesus' superiors, which include reports on the activities carried out by each Jesuit under his jurisdiction during the previous year. Most of these letters, written in Latin or in the superiors' vernacular languages, are vital chronicles of events that historians can mine for invaluable demographic, economic and religious information on the missions administered by the Society in Micronesia. They are also valuable for cultural and anthropological studies, containing as they do information on the ancient CHamoru.

In line with arguments developed by Michael Lujan Bevacqua,³⁶ anthropologist David Atienza rejects the premise that the "pure" CHamoru of the pre-Hispanic period ceased to exist, and he questions the notion that a "Spanish genocide" orchestrated through the so-called Spanish-CHamoru wars practically eliminated the native population, and that a new, mixed, neo-CHamoru people was formed by the mix of the few remaining natives and settlers from Spanish America, Tagalogs and Pampangans from the Philippines (Hezel, 2015, p. 10; Tueller, 2014, pp. 97-118). Atienza argues that both Francis X. Hezel's thesis of "the fatal impact of the West upon a defenseless island society" (2015, p. 9), as well as Enrique Moral's thesis of "biopolitics as a system of population control" (2016, p. 231) eclipse the capacity of the CHamoru to act as agents in their own history, especially regarding their appropriation of the Jesuits' evangelical message and the production and reproduction of an entirely CHamoru cultural experience (Atienza de Frutos, 2013, p. 2; Hezel, 2015, pp. 9-10).

Vicente M. Díaz y Anne P. Hattori have also critiqued the canonical visions of the past, such as that expressed in Robert F. Rogers *Destiny's Landfall* (1995), which deny the CHamoru the possibility of acting in the (re)construction of their own history (Hattori, 1997, pp. 275-77, Díaz, 1996, pp. 179-99). Colonialization is an ambivalent, conflictive, fluid process that involves appropriation, cultural borrowing, and effective resistance on the part of the

³⁵ David Atienza, "[Lost in Translation, or the Art of Rewriting History?](#)"

³⁶ Lujan Bevacqua, 2020. "[Transmission of Christianity into CHamoru Culture.](#)" Retrieved from *Guampedia* (last visited 2 October 2020).

colonized, who, far from disappearing, have, in the CHamoru case, continued exercising an active role in the defense of their culture and traditions (Diaz, 2010, pp. 8; 116).³⁷

In several works, Ulrike Strasser (2015, p. 570; 2020, pp. 113-146) has argued that, like a new “Francisco Javier”, Father San Vitores regarded the Marianas as a feminine space that invited “the masculine project of planting the seed of Christ by becoming a martyr of faith”. Other historians, such as James B. Tueller, argued that new social networks of conversion were gradually creating and solidifying between the newcomers and the CHamoru, paving the way for the Christianization of the native population. As conversion to Christianity occurred in the surrounding social world, the religious changes of the early modern CHamoru should be best understood in the context of the social networks among all the inhabitants of the Mariana Islands (Tueller, 2001, pp. 385-394; Tueller, 2009, pp. 333-60).

In the long run, Catholicism became a central element of CHamoru identity, and San Vitores turned into a local saint and is regarded as the official founder of the Marianas mission (Diaz, 2010). It can thus be argued that CHamoru cultural patterns not only survived the arrival of the Spanish colonizers, but that they were intertwined with the new Christian codes and symbols, which CHamoru syncretism adapted and reinterpreted as a way to preserve local customs and traditions (Diaz, 1993; Diaz, 1995, pp. 159-71; Tueller, 2009, pp. 333-60; Diaz, 2010. See also Atienza and Coello, 2012, pp. 459-73).

A large number of scholars who work on different aspects of global evangelization, such as Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, Michela Catto, Guido Mongini, Silvia Mostaccio, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavsky, Inés G. Županov, Guillermo Wilde and Alexandre Coello, have paved the way for the analysis of modern missions not only as key elements in the occupation system of frontier territories (García de los Arcos, 2011, pp. 47-69), but as the links in a chain of circulation of (missional) knowledge (Catto, Mongini and Mostaccio, 2010, pp. 1-16; Castelnau-L'Estoile, Copete, Maldavsky, and Županov (eds.), 2011, pp. 1-22; Wilde, 2012, pp. 15-27).

Similarly, Ulrike Strasser's last book confirmed the participation of German Jesuits in the evangelization of the Spanish Pacific (Strasser, 2020, pp. 147-180). In 1946, Lazaro de Aspuz, O.F.M.'s classic book, *La aportación extranjera a las misiones españolas del Patronato Regio*

³⁷ In 2010, 69,098 people identified as CHamoru in Guam, or 43,36 % of the island's population. In the Northern Marianas, there were 17,510 self-identified CHamoru, or 32,49 % of the population. The majority speaks the CHamoru language, but even for those who no longer do so, it has “a clearly identitarian, sentimental, and symbolic value within their ethnic community and even in relation to the entire population of the islands” (Rodríguez-Ponga, 2019, p. 42).

(Madrid, 1946), had already outlined the contribution of foreign missionaries, especially from German-speaking lands of Central Europe, in the Spanish missions. In this vein, Czech historians, including Pavel Zavadil, Pavel Fochler, Simona Binková and Markéta Křížová, among others, had also traced the participation of Czech, Moravian and Silesian missionaries who went to the Marianas from the province of Bohemia. Starting in the eighteenth century, the scarcity of missionaries forced the Bourbon dynasty to lift the prohibitions set by the Hapsburgs regarding the presence of foreign Jesuits in the Americas and the Philippines, and the number of German missionaries was particularly significant (Zavadil, 2012; Binková, Křížová, et al., 2016; Fochler, 2016, pp. 195–213). The missionary vocation should not be reduced to a simple desire to move to a faraway place (“the Indies”), but as a pastoral strategy that encouraged Jesuits of all nationalities to forge a consciousness of themselves through the diffusion of their apostolic ideas across the world as active agents of a religion with a global projection (Fabre and Vincent, 2007, pp. 1–2).³⁸

The frameworks for the comparative study of sociocultural change facilitate its comprehension (Spoehr, 1978, p. 259), but the limits of the “cultural dialogue” established between Christian universalism, on the one hand, and the local contexts with their cultural and natural diversity, on the other, can only be established by close examinations of case-studies that can reveal the distance or closeness between the objects of the missionaries and the results obtained (Rubiés, 2005, p. 242). This is what Alexandre Coello does in his monograph, *Jesuits at the Margins* (2016), which studies the complexities of Jesuit missionary activity in Guåhan and the Marianas as part of the abovementioned renovated historiography that addressed the first Catholic missions in the Pacific. Besides the activity and history of the mission itself, Coello addresses two major topics: the transoceanic relations of the archipelago and the viceroyalty of New Spain, which included the Philippines; and native agency and the relations of resistance and adaptation that they engaged vis-à-vis the missionaries, constructing new identities.

While the canonical Jesuit historiography has accepted the narratives of the Marianas’ conquest and evangelization, Coello adopts the theoretical framework developed by historians Charlotte de Castelneau-L’Estoile, Marie-Lucie Copete, Aliocha Maldavsky, Luke Clossey, and Inés G. Županov (2011), in which the Society of Jesus is seen as a vanguard within a context of production and diffusion of missionary knowledge at a global scale (Clossey, 2008; Martínez Serna, 2009, p. 189). Indeed, the Society of Jesus was not simply an ideological weapon at the service of the Spanish empire (Ross Wiecko, 2013). Jesuits were

³⁸ On the particular matter of the forging of the self that emerged in the modern Catholicism’s missionary expansion, see also Molina, 2013.

also agents of the evangelization of the Pacific, who accumulated, produced and received information that traveled through a broad network of procurators in a multinational empire.

The CHamoru were also more than mere victims of evil colonizers led by priests who were obsessed with turning them into obedient and pious subjects of the Spanish Crown. In his 2016 article, CHamoru scholar Perez Viernes staunchly defended *maga'láhi* Hurao's famous speech, which was delivered during the first CHamoru rebellion in 1671, as an example of indigenous resistance and agency. Indeed, this was neither historical speculation nor a myth because it really took place. It is worth remembering that the CHamoru were not the only native group that proved gifted in oratory. In the Paraguayan *reducciones* and southern Chilean missions, Jesuits also considered Guaranies and Mapuches huilliches respectively as fine and eloquent orators (Payás, 2018). In contrast to the interpretations of those European scholars (Coello, Rubiés) who defend the rhetoric (Jesuit) character of Hurao's speech, Perez Viernes argues that their dismissal of native agency obscures Hurao's actual leadership. But this scholarship does not deny Hurao's, Hula's [or Yura], Agua'lin's [or Aguarín] capacity to mobilize their fellow islanders in the thousands to confront the Spaniards. It does, however, emphasize Hurao's speech as Jesuit propaganda to justify Western conquest and evangelization.

CHamoru historiography has acknowledged that the indigenous historical experience and native agency transcend what has been represented in Eurocentric histories and apologetic interpretations of the colonial past.³⁹ In so doing, Perez Viernes' 2016 article laid the foundations of the national heroes of the Marianas. When delivering his speech, Hurao, transmuted into a national archetype, not only "inspired the masses", Perez contends, but also "contributed to the making of his people's history" (Perez Viernes, 2016, p. 126). As he often reminds us, Hurao will be a source of inspiration for the future generations, thereby turning him into an icon of CHamorro identity. One thing is certain: the words he uttered are lost in translation, so that it is impossible to know what he once said. Nonetheless, it is evident that what Jesuit missionaries recorded in Guåhån had nothing to do with Hurao's own wording because that "way of uttering" was instead a beautifully crafted exercise of Jesuit "rhetoric".

The Jesuits in Guåhån also discovered the CHamoru's ritualized forms of artistic expression, such as music and dance. In a recent text, David R. M. Irving analyzes music as a mediating element through which the missionaries tried to "transform the hearts" of the CHamoru

³⁹ Faced with an image of apparent inaction and passivity of native women, which blurs and subordinates their agency, see the work of Teaiwa, 1992.

people. Festivities and civic-religious celebrations “combined elements from indigenous CHamoru culture (theatrical performances, poetry, and singing in the CHamoru language) with Spanish plays and Mexican dances” (Irving, 2019, p. 229). The introduction of new styles, dances, and musical instruments (clarions, hornpipes, bagpipes, drums, lyres) brought over from Europe, Mexico, and the Philippines, was used as an evangelization strategy that had a significant impact on CHamoru musical culture. On the other hand, the incorporation of local musicians in liturgy and post-mortem rituals, which was recorded by nineteenth century travelers such as Jacques Arago (1790-1855) and Louis de Freycinet (1779-1841), evidenced how Guåhan “became a unique microcosm of cultural exchange, bringing Spanish, Mexican, and African elements into dialogue with Micronesian musical culture” (Irving, 2019, p. 232).

To conclude, the methodologically creative dissertation by Verónica Peña Filiu, *Alimentación y colonialismo en las islas*, defended in Universitat Pompeu Fabra in 2020, combines written and archaeological sources to analyze the changes and continuities that were produced in the diet of the Marianas’ inhabitants during the Jesuit period (1668-1769). Historians Rebecca Earle (2014), Trudy Eden (2008) and Heather Martel (2011; 2012) had already argued about the centrality of food in the first European colonial expansion. The process of evangelizing and occupying the archipelago entailed the introduction of cattle raising and new methods of agriculture, carried out in small ranches known as *lanchos* (or *lanchus*) to produce new foodstuffs (wheat, grapes, legumes, beef, pork). Changes in dietary and culinary practices were multidirectional, however, with local, Iberian and American foods comprising the fare of the archipelago’s inhabitants (Peña Filiu, 2019).

Final Remarks

The present work is a historiographical overview on the first modern Catholic missions established in the Mariana Islands. From the pioneering texts of Marjorie G. Driver and Franz X. Hezel, historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists have studied the Jesuit missions not as a complement of Western imperialism, but as a privileged field to understand intercultural encounters. In a system of territorial frontier occupation, recent studies have emphasized aspects related with the martyrial phenomenon, confessionalization, military uprisings, and cultural transformations in the post-contact period. Standing against the essentialist theses that question the “native” character of today’s CHamoru, several scholars challenge the supposed disappearance of this native people and argue instead for their cultural continuity. Not surprisingly, Carolina Fernández argues that “the islanders’ religious practices are similarly a blend of cultures: they are intensely marked by the Catholicism brought by the

Jesuits in the seventeenth century, but not fully detached from CHamoru spirituality” (Fernández Rodríguez, 2019, pp. 1-21).

Finally, this essay is a small homage to Marjorie G. Driver, who pioneered the study of the Spanish presence in Micronesia in the field of colonial studies. She was one of the cofounders of the Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) in 1967, and left us on the 20th of September of 2019, at the age of 95.⁴⁰ Her work, as reflected in this text, is still a key reference for any scholar who wishes to study the colonial past of Guåhån and the Mariana Islands.

Zoom Recording



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⁴⁰ “[Friday Memorial Service for MARC Founding Member Marjorie G. Driver](#)”. Retrieved from *Pacific Daily News* (last visited 2 October 2020).

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NA "[Blessed Diego Luis de San Vitores.](#)"

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Governor Jose Ganga Herrero

Triumphs and Tribulations

By Roque Eustaquio

University of Guam Graduate Student

Abstract: *During the Spanish colonial period more than 40 governors administered the Marianas ranging from a few months to over 10 years. At best, the current literature of Spanish governors is limited and at worst non-existent. However, numerous translations of archival documents have offered new research opportunities. This paper has profited by utilizing Rodrique Levesque's History of Micronesia volumes twenty-one and twenty-two. The presentation will examine the triumphs and tribulations of Governor Jose Ganga Herrero.*

Zoom Recording



Roque Eustaquio earned his bachelor's degree in sociology with a minor in political science from the University of Guam. He is currently pursuing his master's degree in Micronesian Studies. Eustaquio has served as a social studies teacher for the Guam Department of Education and is a retired Master Sergeant of the United States Air Force Reserve. Eustaquio is also a self-publisher through Marianas Red Publishing Co.

Panel: Late Spanish Period

Marianas on Display

A Glimpse of the Marianas in Exhibitions in Madrid in the Late 19th Century

By Clark Limtiaco

Independent Researcher

Abstract: *This presentation examines the representation of The Marianas through the numerous contributed objects which made the long voyage to be put on display at cultural and scientific exhibitions held in the Spanish capital city of Madrid. These exhibitions include the “Exposición General de Filipinas (General Exhibition of The Philippines)” in 1887, and the “Exposición Histórico-Americana (Historical American Exhibition)” in 1892. The exhibitions featured objects and artifacts relating to commerce, gastronomy, agriculture, architecture, geology, botany, anthropology, dress, manual arts, and language. And their written descriptions offer us a partial look into the lives of the Chamorro people during the period prior to the Spanish-American War of 1898. Over a century after Spain's defeat and subsequent loss of the archipelago, The Marianas seems to have been erased from consciousness of the Spanish people. Creating a new dialogue between The Marianas and Spain may facilitate new academic and cultural exchanges, as well as collaborations for future exhibitions.*

Marianas on Display

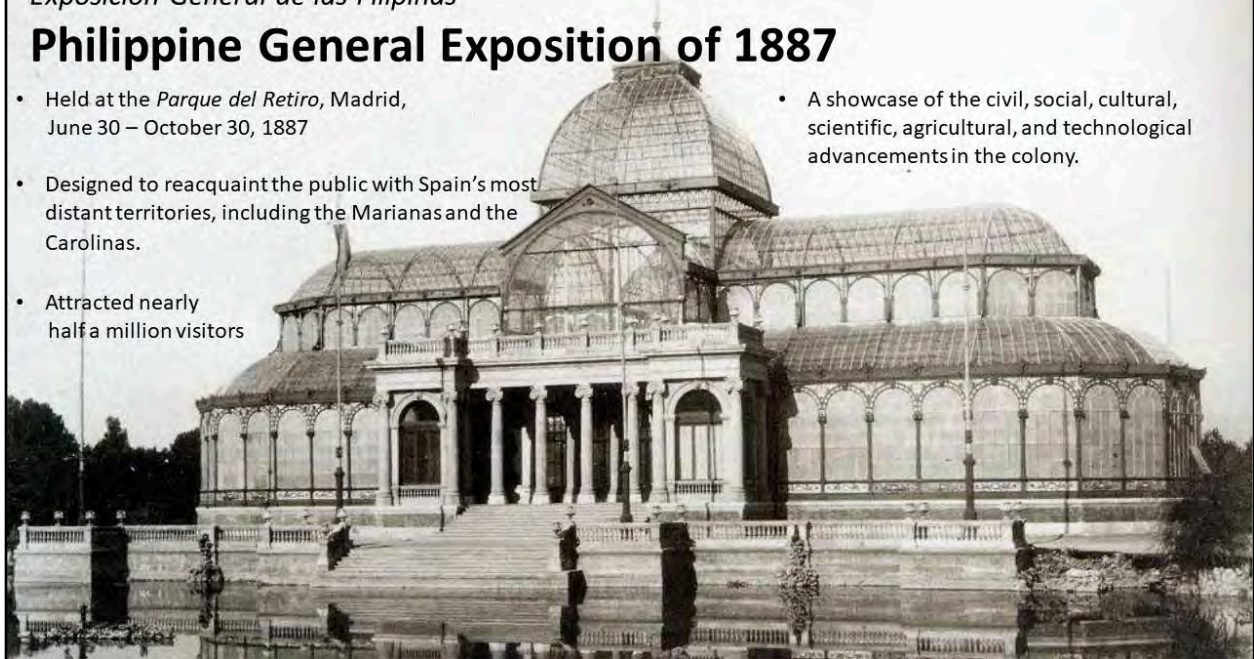
*A glimpse of the Marianas in
late 19th century expositions in Spain*

*Presented
by
Clark Limtiaco*

Exposición General de las Filipinas

Philippine General Exposition of 1887

- Held at the *Parque del Retiro*, Madrid, June 30 – October 30, 1887
- Designed to reacquaint the public with Spain’s most distant territories, including the Marianas and the Carolinas.
- Attracted nearly half a million visitors
- A showcase of the civil, social, cultural, scientific, agricultural, and technological advancements in the colony.



Philippine General Exposition of 1887 was held at the *Parque de El Retiro*, Madrid, (sometimes known as, Madrid’s Central Park), and attracted nearly half a million visitors between June 30 – October 30, 1887. The exposition was designed to reacquaint the public with Spain’s administrative territory in the Pacific. Primarily the Philippines, but also the Carolinas, and The Marianas, and to demonstrate Spain’s status as a global empire despite

Indios y mestizos.

Por ser la primera vez que vienen a España en tanto número y porque no todos tienen ocupación especial en que puedan ser vistos, creemos conveniente poner aquí la lista de los que han venido a la Exposición:

D. Ismael Alsate, Bucay (provincia del Abra).
 Vicente Francisco, escultor, de Manila.
 Raimundo Piccio, ex-gobernadorcillo de Barbaza (provincia de Antique).
 Ambrosio Talam, mariner, de Antique.
 Feliciano Ibut, id., id.
 Vicenta Rico, tejedora, id.
 Petra Talam, id., id.
 Matea Abada, id., de Ilo-Ilo.
 Saturnina Llana, id., id.
 Emilia Gimera, id., id.
 ..., id.
 ..., id.
 ..., id.
 maestro de telares, id.
 dibujante, id.
 inero, id.
 de Zambales, anioague (trabajador

(fragment)

Bonifacio de la Cruz, de Bulacan, anioague.
 Martín Espiritu, id., id.
 Andrés Espiritu, id., id., id.
 Felipe Torres, id., id., id.
 Simeón García, id., id., id.
 Mónico Rojas, jardinero, de Bulacan.
 Custodio de los Santos, id., id.
 Juan Legaspi, anioague, de Manila.
 Antonino Pabilón, id., de Camarines Sur.
 José
 José Flores, id. Chamorro (natural de Islas Marianas).
 Antonia de los Santos, Chamorra.


Dolores Nesser, Carolina.
 Tek Taita (negrito), de Isla de Negros.
 Button-Bazon, moro, de Joló.
 Oto Jadaqui, id., id.
 Inda, mora, id.
 Mandi, moro de Zamboanga (Mindanao).
 Buzlon, mora, mujer del anterior.
 Buyun, moro de Joló.
 Antuilas, mujer del anterior.

José Flores, id. Chamorro (natural de Islas Marianas).
 Antonia de los Santos, Chamorra.

the independence of her former territories in the Americas, some 70 years prior. Another motive was to attract investment in these far away and forgotten islands.

Representatives from all regions of the Philippines, as well as the Carolinas, and the Marianas. Travelled to Spain to participate in the exposition. Although various written records and accounts of the exposition indicate the number of representatives between thirty-nine and forty-seven, the official guide lists only thirty-nine individuals. Of these, there were twenty-six males, and thirteen females.

The two Chamorro representatives from the Marianas were listed as Jose Flores and Antonia de los Santos. There exist two brief descriptions of these two ambassadors from the Marianas.

<p style="text-align: center;">ANTROPOLOGÍA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LA RAZA MICRONESIA (fragment)</p> <p>... los dos marianos ó chamorros, Antonia-de los Santos y José Flores, ambos nacidos en Agaña; mas la primera, hermosa y robusta joven de veintidos años, de carácter sencillo y muy bondadoso, que asistió con esmerados cuidados á su compañera la carolina durante su enfermedad, esconde en sus venas sangre malaya, y acaso también europea; y el segundo, pianista, tocador de flauta y cantor de coro en Agaña, de carácter sencillo y modesto, fisonomia simpática, educación europea y notoria inteligencia, es seguramente mestizo de sangre blanca y micronesia, á juzgar por su boca pequeña, sus molares fuertes, grandes, sus colmillos adelantados, su color blanco amarillento ... "</p> <p style="text-align: right;">" ... y los restantes caracteres de su rostro."</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Don José Flores</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Shown above is Jose Allague Flores who, with Antonia Santos Leon Guerrero (better known as "Antonia Ada"), represented Guam at the Philippine Exposition held in Madrid in 1887.</p>
<p>Description of Antonia de los Santos</p> <p>"... born in Agaña, a beautiful and robust youth of 22, ...of simple character and very kind-hearted, that with great care tended to her Carolinian counterpart during her illness, ...Malay blood hidden in her veins and perhaps European too..."</p> <p>Description of José Flores</p> <p>"...born in Agaña, a pianist, flutist, and singer in the Agaña chorus ...of modest and simple carácter, European upbringing, obvious intelligence, kind face, surely mestizo of white and Micronesian blood judging from his small mouth, ...large teeth, ...and his facial characteristics."</p>	

Descriptions of the two Chamorro representatives are found in the *EXPOSICIÓN DE FILIPINAS, COLECCIÓN DE ARTÍCULOS PUBLICADOS EN EL GLOBO, DIARIO ILUSTRADO*, published in 1887.

Antonia de los Santos (no photo)

"... born in Agaña, a beautiful and robust youth of 22, ...of simple character and very kind-hearted, that with great care tended to her Carolinian counterpart during her illness, ...Malay blood hidden in her veins and perhaps European too..."

José Flores (American era photo)

“...born in Agaña, a pianist, flutist, and singer in the Agaña chorus ...of modest and simple character, European styled upbringing, obvious intelligence, kind face, surely a mestizo of white and Micronesian blood judging from his small mouth, ...large teeth, ...and his facial characteristics.”

It is likely that both individuals possessed some ability to speak Spanish, however their specific roles and duties at the exposition are not described in this publication.



Duties during the Madrid exposition consisted primarily of performing cultural demonstrations. Including posing for official photos (in both tribal and western dress), loom operating (by Filipino women), hunting and fishing technique, craftsmanship, traditional games, or simply portraying daily life.

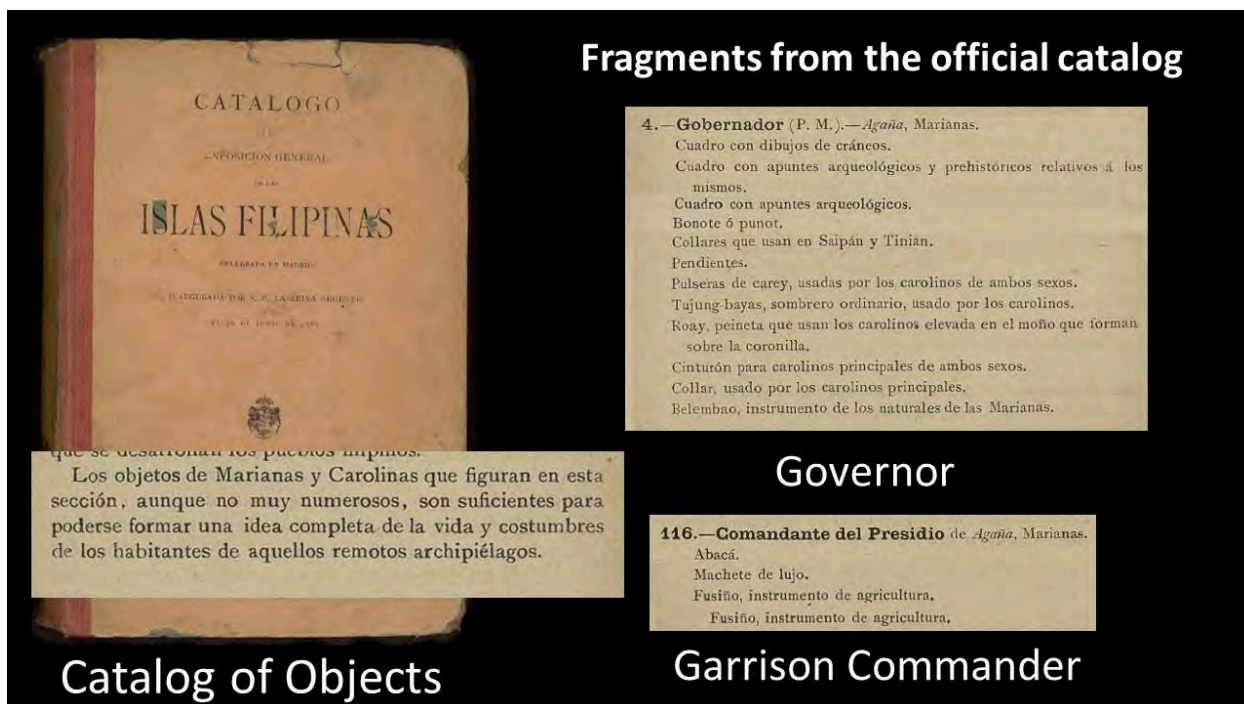
The representatives attended the opening ceremony with the Queen Regent of Spain, Maria Christina. And attended other subsequent receptions and events. The group was given a tour of Madrid and all were provided with clothing, meals and housing accommodations (in a pension) for the duration of the exposition.

This was in contrast to the manner in which indigenous groups were treated at other European expositions of the era. Such expositions were notorious for the abusive and cruel treatment of the indigenous peoples exhibited in what has been described as, “human zoos.” Concerns regarding this maltreatment prompted Spain refusal of France’s request to exhibit Filipinos at the Paris World’s Fair of 1889. Still, to this day historians and scholars continue to examine the representation and treatment of indigenous groups exhibited at events of the era.

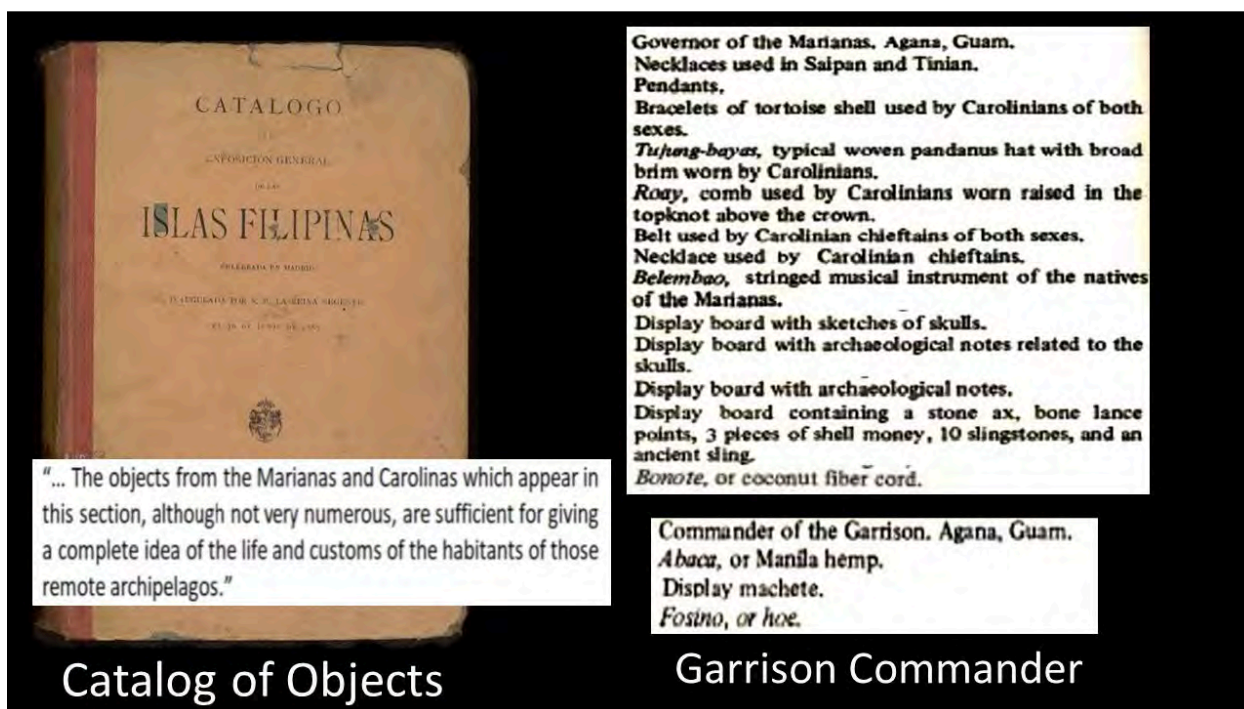


The exposition featured thousands of objects from the Philippines and the Spanish Micronesian territories. Prior to the exposition, committees were created in each province to solicit and select objects. Competition was encouraged, and final selections were then sent to Madrid to be exhibited.

Objects were separated into designated categories including: nature, populace, flora, fauna, commerce, science, among others. Items were displayed in very elegant display cases in finely decorated exhibition spaces.



The official catalogue of objects for the exposition contains over 700 pages of exposition data. It includes the names of the Marianas exhibitors and their items, which numbered over 200 individual items. This number was considered very small in comparison to the quantities brought in from the Philippine archipelago.



An English language translation of the items indicate those contributed by then Governor Francisco Olive y Garcia and the Garrison Commander in Guam. They include, *belembao*, *fusiños*, and Carolinian objects from the islands of Tinian and Saipan. The following slides show the names of the Marianas exhibitors and the vast array of their respective items.

<p>Doña Dolores Don Felipe Cruz</p> <p>—Cruz (Doña Dolores).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Dos quichalas, cucharas que usan los naturales. Dos bojas, aventadores. Un par de dogas ó abarcas de palma. —Cruz (D. Felipe).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Cocos. Artículo de exportación.</p>	<p>Don Vicente Don Lorenzo Don Agapito Don Joaquín Leon Guerrero</p> <p>—León Guerrero (D. Vicente).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Galaide: embarcación usada por los naturales para la pesca y para el transporte de efectos. Un baroto. —León Guerrero (D. Lorenzo).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Fisga ó harpón para pescar (dos ejemplares). —León Guerrero (D. Agapito).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Fosiño, herramienta para trabajar en el campo. —León Guerrero (D. Joaquín).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Machete de trabajo.</p>	<p>Don Justo Dungca</p> <p>—Dungca (D. Justo).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Canoa ó tapi para diferentes usos de cocina. Aguardiente unisado de coco. Ron de caña. Bilao. Metate. Moledor de maíz. Chinchorro, aparato para pesca. Vinagres de coco y caña. Alcaparras en conserva.</p>
<p>Don Joaquín Díaz</p> <p>—Díaz (D. Joaquín).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Aguardiente de coco rectificado. Ron de coco. Caracol. Etses. Rallador de frutos.</p>	<p>Don Mariano Sablan</p> <p>497.—Sablan (D. Mariano).—<i>Rota</i>, Marianas. Palay, basto y fino. Judías. Mongó. Aparote. Ajos y cebollas. Genjibre. Piña. Gao-gao. Fécula de íd.</p>	<p>Don Antonio Don Juan Martinez</p> <p>—Martinez (D. Antonio).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Tronco del árbol de la brea. Bastón de café. Modelo de arado. Horquillas de plata para el pelo. Aceite de coco refinado. Azúcar. Algodón. Piña. Lirio. —Martinez y Crisóstomo (D. Juan).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Dos horquillas para sujetar el pelo.</p>
<p>Don Francisco Cobo</p> <p>—Cobo (D. Francisco).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Trenza de pelo perteneciente á una joven chamorra. Dos sombreros de burí. Palay. Balate de 1.^a clase; artículo de exportación para China. Ídem de 2.^a; íd. íd.</p>		

Taken from the same catalogue, we can recognize many common surnames that still exist to this day. The titles of Don and Doña were bestowed to all exhibitors, demonstrating a level of respect and recognition for their important contributions to the exposition.

The items exhibited may not necessarily, have been made by the indicated exhibitors. Hand crafted items could have been created by unnamed artisans and craftsmen.

<p>Doña Dolores Don Felipe</p> <p>Cruz</p> <p>Cruz, Dolores. Agana, Guam. 2 <i>quichalas</i>, or spoons, used by the natives. 2 <i>bojas</i>, or fans, used as fly swatters. A pair of <i>doga</i>, or palm sandals.</p> <p>Cruz, Felipe. Agana, Guam. Coconuts. Article of exportation.</p> <p>Don Joaquín</p> <p>Díaz</p> <p>Díaz, Joaquín. Agana, Guam. Coconut toddy. Coconut rum. Snail. <i>Erses</i>, or grater.</p> <p>Don Francisco</p> <p>Cobo</p> <p>Cobo, Francisco. Agana, Guam. 2 Buri palm hats. Sample of tobacco and <i>chupas</i>, tobacco smoked by Chamorro women. <i>Palay</i>, or unhusked rice. <i>Balate</i>, or sea slug, first class. Export article to China. <i>Balate</i>, second class.</p>	<p>Don Vicente Don Lorenzo Don Agapito Don Joaquin</p> <p>Leon Guerrero</p> <p>Leon Guerrero, Vicente. Agana, Guam. <i>Galaide</i>, or Chamorro canoe used by natives to fish and transport goods.</p> <p>Leon Guerrero, Lorenzo. Agana, Guam. 2 harpoons.</p> <p>Leon Guerrero, Agapito. Agana, Guam. <i>Fosino</i>, or hoe.</p> <p>Leon Guerrero, Joaquin. Agana, Guam. Machete.</p> <p>Don Mariano</p> <p>Sablan</p> <p>Sablan, Mariano. Rota, Mariana Islands. <i>Palay</i>, or unhusked rice, coarse and fine. Kidney beans. Mango beans. Mexican tea. Garlic and onions. Sesame seeds. Pineapple. <i>Gao-gao</i>, or Polynesian Arrowroot (<i>Tacca Pinnatifida</i>). Starch from <i>gao-gao</i>.</p>	<p>Don Justo</p> <p>Dungca</p> <p>Dungca, Justo. Agana, Guam. <i>Tapl</i>, or wooden trough, used for different purposes in the kitchen. Coconut and cane vinegar. Agave conserve. Coconut anisette. Rum. <i>Chinchorro</i>, or small dragnet. <i>Bilao</i>, or cane tray. <i>Metate</i>, or corn grindstone.</p> <p>Don Antonio Don Juan</p> <p>Martinez</p> <p>Martinez, Antonio. Agana, Guam. Silver hairpins. Trunk of the Tropical Almond tree. Branch of coffee tree. <i>Brea Blanca</i>, or Java Almond tree (<i>Canarium indicum</i>). <i>Brea Natural</i>, or Tropical Almond tree. Coconut oil. Sugar. Cotton. Pineapple. Spider lily.</p> <p>Martinez y Crisostomo, Juan. Agana, Guam. 2 hairpins.</p>
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Translation fragments taken from an English translation of the official catalogue.

<p>68.—Muñoz (D. José).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Pumita ó piedra pómez, para curtir pieles y pulir maderas. Madera fósil, llamada carbón de Umata. Idem íd. llamada carbón de Agat. Estos ejemplares son raros en las islas. Dangis ó cera mineral; no se le da aplicación. Nueve trascos de arcilla plástica. Empleada por los naturales como pinturas, sin que á pesar de su bondad la usen para alfarería: abunda extraordinariamente. Tres ídem de esmética. Una ídem de ferruginosa, extraída de la barra del río de Inarajan. Hierro carbonatado. Se encuentra en varios puntos de la isla de Guajan. Muestra de lama verde (roca arcillosa). Se emplea para hacer lápidas y pipas. Idem íd. blanca. Para los mismos usos. Tomon, roca refractaria compuesta de arcilla y cal. Espato de Islandia (cal carbonatada). Abunda mucho en el país, pero no la utilizan los naturales. Resina del árbol de rima. Tinecha pacao (producto venenoso y medicinal). Cogo ó palo-jabón. Acho-lumago, aparato para cebar pescado. Taraya ó red de pesca. Un arpón de palma brava. Nasa ó trampa para coger langostinos. Madera fósil. Carbón de Umata. Idem de Agat. Dangis ó cera mineral. Pumita ó piedra pómez.</p> <p>Don José</p> <p>Muñoz</p>	<p>—Castro (D. Andrés de).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Modelo de montara. Cestos de bejuco. Cigarrera de palma. Dos petates de buri. Hojas de palma preparadas. Idem íd. sin preparar. Morrales de palma. Lason-pisao, trampa para coger venados y jabalies. —Castro (D. Ezequiel de).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Un cuchillo de cocina. —Castro (D. Juan).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Cuchillo de cocina. Modelo de peine ó rastrillo.</p> <p>Don Andrés Don Ezequiel Don Juan</p> <p>Castro</p>	<p>—Fausto (D. Mariano).—<i>Rota</i>, Marianas. Cuatro cráneos antiguos encontrados en una caverna, (el 2.º en Saipán), Mandíbula. Fémur: en las ruinas de un monumento antiguo en Saipán. Cráneo de mestizo chamorro: en Agaña. Idem de carolino, que se remiten para compararlos con los antiguos. Vértebra, cóstillas, esternón, calcáreo y sacro: en Saipán, encontrados debaixo del cráneo núm. 2. Cuadro con instrumentos prehistóricos de piedra ó concha encontrados en las ruinas de casas antiguas. Caracoles prehistóricos llamados <i>casca y rosca</i>, encontrados en ruinas antiguas, en la isla Saipán. Fragmento de una columna de las ruinas de Tinián. Apong ó lanza para pescar, usada por los carolinos. Nasa ó trampa para pesca.</p> <p>Don Mariano</p> <p>Fausto</p>
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Jose Muñoz's contribution consisted mostly of geological and mineral samples. With a few household items.

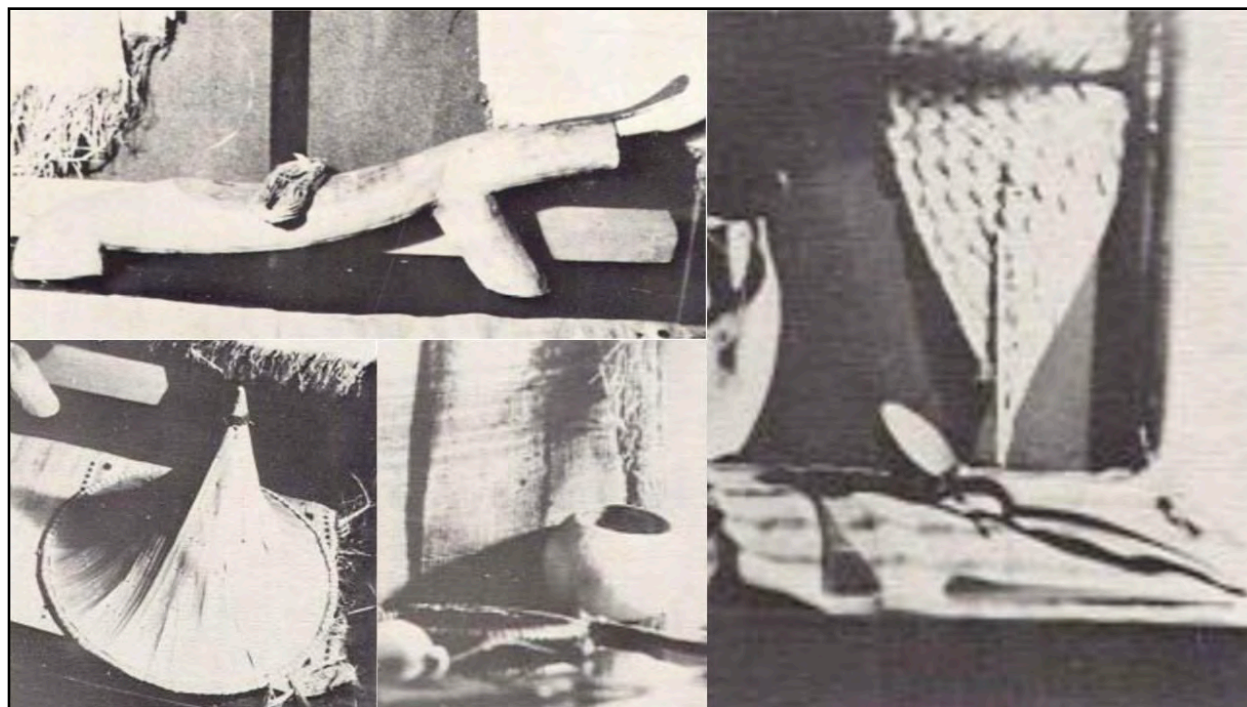
<p>Munoz, Jose. Agana, Guam. Pumice used to scrape hides and burnish wood. Lignite, called coal of Umatac. Lignite, called coal of Agat. Samples are rare in the Marianas. <i>Dangis</i>, or mineral wax. Not used by the natives. 9 bottles of pliable clay used by the natives for painting. 3 bottles of fuller's earth. 1 bottle of iron ore extracted from the bar of the Inarajan River. Siderite found at various points in Guam. Exhibit of green claystone used to make gravestones and pipes. Exhibit of white claystone used for the same purposes. <i>Tomon</i>, or refractory rock composed of clay and limestone. Iceland spar, widely found on Guam. Natives have no known use for it. <i>Dudos</i>, or water cups. <i>Quichalas</i>, or coconut spoons. <i>Gojas</i>, or palm fans. Resin from the <i>rima</i>, or Breadfruit tree (<i>Artocarpus communis</i>). <i>Tinecha pacao</i>, or Nicker hut (<i>Caesalpinia crista</i>), used for medicinal purposes. Centipede (<i>Miriapodos quilopodos</i>).</p>	<p>Don José Muñoz</p>	<p>Castro, Andres de. Agana, Guam. Model of saddle Palm baskets. Palm cigar box. 2 Buri palm mats. Woven palm leaves. Unwoven palm leaves. Palm feed bags. Ropemaker's wheel. <i>Lason-pisao</i>, or trap used to catch deer and boar. Castro, Ezequiel de. Agana, Guam. Kitchen knife. Castro, Juan. Agana, Guam. Kitchen knife. Model of rake. Fausto, Mariano. Rota, Mariana Islands. 4 ancient skulls found in a cave (no. 2 in Saipan). Jawbone. Thighbone from the ruins of an ancient monument in Saipan. Skull of Chamorro mestizo from Agana. Skull of Carolinian sent to compare with the others. Vertebrae, ribs, breastbone, heelbone, and sacrum found underneath skull no. 2 in Saipan. Display board with prehistoric stone and shell implements found in the ruins of ancient dwellings. Prehistoric snails found in ancient ruins on Saipan. Fragment from a column of the House of Taga, Tinian, Mariana Islands. <i>Apong</i>, or fish spear used by Carolinians. <i>Nasa</i>, or fish weir.</p>	<p>Don Andrés Don Ezequiel Don Juan Castro Don Mariano Fausto</p>
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Translation fragments taken from an English translation of the official catalogue.

<p>Doña Ana Herrero Don Enrique Millchamp</p>	<p>Don José Pérez Don Manuel Pangelinan</p>	<p>Don José Salas Don Juan Don Felix Torres Don Vicente Guerrero</p>
<p>—Herrero (Doña Ana).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Casa de caña y techo de nipa: la habitan los naturales pobres. —Millchamp (D. Enrique).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Modelo de casa de tablas con techo de nipa, concluida y anueblada al estilo del país (se levanta el techo). Modelo de casa de caña y nipa. Modelo de carreta de labranza. —Aflagüe (D. Manuel).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Trage ordinario de Chamorra, compuesto de saya, camisa, camiseta y pañuelo. Copra. Coco seco.—Es artículo de exportación. —Portusach (D. José).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Un traje ordinario de chamorro, compuesto de sombrero, camisa pantalón. Un par de Doga ó abarcas para el campo. Un par de sandalias para el campo. Dos pares de chinelas. Esoc. Pan de rima.</p>	<p>—Pérez (D. José).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Camyo. Rallador de frutos. —Pangelinan (D. Manuel).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Modelos de cama, de silla, de mesa y de banco. Modelo de trapiche. —Salas (D. José de).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Taraya, ó red para pescar. —Torres (D. Juan).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Salep. Fécula de salep macerada. Fécula de salep. Se usa para almidonar la ropa. —Guerrero (D. Vicente L.).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Fisga ó harpón de pesca (dos ejemplares). —León (D. Joaquín).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Cubo. —Tudela (D. José).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Añil.</p>	<p>Torres (D. Félix).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Cacao. Café. Mendioca. Inca. Gao-gao. Fécula de Arrow-root. Rodes (D. Antonio).—<i>Agaña</i>, Marianas. Frijoles. Judías. Cuchumecós en conserva.</p>
<p>Don Manuel Aflagüe Don José Portusach</p>	<p>Don Joaquín León Don José Tudela</p>	<p>Don Antonio Rodes</p>

<p>Doña Ana Herrero</p> <p>Don Enrique Millchamp</p> <p>Herrero, Ana. Agana, Guam. Cane nipa palm (<i>Nipa littoralis</i>) hut inhabited by poor natives.</p> <p>Millchamp, Enrique. Agana, Guam. Model of frame nipa hut furnished Chamorro style. Model of cane nipa hut. Model of bullcart.</p> <p>Aflague, Manuel. Agana, Guam. Typical dress of Chamorro woman, with skirt, blouse, undershirt, and scarf. Copra. Article of exportation.</p> <p>Portusach, Jose. Agana, Guam. Typical dress of Chamorro, with hat, shirt, and trousers. 1 pair of <i>doga</i>, or fiber sandals, for fieldwork. 1 pair of leather sandals for fieldwork. 2 pairs of house slippers. <i>Exoc</i>, or breadfruit toast.</p> <p>Don Manuel Aflague</p> <p>Don José Portusach</p>	<p>Don José Pérez</p> <p>Don Manuel Pangelinan</p> <p>Perez, Jose. Agana, Guam. <i>Canyo</i>, or coconut grater.</p> <p>Pangelinan, Manuel. Agana, Guam. Models of bed, chair, table, and bench. Model of <i>calesa</i>, or buggy. Model of sugar press.</p> <p>Salas, Jose de. Agana, Guam. <i>Taraya</i>, or circular throw fishnet.</p> <p>Torres, Juan. Agana, Guam. <i>Salep</i>, or root of <i>Orechis maculata</i> Macerated <i>salep</i> starch. <i>Salep</i> starch. Used to starch clothes.</p> <p>Guerrero, Vicente L. Agana, Guam. 2 <i>fisgas</i>, or two-pronged lobster spears.</p> <p>Leon, Joaquín. Agana, Guam. Barrel.</p> <p>Tudela, Jose. Agana, Guam. Indigo.</p> <p>Don Joaquín León</p> <p>Don José Tudela</p>	<p>Don José Salas</p> <p>Don Juan Torres</p> <p>Don Felix Torres</p> <p>Don Vicente Guerrero</p> <p>Torres, Felix. Agana, Guam. Cacao. Coffee. Tapioca. Camachile. <i>Gao-gao</i> starch.</p> <p>Rodes, Antonio. Agana, Guam. Dried beans. Kidney beans. Cuchumeco conserve.</p> <p>Don Antonio Rodes</p>
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Translation fragments taken from an English translation of the official catalogue.



These mid-twentieth century photos feature items which were displayed at the 1887 exposition in Madrid, including a Carolinian hat, *kamyu* (coconut grater), woven palm fan, and a wooden spoon.

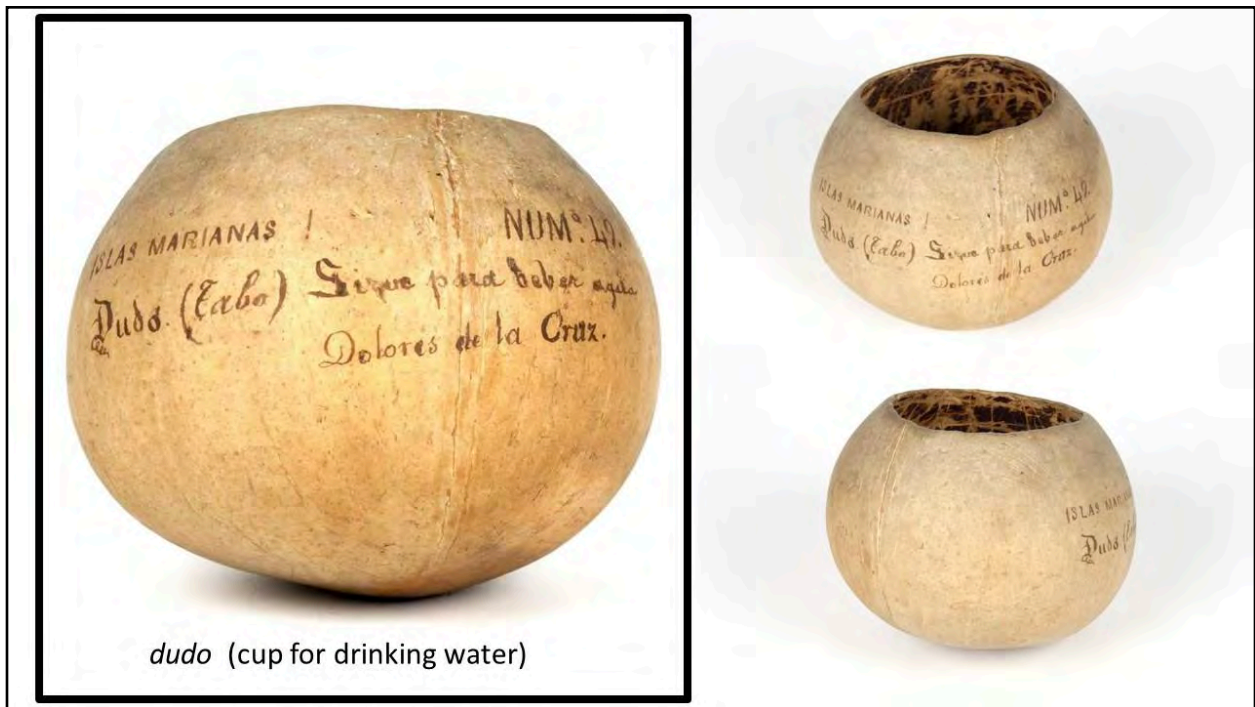
Unfortunately, these black and white, blurred photos can't show with detail and fine craftsmanship of these items.

Where are these items now? Last February I was in Madrid and was able to visit the National Museum of Anthropology, where The Philippines has a permanent exhibit on the ground floor, featuring items from the 1887 exposition. However, items from the Marianas are not on display. Fortunately, new, high quality, colored images of these 19th century treasures were made available by The Museum. I am excited to share some of those images.



I have modified the original images to include some dimensions.

Here we have the *tujung-bayas* (Carolinian hat). Which we can see remains in excellent condition.



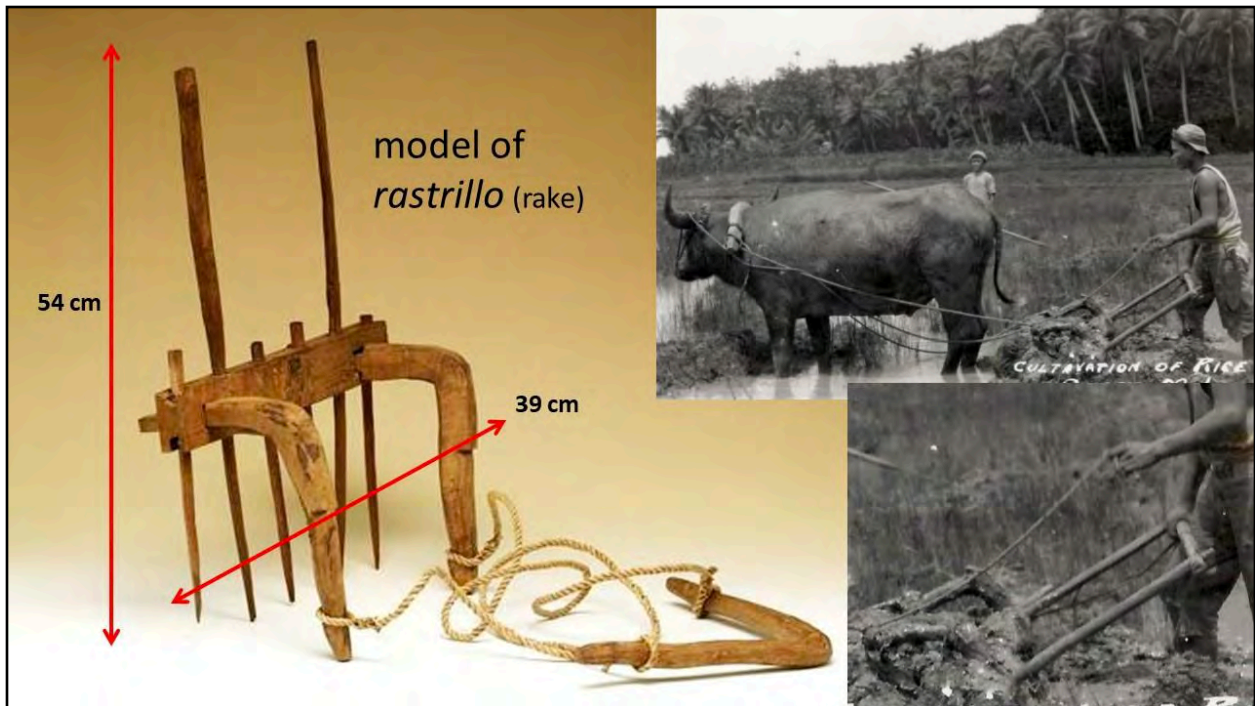
A coconut shell cup, or *dudo*, for drinking water. As the image shows, this item was contributed by Dolores de la Cruz, who had several items on display at the exhibit.



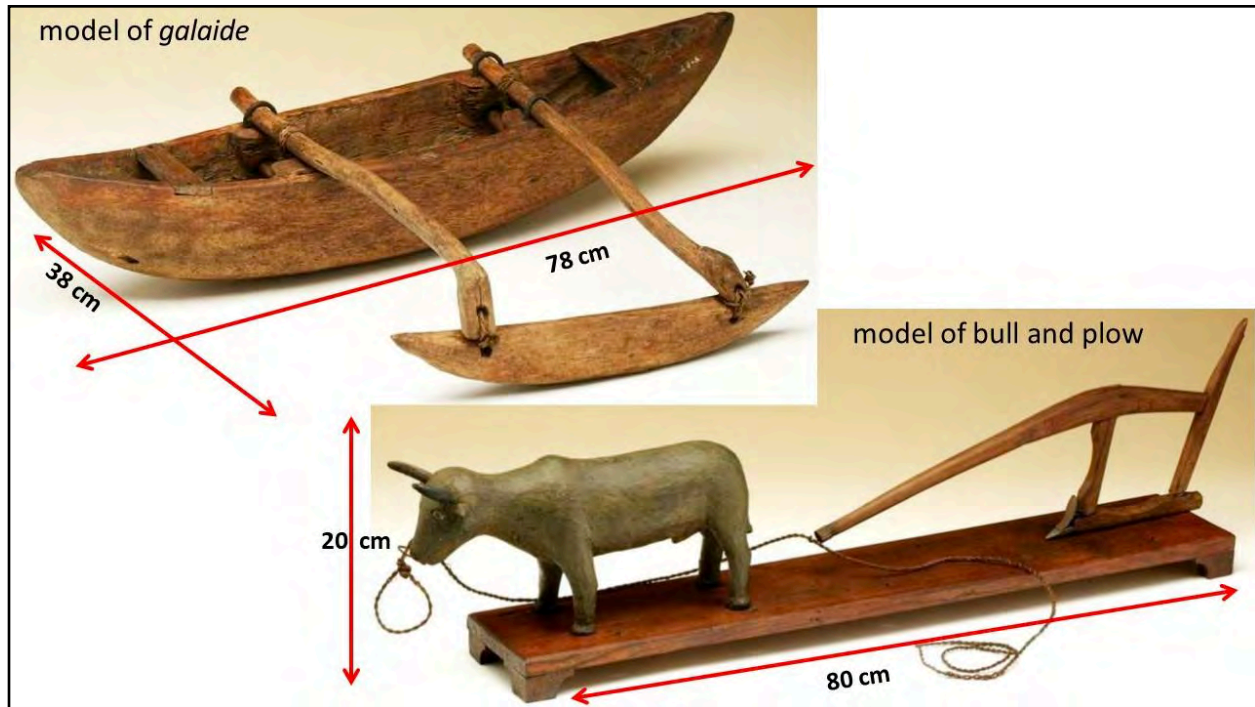
Bojas, or *gohas*. Woven palm fans sometimes used as fly-swatters. The official catalogue lists Dolores Cruz as contributing two samples of this item.



Another item which is likely from the Dolores de la Cruz collection, is this wooden spoon, or *quichala* (*kuchala*). The official description provided by the Museum of Anthropology does not indicate the owner; but the official exposition catalogue indicates that Dolores de la Cruz had contributed two sample. This could be one of them.



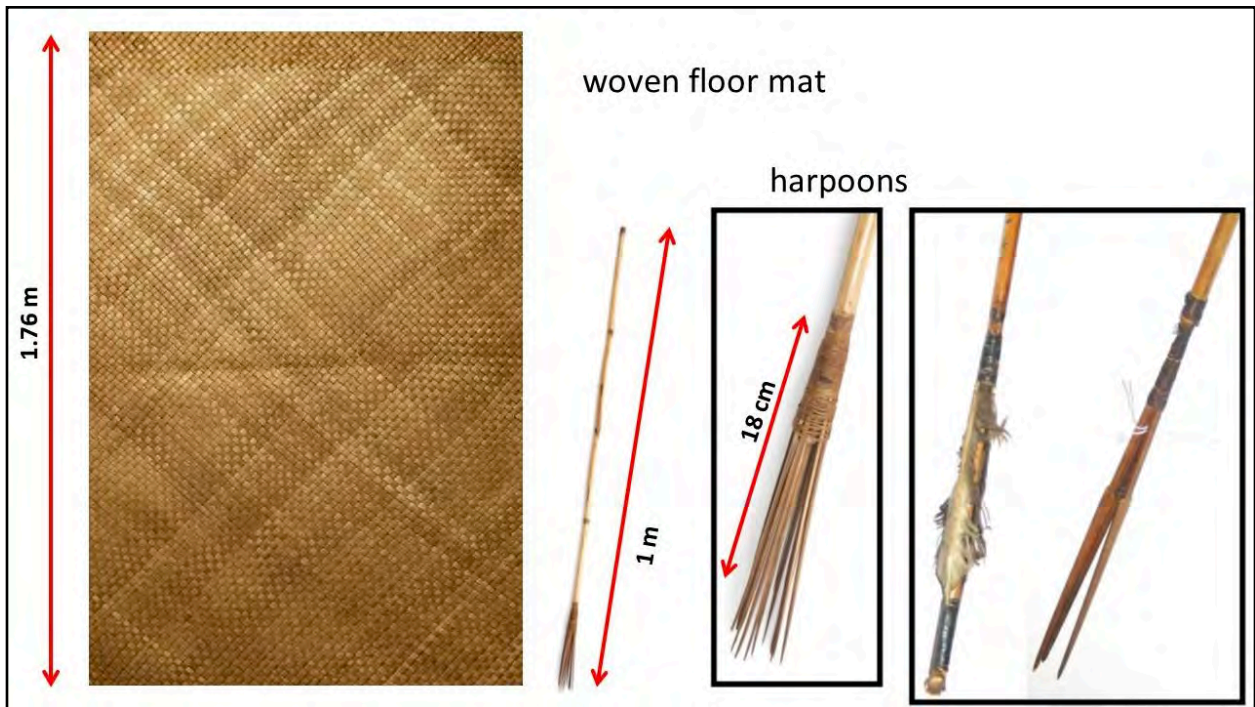
This model of a *rastrillo* (field rake) and pull harness shows the detailed craftsmanship when compared to the full-sized field rake shown in old Guam photos. However, it appears that the cross bar at the top seems to be missing.



Other miniature items include this model of a *galaide* (small canoe). Perhaps this is the one belonging to Vicente Leon Guerrero.

Additionally, we have an excellent example of a bull and field plow. Such items were displayed to give visitors and idea of daily life in Guam.

The type of wood used used in these models was not identified in the official descriptions.



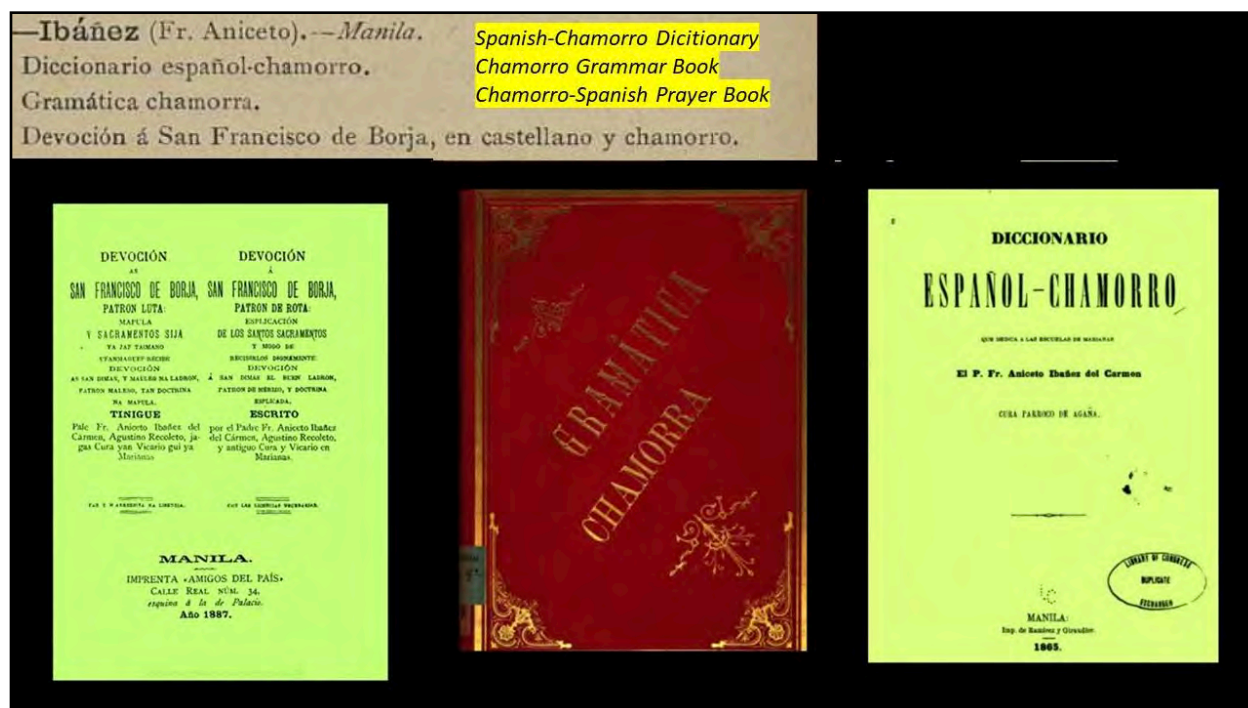
A very exquisite example of fine weaving can be seen in this woven floor mat. Perhaps used for sleeping.

Several examples of fishing harpoons were displayed at the exposition.



No dimensions were indicated for this woven palm basket. Andres Castro is the likely owner of this item. Again, this is another item which remains in excellent condition, even after 133 years.

It is possible that the Museum will make available similar photos of other objects that have yet to be photo catalogued.



Finally, Father Aniceto Ibañez sent a Spanish-Chamorro dictionary, a Chamorro grammar book, and a Spanish-Chamorro prayer book. The official catalogue indicates that these items as originating in Manila, but does mention of Padre Ibanez’s time in the Marianas, and “...his love for the Chamorro people.”

EXPOSITORES PREMIADOS

CON DIPLOMA DE HONOR

SECCIÓN TERCERA

Cuerpo de Artillería en Filipinas.—Manila.—Obras escritas por los Sres. Oficiales del Cuerpo D. Francisco Villalobos, D. Enrique Barbaza, D. Casimiro Cañedo, D. Federico Verdugo y D. Julio Naranjo.

Depósito de la Guerra.—Madrid.—Legislación militar del ejército de Filipinas.—Memoria de la expedición á Joló en 1876.

Órdenes de Santiago (D.ºs. Santos).—Madrid.—Modelo de copa de tabla y nipa.

Portutusach (D. José).—Traje completo de Chamorra (Marianas).

Subinspección de las Armas Generales.—Madrid.—Maniqués con uniformes de los diferentes Cuerpos é Institutos.

Cuerpo de Administración militar.—Manila.—Un tablero con modelo de utensilios.

Exhibitor awards



79.—Portutusach (D. José).—*Agaña, Marianas.*

Un traje ordinario de chamorro, compuesto de sombrero, camisa y pantalón.

Exhibitor awards were presented at a ceremony presided over by the Queen Regent of Spain. Exhibitors who were recognized for their outstanding contributions were awarded with special medals or certificates. Don Jose Portusach received a *Diploma de Honor* (Certificate of Honor) for his contribution of a complete Chamorro men's outfit. The official catalogue describes, "...a complete Chamorro [men's] outfit consisting of hat, shirt, and trousers.

Exposición Historico-Americana Historical American Exposition (Madrid, 1892)

The 1892 Historical American Exposition held in Madrid was intended to mark the four hundredth year anniversary of Columbus' arrival in America.

Objects from the Marianas were displayed as part Spain's exhibit, within the Philippine section.



OBJETOS

REMITIDOS

POR EL EXCMO. SR. CAPITÁN GENERAL DE FILIPINAS.

12—FUADOR de anzuelos, saguya, punzón, afilador, escoplo, majador, azuela y otros utensilios, de piedra y hueso, de pesca, usados por los *Chamorros*.—Expositor, Sr. D. Luis Santos.—Agaña (islas Marianas).

13—CRÁNEOS de raza Chamorra (indígenas hallados en las islas de los Ladrones por Magallanes y Legazpi).—Expositor, Sr. D. Luis Santos.—Agaña (islas Marianas).

14—HUESOS de Chamorros, anteriores al año 1519, encontrados en enterramientos y excavaciones.—Expositor, señor D. Luis Santos.—Agaña (islas Filipinas).

15—PIEDRA de adorno que representa un perro acostado (escultura indígena).—Expositor, Sr. D. Luis Santos.—Agaña (islas Marianas).

16—MORTERO de piedra, con su mango de lo mismo, usado por los indígenas.—Expositor, Sr. D. Luis Santos.—Agaña (islas Marianas).

17—GRAMÁTICA CHAMORRA (MS).—Expositor, Sr. D. José Palomo.—Islas Marianas.

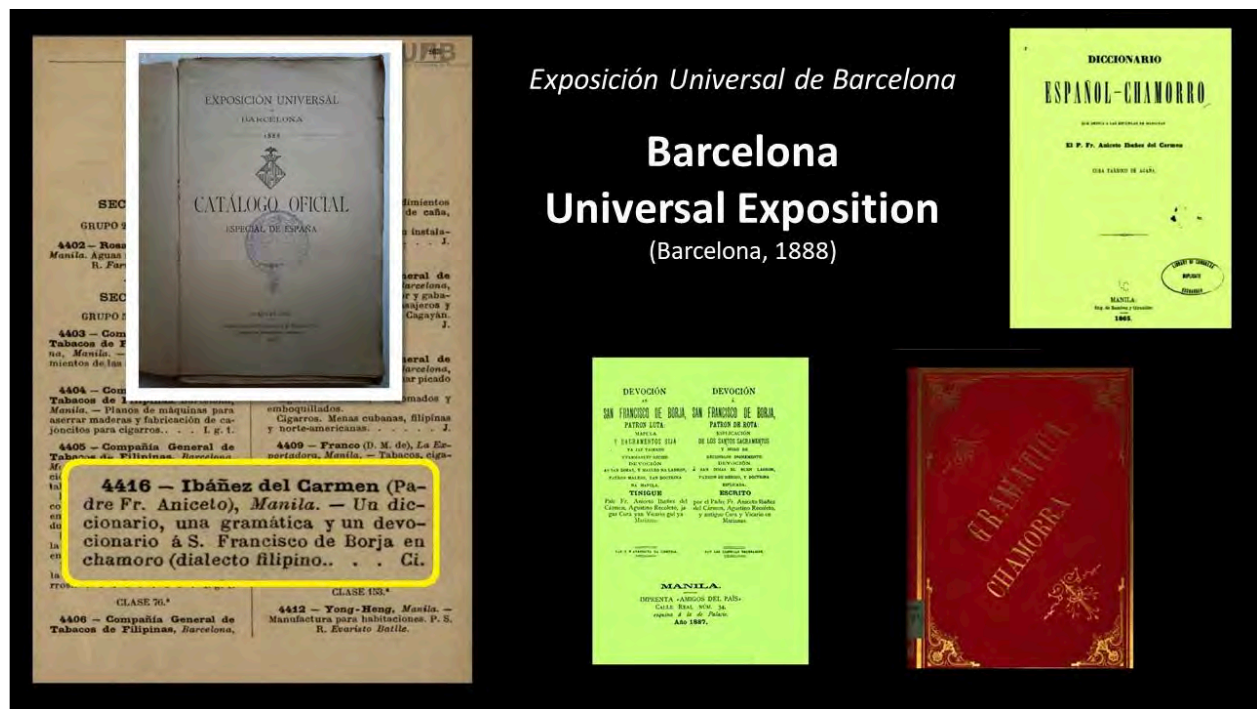
- fish hooks
- sharpener
- chisel
- fishing utensils made from stone and bone
- skull and bone samples of pre-contact Chamorros
- stone adornment of a sleeping dog (indigenous sculpture)
- mortar and pestle
- Chamorro grammar book

The *Exposición Histórico Americana* (Historical American Exposition) held in Madrid in 1892, marked the four hundredth year anniversary of Columbus' arrival in America. This event featured exhibitions from participating countries of the Americas, and Spain herself.

Objects from the Marianas were displayed in the Spain pavilion, within the Philippine section.

General Catalogue of Objects names two exhibitors, Dons Luis Santos and Jose Palomo.

Items include: Fish hooks, Stone and bone fishing utensils, pre-contact Chamorro skulls, and an interesting stone adornment of a sleeping dog which is described as an indigenous sculpture.



At the *Exposición Universal de Barcelona*, or Barcelona Universal Exposition 1888, the same three books contributed by Father Aniceto Ibañez were put on display and were the only objects representing the Marianas at this event.

The Future of Exhibitions in Spain & Beyond

- State of current exhibitions
- Academic conferences
- Collaborations
- Exhibition exchanges
- Cultural events
- Tourism



We've just glimpsed exhibitions of the past. But what does the future hold? The opportunities to exhibit Guam/Marianas in Spain are numerous. We will take a look at:

- Current exhibitions
- Using academic conferences jointly with exhibitions
- The potential for collaborative partnerships
- The potential for exhibition exchanges
- Planning exhibitions around cultural events in Spain and elsewhere.
- Tourism exhibitions



Originally scheduled for this month at the National Museum of Anthropology in Madrid, a Guam photo exhibition is being coordinated as part of 500th anniversary commemoration of the first global circumnavigation by Ferdinand Magellan and Juan Sebastian Elcano. However, due to the ongoing pandemic situation, it has been rescheduled. It will possibly open in May of this year.

The Hispanic Legacy in the Island of Guam

A cultural exhibition with more than 100 images showcasing the Hispanic heritage of the Chamorro people.

EL LEGADO HISPANO EN LA ISLA DE GUAM

Huellas españolas en una isla lejana.

Una exposición cultural con más de 100 imágenes que muestran la herencia hispana del pueblo *chamorro*.

A cargo de Clark Limtiaco, Investigador y Asesor Cultural de Guam. Patrocinio del Círculo Cervantino de Guam, Manuel Rodríguez, Administrador.

PROXIMAMENTE

FALL 2020

Last fall I had the good fortune of opening my own exhibition here in the region of Galicia. It was originally scheduled to open in March 2020, and then travel to civic cultural centers throughout the region. As pandemic restrictions are lifted, new exhibition dates will be confirmed at the other cultural centers.

Public response of last fall's exhibit was extremely positive. According to many visitors, the name of the exhibit (*El Legado Hispano en la Isla de Guam / The Hispanic Legacy in the Island of Guam*) is what captured their interest and drew them to the exhibition. Most were completely unaware of the historic links between Guam and Spain, and were pleasantly surprised to learn of the shared cultural heritage.

The subsequent social media exposure resulted in numerous invitations from civic cultural centers throughout Spain.



I have even been asked to give a presentation to accompany the exhibition. In fact, it was the attendees at my conferences in Madrid (2017) and Valencia (2018), who encouraged me to create an exhibition focusing on the Hispanic cultural heritage of Guam.

Conference collaborations with academic and cultural institutions in Spain, both public and private, provide an excellent opportunity for exhibitions. Most of these institutions are equipped with the facilities for hosting exhibitions and conferences.

The 500th anniversary of the Magellan-Elcano voyage has brought more attention and recognition to Guam and the island’s historic links with Spain. It is important to use this attention to our advantage.



We already have an advantage with many such intuitions because we are directly linked with them through our history and cultural heritage. Some of these include:

- The *Casa Asia*. Created by Spain’s Ministry of Culture to foster cultural understanding between Spain and Asian / Pacific countries.
- National archives in both Spain and Mexico. Very important institutions which house centuries-old documents covering over three centuries of Guam/Marianas history.
- The Museum of History at Fort San Diego in Acapulco, Mexico, which showcases the history of the Acapulco-Manila galleons. Guam’s direct link to this historic trade route could be exhibited at this museum.
- The National Hispanic Cultural Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico.



In 2008, the Center held an eight-month exhibition about the Manila Galleon trade. This exhibition showcased the shared cultural heritage and influences between Mexico and The Philippines. This exhibition was made possible through a collaboration between government and private entities in The Philippines, Mexico, and the United States.

In its 20-year history, the Center has yet to exhibit the Hispanic heritage of the Marianas and its people. A collaboration with this Center would facilitate further exhibitions at regional Hispanic cultural centers throughout the U.S.

The Hispanic Cultural Center of Corpus Cristi, Texas has already expressed an interest in hosting an exhibition about Guam/Marianas.



With the new Guam Museum comes opportunities for exhibition exchange, and perhaps the recovery and return of artifacts to the Marianas. We have already established a dialogue with the Bishop Museum in Hawaii. And now with the Museum of Anthropology in Madrid.

But which other museums hold Guam treasures?

The National Maritime Museum in Sweden houses several Guam artifacts which were obtained during Sweden's first global circumnavigation from 1851 – 1853. Perhaps it's time to initiate a dialogue with this Swedish museum too.



Cultural events too, can provide another opportunity for exhibition. Such cultural events include:

- The Fiesta of San Gil Abad in Burgos, Spain, birthplace of Padre Diego Luis de San Vitores. I am currently in the process of initiating a collaboration between the church parish of San Gil Abad (baptismal site of the Blessed Diego) and the Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral-Basilica.
- The Fiesta del Pilar in Zaragoza, Spain, where each year floral offerings are made by different groups representing each of the countries of Hispanic-Catholic heritage, including The Philippines. Guam however, has yet to send a delegation to participate in what is considered to be one of Spain's largest religious and cultural events.
- Dance festivals in both Spain and Mexico offer the perfect backdrop for Chamorro dance groups to perform the mestizo dances.
- The International Tamales Festival in Mexico City invites international participants from countries from the tamales making world. The Philippines has participated. Where's Guam?
- The Spanish Galleons Festival held each fall in Acapulco, Mexico. Held every fall (since 2007) in Acapulco, Mexico, the International Festival of the Acapulco-Manila Galleon invites delegations from countries with historic ties to the historic trade route. This event celebrates the historic connections between Mexico and the invited countries, through a series of cultural activities. In 2007, The Philippines, was been selected as the *Country of Honor* and gained special focus and attention during the weeklong celebration. Participation in this festival would almost guarantee Guam's selection as the *Country of Honor*. However, in spite of having a direct role in the

history of the Acapulco-Manila galleons, Guam's absence from the festival has gone virtually unnoticed.

- Hispanic Heritage Month events which celebrate the heritage of the Hispanic cultural realm. In the U.S., cultural festivities in California, Texas, and New York are among the most attended. In Spain, activities include concerts, dance performances, art exhibits, conferences, and parades. Filipino communities have taken advantage of such events in both the U.S. and Spain, where they continue to gain growing recognition because of their participation. Guam however, remains absent at such cultural celebrations.



The most common type of Guam/Marianas exhibit is probably that of tourism promotion. Tourism marketing in Europe should begin in Spain. The International Tourism Trade Fair in Madrid attracts exhibitors from most Latin American countries. All capitalize on their Hispanic cultural heritage to appeal to Spanish travellers. Meanwhile, Guam remains unknown.

Even the Philippines has capitalized on their Hispanic heritage to attract Spanish tourism. In 2019, The Philippines welcomed fifty thousand Spanish visitors. An important motivation factor for Spanish travellers to the Philippines is the centuries-long Spanish history of those islands.

The Guam Visitors Bureau (GVB) has recognized the importance of our Hispanic heritage and has tried to incorporate it into its tourism promotions. Faced with growing competition

from other tourist destinations, the GVB at one time made it a guiding principle to, “Focus on our Spanish-Chamorro cultural heritage to promote Guam’s unique image.” Always looking to diversify Guam’s tourism market, the GVB may want to consider creating Spanish language promotions to lure Spanish tourists. Showcasing Guam’s Hispanic history and heritage can be a major draw for the Spanish traveller.



In this presentation we have seen exhibitions of the past, present, and the potential to exhibit and showcase the Marianas in the future. We have so much to gain through such exhibitions.

Exhibitions can stimulate the minds of both young and old. to take closer look The Marianas.

They call to Spanish historians to take a closer look at The Marianas. And spark a new interest in the minds of aspiring Spanish historians. Imagine all of the untold history these future historians could uncover. Any new research that they conduct will benefit Marianas history scholarship.

With our Hispanic cultural heritage, we can establish an instant rapport and cultivate new and lasting relationships with our Spanish counterparts.

It seems that in Spain, the exhibition halls, conference auditoriums, dance stages, and tourism expos, will remain empty of any Guam/Marianas presence unless we take the

initiative to reconnect. Let's not wait another 133 years, nor another 500 years to make our presence known.



The time has come for us to fill those empty spaces and showcase in Spain, once again, the rich, cultural heritage of our islands.

Thank you, muchas gracias, yan Si yu'us ma'ase.



Clark Limtiaco is an independent researcher of Chamorro-Hispanic cultural heritage. He is a former Guam resident and holds a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Guam. In 2009 Limtiaco relocated to Mexico City, and is a former adjunct professor at the *Centro de Lenguas Extranjeras* of the *Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico*. While in Mexico, he conducted independent research, as well as participating in numerous history conferences. In 2017 he was invited to Madrid by Rafael Rodriguez Ponga (then General Secretary of the *Instituto Cervantes* and president of the *Asociación Española de Estudios del Pacifico*), where he gave the conference, “*El Pueblo Chamorro: Los Hispanicos Olvidados de Oceania*,” which he repeated in 2018 at the *Real Academia de Cultura* in Valencia, Spain. In

2019, his essay titled, “Our Hispanic Heritage - The key to broadening Chamorro cultural awareness”, was presented at the Marianas History Conference. In October 2020, his travelling exhibition titled, “*El Legado Hispano en la Isla de Guam,*” opened in Galicia, Spain, and features over 100 images that showcase Guam’s rich Hispanic heritage. Limtiaco now resides in Spain where he continues his independent research.

The Dawn of America's Pacific Empire

The Capture of Guam on June 21, 1898

By Anthony Camacho, Esq.

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Abstract: *America's capture of Guam on June 21, 1898 during the Spanish-American War was a cross-cultural contact that profoundly influenced four important political developments in the Western Pacific region during and after the war. First, America's need for a coaling station to project its military forces across the Pacific resulted in the capture of Guam and Spain's most humiliating territorial loss during the war. Second, Guam was one of the American victories that encouraged the McKinley Administration to alter its foreign policy from non-annexation to the annexation of Spanish Pacific territories occupied by American forces during the war. Third, Juan Marina, the last Spanish Governor of the Marianas Islands, made a token resistance to American military forces by limiting his surrender to Guam and by not surrendering the entire Marianas Archipelago, he began their political division which exists to this day. Fourth, Guam's capture represents the dawn of America's Pacific Empire because it was closely followed by the US annexation of Hawaii after the passage of the Newlands Resolution on July 4, 1898, and by the US acquisition of the Philippines after the Spanish surrender of Manila to American military forces on August 13, 1898.*

Preface

This work was prepared for submission to the 5th Marianas History Conference that will be held in February, 2021 and the author hopes it exemplifies and fosters the conference's theme of "One Archipelago, Many Stories. Navigating 500 Years of Cross-Cultural Contact." The author originally started this work when he was a history graduate student at the University of Missouri, Columbia, in 1989, and had the benefit of the vast archives, collections, and works of that university's great library. Completing this work in its present form was an interesting project for the author. Despite the passage of thirty-two years, the author's recent amendments to the work concerned its form instead of its content or its conclusions. The author is also indebted to the Micronesian Area Research Center of the University of Guam, which promptly provided electronic copies of portions of its Spanish Documents Collection and Manuscripts that greatly assisted the author in completing this work in its present form.

The Dawn of America's Pacific Empire

The Capture of Guam on June 21, 1898

One of the most significant cross-cultural contacts the Marianas Islands experienced during the nineteenth century was the U.S. capture of Guam on June 21, 1898. This event shaped the

trajectory of the political development of the Marianas Islands in the twentieth century and beyond. However, the capture of Guam is usually treated as a simple affair and it receives but scant attention in history books, usually mentioned as a humorous aside. However, the U.S. capture of Guam was far more complex and far reaching and the historical record of the event raises four issues that deserve greater analysis. First, why did the United States Capture Guam on June 21, 1898? The war began over events in Cuba that Guam, although a Spanish Territory, did not cause or influence. Yet, on June 21, 1898, about two months after the war began and over eight-thousand miles away on the other side of globe, a U.S. military forces captured Guam from the Spanish. Second, was Juan Marina's reluctance to surrender Guam to the Americans merely token resistance? Juan Marina, the last Spanish Governor of the Marianas Islands limited the Spanish surrender to Guam alone leaving the rest of the Marianas Islands Spanish Territory despite the surprise American attack using a numerically and technologically superior force. Third, how did the capture of Guam effect America's strategic objectives during the war? When the Spanish-American War began on April 24, 1898, the McKinley Administration did not plan on annexing any Spanish Territories that it captured during the war. Yet, six months later in December, 1898, the Treaty of Paris was finalized and Spain ceded not only Guam but the Philippines and other Spanish Territories to the United States. Finally, was the U.S. capture of Guam the dawn of America's Empire in the Pacific? These issues must be explored further to understand how Guam's Spanish Era ended and how the American Era of Guam's history began through a cross-cultural contact.

I.

The U.S. captured Guam to secure a line of supply and communications to the Philippines.

America captured Guam during the Spanish-American War. Imperialism did not play a part in the selection of Guam as an objective during the war due to the McKinley Administration following a policy of non-annexation of Spanish Territories when the war began. Although its main war objectives concerned Cuba, America followed a strategic plan to fight the Spanish that resulted in an unprecedented need to send a large expeditionary force to the Philippines where it would have to be supplied for an extended period. This strategic plan required that America establish a new line of supply and communication between America's west coast and the Philippines and Guam ultimately fulfilled this need. Hence, America's strategic war plan against Spain was the reason American forces captured Guam on June 21, 1898.

The capture of Guam on June 21, 1898 was part of the Spanish-American War, a war that began over Cuba. Spain's four centuries of rule in Cuba culminated with the Cuban Insurrection which was in its second year when U.S. President William McKinley took office

on March 4, 1897. The atrocities and the scorched earth tactics committed by both sides of this bitter insurgency outraged the American public and threatened U.S. business interests in Cuba. American public opinion sided with the Cuban rebels and placed tremendous pressure on McKinley and Congress to provide support to them. This pressure intensified on February 15, 1898 when two-hundred-sixty-one U.S. Navy personnel and Marines perished after the U.S.S. *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana Harbor on February 15, 1898 and boiled over in March that year after a U.S. Navy board of inquiry concluded that the *Maine* had been sunk by a mine.

Imperialism did not play a part in the selection of Guam as an objecting during the war because the McKinley Administration followed a policy of non-annexation of Spanish Territories at the start of the war. Prior to the war, McKinley was against expanding America's boundaries overseas and one of his objectives in the upcoming conflict was to avoid the annexation of Spanish territories in the western hemisphere. Congress also expressed similar anti-expansionist inclinations in Public Resolution No. 21, which was a set of demands on Spain to grant Cuban independence and was accepted by both America and Spain as the equivalent of a declaration of war. The resolution was drafted by McKinley and approved by Congress during a special joint-session on April 20, 1898 and defined the policy of non-annexation in precise terms:

That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island [Cuba], except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.¹

Resolution No. 21 also formalized American demands on Spain regarding Cuba. The resolution proclaimed that the Cubans should be “free and independent,” and demanded that Spain “relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.”² Spain refused to comply with Resolution No. 21 and Congress approved a formal declaration of war on April 25, 1898 backdating the official beginning of the hostilities to April 24, 1898.³ Thus, the Spanish-American War began over Cuba and McKinley and Congress followed a policy of the non-

¹ Sherman to Woodford [Telegram] Enclosure, April 20, 1898, House Doc.1, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898*, 55th Congress, 3d Session, 763.

² Ibid

³ Ibid, William McKinley, *Presidential Proclamation on Maritime Law during the War against Spain*, April 25, 1898, 772.

annexation of any Spanish territories the United States might capture during the conflict. The U.S. military adopted a global approach to achieve America's Cuban-centric war objectives

Although its main war objectives concerned Cuba, America followed a strategic plan to fight the Spanish that resulted in an unprecedented need to send a large expeditionary force to the Philippines where it would have to be supplied for an extended period. The U.S. Military adopted a two-ocean offensive strategy against Spain. The McKinley Administration's approach to ousting the Spanish from Cuba was heavily influenced by U.S. Naval strategists who were conducting America's strategic planning in the 1890s because the U.S. Navy was the strongest branch of the U.S. armed forces in that period. After the Cuban Insurrection began in 1895 and in response to the rising tensions between the United States and Spain, the U.S. Naval War College and the Office of Naval Intelligence conducted a strategic study of how a successful war against Spain could be waged. This study was modified and became a war plan during the Cleveland Administration and the plan was further modified during the McKinley Administration. The war plan sought to win a war against Spain by simultaneous military operations against Spain in the Caribbean and the Pacific and this war plan set the stage for the U.S. capture of Guam and Philippines.

The 1895 Naval War College study concluded in June 1896 and was named the Kimball War Plan, after Lieutenant William W. Kimball, the officer who completed the final draft.⁴ The Kimball War Plan called for a simultaneous two front war against Spain with Cuba as the primary objective and the Philippines as its secondary and supporting objective. The plan outlined an attack against the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and the capture of Manila. However, the purpose of capturing the Philippines was not imperialistic. Instead the plan's express purpose was to pressure Spain into settling the Cuban issue and the plan stated: "The release of our hold on them [the Philippines] may be used as an inducement to Spain to make peace after the liberation of Cuba."⁵ However, not all believed that the Philippines was a viable secondary front. The Kimball War Plan was reviewed in 1896 by a naval board lead by Rear Admiral F.M. Ramsay, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation. The board modified the Kimball War Plan resulting in the Ramsay War Plan which advocated for naval operations against targets located on the coast of mainland Spain instead of the more ambitious and

⁴ John A.S. Grenville, "American Naval Preparations for War with Spain, 1896-1898." *Journal of American Studies*, 1-2 (1967-1968) : 38.

⁵ John A.S. Grenville and George Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy; Studies in Foreign Policy, 1873-1917* (London: Yale University Press, 1966), 272.

riskier attack against the Spanish Fleet in the Philippines and the capture of Manila.⁶ The Ramsay War Plan was approved by Hilary Herbert, President Grover Cleveland's Secretary of the Navy, and became the official U.S. war plan against Spain in 1897, the final year of the Cleveland Administration. Had the Ramsay War Plan been followed in the Spanish American War the trajectory of the political development of Guam and the Marianas Islands in the twentieth century would likely have been much different. However, this was not to be due the Ramsey War Plan's short life.

The McKinley Administration revisited the war plan's offensives against Spain in the Pacific. After the McKinley Administration took office, John D. Long, McKinley's Secretary of the Navy, modified the Ramsay War Plan in 1897. This modification was the result of the plan being reviewed by another naval board headed by Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard, Commander of the U.S. Navy's North Atlantic Station. This board rejected the Ramsay War Plan's attack on the Spanish coast and reinstated the attack on the Philippines originally outlined in the Kimball War Plan. The revised plan became known as the Sicard War Plan which was submitted to Secretary Long on June 30, 1897 and became the McKinley Administration's war plan against Spain and the strategic plan it followed at the outset of the Spanish-American War.⁷ The Sicard War Plan called for an attack on the Philippines to supplement the main American naval effort in the Caribbean as in the Kimball War Plan, but added further detail for the planned capture of Manila:

For the purpose of further engaging the attention of the Spanish Navy, and more particularly in order to improve our position, when the time came for negotiations with a view to peace; the Board thinks it would be well to make an attempt to assist the insurgents in the Philippine Islands. It is understood that the insurgents have possession of considerable areas in those islands, including some important points in the neighborhood of Manila; and it is thought that if the Asiatic Squadron should go down and show itself in that neighborhood, and arrange for an attack upon that city, in conjunction with the insurgents, the place might fall, and as a consequence, the insurgent cause in those islands might be successful; in which case, we could probably have a controlling voice as to what should become of the islands when the final settlement was made. For this

⁶ F.M. Ramsey, "Plan of Operations Against Spain," December 17, 1896 as seen in Grenville, "American Naval Preparations for War with Spain, 1896-1898." 40.

⁷ Ibid, Montgomery Sicard, "Plans of Campaign Against Spain and Japan," June 30, 1897, 43.

purpose, certain reinforcements might be necessary from the Pacific Station.⁸

Hence, the plan to assist the Philippine insurgents and harness their military capabilities to capture Manila would require a greater amount of U.S. military forces to be sent to the Philippines and this plan would need more logistical support to accomplish this.

The Sicard War Plan required that America establish a new line of supply and communication between America's west coast and the Philippines and Guam ultimately fulfilled this need. McKinley put the Sicard War Plan into action at the outset of the Spanish-American War. McKinley knew about the plan's proposed offensive operations in the Philippines as early as September, 1897, and prior to the war, Secretary Long discussed the Sicard War Plan with McKinley twice concerning the proper orders that would have to be issued to the commander of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron, Commodore George Dewey, if a war against Spain began. In the event such a war, Dewey would be tasked to begin the plan's offensive operations in the Pacific by attacking the Spanish fleet in the Philippines.⁹ On April 24, 1898, just a day prior to the Congressional approval of the formal declaration of war against Spain on April 25, 1898, the Sicard War Plan's attack on the Philippines moved closer to fulfillment when McKinley authorized Secretary Long to order Commodore Dewey and the six modern warships of the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron to the Philippines. Dewey's orders simply read: "War has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once the Philippine Islands. Commence operations at once, particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavors."¹⁰ At this early stage in the war, the McKinley Administration's non annexation policy remained intact. The attack on the Philippines was merely a secondary mission designed to pressure Spain into a settlement over Cuba and to divert the attention of the Spanish Navy from the main American military effort in the Caribbean. Yet, the shadows of the Sicard War Plan and what would be its aftermath, began to darken the horizon of Spanish rule over Guam.

Dewey's attack on the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay resulted America's first great victory of the war. After receiving his orders from Secretary Long, Dewey assembled the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron in Hong Kong and ardently sailed to the Philippines where on May 1, 1898 he

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy; The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), 244.

¹⁰ Long to Dewey, April 24, 1898, Navy Department, *The War With Spain; Operations of the United States Navy on the Asiatic Station* (The Reports of Rear-Admiral George Dewey on the Battle of Manila Bay, May 1, 1898, and on the Investment and Fall of Manila, May 1 to August 13, 1898), [Washington, 1900], 7.

engaged the numerically superior but qualitatively inferior Spanish Philippine Squadron at the Battle of Manila Bay. The battle began at 5:15 a.m. and ended at 12:30 in the afternoon. In over seven hours of fighting, the nine warships of the Spanish squadron were burned or sunk along with several Spanish gunboats and one Spanish transport. Dewey also succeeded in silencing or capturing most of the Spanish gun batteries defending Manila Bay without losing any U.S. ships.¹¹ Dewey now faced the very formidable task of capturing Manila, the Spanish Capitol of the Philippines, which was defended by a very large and heavily fortified Spanish garrison. After Dewey determined that the U.S. Navy's Asiatic Squadron could not capture Manila by itself, on May 4, 1898 he sent a cable to Secretary Long requesting reinforcements. Long received Dewey's cable on May 7, 1898 and he replied that same day informing Dewey that: "The Charleston [A U.S. Navy Cruiser] will leave at once with what ammunition she can carry. Pacific Mail Steamship Company's Steamer Peking will follow with ammunition and supplies. Will take troops unless you telegraph otherwise."¹² Hence, Dewey's need for reinforcements in the Philippines to capture Manila and Long's decision to send them resulted in the need to overcome the logistical challenges to projecting U.S. military power across the vast distances of the Pacific. The McKinley Administration search for solutions to these challenges would ultimately involve Guam.

The U.S. military could not support a land force in the Philippines without a base in the somewhere in the Western Pacific. In the summer of 1898, the McKinley Administration was only beginning to understand the challenges of sending an expeditionary force to the Philippines to capture Manila. The main challenge to overcome was the over seven-thousand-mile distance between America's west coast and the Philippines because the average range of a coal fueled capital warship during this period was only two-thousand-miles. Secretary Long needed intermediate refueling and supply points to successfully deliver and sustain an expeditionary force in the Philippines to capture Manila. Although Hawaii, located in the Eastern Pacific, provided the U.S. Navy its first stepping-stone to the Western Pacific, it was not close enough. From Hawaii, the U.S. expeditionary forces and their supplies would have to cross an additional five-thousand miles of ocean to reach the Philippines. Hence, Long had to find another base somewhere between the Hawaii and Philippines to enable the expeditionary force and its supplies to reach Dewey in the Philippines. Long had already committed the *Charleston* to the Philippine endeavor and he and the Naval War Board solved this need for a base between Hawaii and the Philippines by subsequently ordering the *Charleston* to capture Guam on its way to the Philippines.

¹¹ Ibid, 10.

¹² Ibid, 8-9.

II.

Juan Marina's reluctance to surrender Guam was more than token resistance.

Juan Marina reluctantly surrendered Guam to America on June 21, 1898. Guam did not have a large Spanish garrison. Guam's fortifications were in good locations but they were obsolete and in fair condition at best. Juan Marina and his officers did not know that Guam had been isolated as a result of Dewey's victory at the Battle of Manila Bay, nor did they know that the Spanish-American War had begun. As a result, the American attack on Guam completely surprised Juan Marina and the Spanish garrison. Although they had the capability and some time to conduct a defensive operation, Juan Marina decided to comply with the American's demand that he surrender Guam due to his belief that the Americans would occupy the island. However, even when confronted with the true intent of the U.S. forces that captured Guam or their plans for him and the rest of the Spanish garrison, Juan Marina did not offer to surrender more of the Marianas Islands in an attempt to avoid becoming a U.S. Prisoner of War. Guam did not have large Spanish garrison. By 1898 Guam had been a Spanish colony for two hundred-twenty-nine-years and the city of Hagåtña was the capitol of the Marianas Islands, which Spain ruled as a single political jurisdiction. Spain garrisoned and fortified Guam throughout the 1600s and early 1700s to secure the profitable galleon trade route between the Philippines and Mexico. However, Spanish military strength on Guam eroded throughout the nineteenth century as Spain's lost its central and South American colonies, the trans-pacific galleon trade, and its world power and military might. By 1898 Guam was no longer securing important Spanish trade routes and was in a neglected condition. Spanish naval forces could be sent from the Philippines to reinforce it. However, the last visit of a Spanish warship to Guam occurred almost two years earlier in December, 1896 and after the defeat of the Spanish Squadron at the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, naval reinforcements were not likely or possible.¹³ Guam's Spanish garrison consisted of the 2nd Battalion of the Spanish Marine Infantry Regiment.¹⁴ This was a small battalion of a hundred-twelve soldiers that had a headquarters and two companies of fifty-four men each. One company was composed of regular Spanish Marine Infantry and the other company was composed of the Guam Militia. This force was well equipped with fifty-two Mauser bolt action rifles, a better weapon than the Krag-Jorgensen Rifle, the U.S. Army's issue rifle at the time, and sixty-two Remington Rolling Block breach loading rifles, which was a better

¹³ [Captain Henry Glass to Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, June 24, 1898](#), *Documentary Histories, Spanish American War, Capture of Guam*, Navy Department, Naval History and Heritage Command. Accessed on February 8, 2021.

¹⁴ Statement of Jose Berruezo Garcia, Alférez of the 2nd Battalion, Marine Infantry Regiment, August 30, 1898, *Negociado 3, Numero 1189*, Micronesian Area Research Center, Spanish Documents Collection.

weapon than the Springfield trapdoor rifles that were being used by the state militia troops.¹⁵ However, the battalion's artillery was not very good and consisted of four obsolete small caliber cast iron cannons on mobile carriages that were in poor shape.¹⁶ The battalion and its artillery could be emplaced in Guam's forts, but the conditions of the Guam's forts did not make this a promising alternative.

Guam's fortifications were in good locations but they were obsolete and in fair condition at best. The Spanish had built four stone forts in Umatac, the former capitol of the Marianas Islands, but Umatac was too far south to play any role in the U.S. capture of Guam in 1898. The capital city of Hagåtña was defended by two stone forts. Fort San Rafael was constructed between 1792 and 1802 on Hagåtña's shoreline near the mouth of the Hagåtña River at the small boat basin located there and could hold seventeen cannons to protect the boat basin from an enemy attacking from the sea. An engineering survey conducted in 1830 noted that its battery platform was dilapidated, its barrack's roof was gone, and it recommended that the fort be sold or given away for the purpose of converting it into a house or a church.¹⁷ Fort Santa Agueda was built in 1800 on top of the ridges behind Hagåtña and could hold ten small cannon. The 1830 engineering survey stated that this fort's location gave it a commanding bird's eye view of Hagåtña and its small boat basin.¹⁸ San Luis de Apra Harbor, Guam's main port had two stone forts. Fort Santiago was constructed in the 1700s and was located on the high ground atop the Orote Peninsula overlooking the entrance of Apra Harbor and could hold six artillery pieces. The 1830 engineering survey found that despite its barracks having no roof and the exterior surface of its gun platform being gone, the height of its parapet was well proportioned, its barracks and magazine were well located.¹⁹ Fort Nuestra Señora de los Dolores was constructed in 1801 on Santa Cruz island which stood at the entrance of Apra's inner harbor and could hold eight artillery pieces. This fort was subsequently known as Fort Santa Cruz. The 1830 engineering survey concluded that the fort could direct its fire at the narrow and difficult entrance to Apra Harbor as well as the entrance to the harbor's inner anchorage and could hold enough water to withstand a siege of fifteen or twenty days.²⁰ By 1898, only Fort Santa Cruz was in serviceable condition but its

¹⁵ A. Farenholt, "Incidents of the voyage of the U.S.S. Charleston to Manila in 1898." *U.S. Naval Institute, Proceedings* 50 (1924): 758.

¹⁶ Glass to Long.

¹⁷ Marjorie C. Driver and Omaira Brunal-Perry, *Architectural Sketches of the Spanish Era Forts of Guam*, (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1990), 21.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 29.

guns had been removed and it was not garrisoned along with Guam's other forts. Spain's construction of these forts indicates that it long knew that an enemy attacking Guam would come from the sea. In 1898 Guam's forts were mere reminders of this threat, which was far from the minds of the Spanish Government of the Marianas Islands that fateful summer of 1898.

Juan Marina and his officers did not know that Guam had been isolated as a result of Dewey's victory at the Battle of Manila Bay, nor did they know that the Spanish-American War had begun. Juan Marina had only been in office for a year when the Spanish-American occurred. He was fifty-years old when he arrived on Guam on April 18, 1897 to assume the office of the Spanish Governor of the Marianas Islands. Originally from Madrid, Juan Marina had joined the Spanish Army at the age of sixteen and had served two tours of duty in the Philippines, the first from 1870 to 1876, and the second from 1894 to 1897. The later tour included military operations against Filipino Revolutionaries operating near Manila and Marina had achieved the rank of Lieutenant Colonel at the time he was assigned to be the new Spanish Governor of the Marianas Islands. He had other professional military men to assist him with this new assignment. Pedro Duarte Anducar was the Captain of Spanish Marine Infantry Company and the Guam Militia. Spanish Navy Lieutenant Francisco Garcia Gutierrez was the Commander of the Spanish Naval Forces in the Marianas, a force that did not exist. In fact, communications between the fifteen islands of the Marianas Islands was dependent on the privately owned schooners and sailing vessels that carried out a small-scale trade between the islands.²¹ However, Gutierrez did command Apra Harbor which consisted of a dock in Piti, that had coal bunkers, a quarantine station on Cabras Island, and Fort Santiago and Fort Santa Cruz. Jose Romero Aguilar, a Spanish Army physician, served as Spanish Government's 1st Medical Officer. Jose Sisto was a Spanish Government Official who was in charge of treasury of the Spanish Government of the Marianas Islands. Despite the Spanish Government of the Marianas Islands being led by military professionals, they lacked information about current international events that would change their lives, and the political development of Guam, forever.

Guam had always been one of Spain's most remote outposts and in the final decades of Spanish rule in the Marianas this remoteness had increased. There were no undersea cables linking Guam to the Philippines and official communications from the Spanish Government in the Philippines to Guam were dependent on chartered steamships that sent supplies to Guam twice per year, the last of which had arrived and left prior to the war and Juan Marina's

²¹ Carlos Madrid, *Beyond Distances, Governance, Politics and Deportation in the Mariana Islands from 1870 to 1877*, (Quezon City, Philippines: Vibal Publishing House, Inc: 2006), 4.

latest official communications from Manila were dated April 14, 1848 prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War on April 24, 1898. Guam also received trading vessels from Japan, but the last of these had arrived on Guam on April 9, 1898 prior to the war. Hence, Juan Marina had to rely on his superiors in the Philippines to alert him of any imminent foreign threats to the Marianas Islands and any hope of such warning was rapidly fading. The departure of U.S. Asiatic Squadron from Hong Kong did not go unnoticed and although the Spanish Forces in the Philippines were warned that the Asiatic Squadron was heading to Subic to attack the Spanish naval squadron there and then go to Manila on April 28, 1898, the Spanish forces in the Philippines were too busy preparing for the U.S. attack to send a warning or reinforcements to Guam. After the Spanish squadron was destroyed on May 1, 1898, at the Battle of Manila Bay, the U.S. Navy had command of the sea surrounding Manila and it was no longer possible for Guam to be warned or receive reinforcements from the Philippines. Hence, during the crucial period of May to June of 1898, Juan Marina was unaware of the outbreak of the Spanish American War, he did not know that he and his garrison on Guam were isolated, nor did he know that there was a large U.S. expeditionary force lead by the *Charleston* that was heading his way.

The McKinley Administration successfully mobilized and deployed an expeditionary force to capture Guam and Manila. The passage of Resolution No. 21 on April 20, 1898 authorized the McKinley Administration to use the U.S. Army, Navy, and to activate state militia units to force Spain to comply with the U.S. demands.²² America had never in its history sent a large military expedition overseas and was now sending an expeditionary force to Cuba and a second one to the Philippines. The Philippine contingent consisted of fifteen thousand troops which were being hastily assembled at Camp Merritt, named for their commander, Major General Wesley Merritt, a veteran of the U.S. Civil War and the Indian Wars fought on America's western frontier, at the U.S. Army's Presidio in San Francisco, California. Neither the U.S. Army or U.S. Navy had any troopships at this time and Merritt had to procure civilian steamships to send his force to the Philippines.

Due to the impossibility of quickly assembling the large number of such vessels that would be needed to send the troops in one voyage, Merritt planned to send them in groups between May and August, 1898 as the vessels became available. Merritt placed the vanguard of the expeditionary force, some two-thousand-five-hundred troops under the command of Brigadier General Thomas H. Anderson, also a veteran of the Civil War, and sent them to the Philippines via Hawaii on May 25, 1898 in the chartered steamships *City of Peking*, *City of*

²² Sherman to Woodford [Telegram] Enclosure, April 20, 1898, House Doc.1, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898*, 55th Congress, 3d Session, 763.

Sydney, and the *Australia*. This force, would be the first to make the longest journey ever attempted by the U.S. military to transport American troops overseas. The one-thousand-two hundred regular army soldiers in the eight companies of the U.S. Army's 14th Infantry Regiment were the best equipped, led, and trained soldiers of this force and they had embarked aboard the steamship *City of Peking* along with a number of U.S. Marines and supplies for Admiral Dewey at Manila.²³ U.S. Navy Commander William C. Gibson, the ship's captain, was also entrusted by the Navy Department with a sealed confidential order that he was to deliver to Captain Henry Glass who commanded the cruiser *Charleston* after the *City of Peking* arrived in Honolulu, Hawaii. The remaining one-thousand-three hundred troops embarked on the *City of Sydney* and the *Australia* and were from activated militia units that were composed of many volunteers that had enlisted shortly after April 25, 1898 U.S. declaration of war against Spain. Anderson and his headquarters and staff embarked on the *Australia* joining the ten companies of the 2nd Oregon Infantry Regiment as well as several civilian war correspondents including one from *Harper's Weekly* and *The Chicago Daily News*. The 1st California Infantry Regiment, and a California Artillery Battalion composed of a battery of heavy artillery and a second battery of field guns, embarked on the *City of Sydney*. The supplies and munitions for Anderson's force were also stored on the *Australia* and *City of Sydney*.²⁴ The May 25, 1898 departure of Anderson's force in the *City of Peking*, *City of Sydney*, and the *Australia* to reinforce Dewey in the Philippines was not cloaked in secrecy as such an event would be in later wars, but was a celebratory event that attended by the public and was covered in the press. Retired U.S. Army Warrant Officer George A. Courtright, writing about the event some forty-three years later, who had left his U.S. Civil Service employment as a purchaser to serve under Anderson's Chief Quartermaster observed from his vantage point on the *Australia*: "The three ships, sailing practically abreast at the Gate [San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge] made an impressive picture as they steamed out of the Bay on the First Expedition to a practically unknown land, people or conditions. The picture and news headline had it: "Going to Help Dewey," made it all very interesting."²⁵ The departure of Anderson's force was also met by a cacophony of cheers, songs, and whistles from a cluster of tugs, barges, ferries and yachts.²⁶ Despite the fanfare, press coverage, and public knowledge of the destination of ships and the troops they carried, Juan Marina, due to communications between the Philippines and Guam being severed, would not know of the war or that this

²³ Long to Dewey, May 21, 1898, 40, and Farenholt, 754.

²⁴ [Warrant Officer George A. Courtright \(Ret.\) to Warren Reed West, February 18, 1941, Documental Histories, Spanish American War, Capture of Guam](#), Navy Department, Naval History and Heritage Command. Accessed on February 7, 2021.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image, America's Empire in the Philippines*, (New York: Random House Inc: 1989) 119.

enemy military force containing a land contingent fourteen times the size of his garrison had been sent in his direction until it arrived at Guam.

Glass took command of the three transports carrying Anderson's force in Hawaii. Despite being heavily loaded with troops, supplies and munitions, the transports only took a week to make the passage to Hawaii, arriving at Honolulu to join the *Charleston* there on June 1, 1898, and Anderson and his troops were well received and entertained by Hawaiian officials and residents.²⁷ The *Charleston* had arrived at Honolulu three days earlier on May 29, 1898. Despite being commissioned in 1890, the *Charleston* had been out of commission and docked at San Francisco, California since 1896. Just ten days after the start of the war, she was swiftly readied, crewed with approximately thirty-four officers, two-hundred-ninety-six sailors, and a contingent of thirty marines, and recommissioned on May 5, 1898.²⁸ Her main armament consisted of two eight-inch guns that were mounted in positions on her bow and stern, two broadside batteries each composed of three six-inch guns for a total of six guns, and a secondary battery composed of four six-pound guns, two three-pound and two one-pound revolving cannon, and two 45 caliber galling guns. These combined with her steel armor, 3 inches on her sloped sides and two inches on her decks, made her a formidable warship and opponent.

Glass, a Civil War veteran, was to command and escort the convoy of three ships with the *Charleston* between Hawaii and the Philippines. While the ships replenished their coal bunkers and took on additional supplies, Gibson delivered the sealed confidential order to Glass. Glass had previously received a telegram dated May 24, 1898 from the Navy Department that directed him to proceed to Manila and when clear of land, to open and comply with the sealed order.²⁹ The *Charleston* and its convoy of three ships left Hawaii on June 4, 1898 and when clear of land, Glass opened and read Long's order.³⁰ The order was dated May 10, 1898 and instructed Glass to escort the transports to Manila. The order gave further instructions regarding Guam:

On your way, you are hereby directed to stop at the Spanish Island of Guam, making prisoners of the governor and other officials and any forced that may be there. You will also destroy any fortifications on said island and any Spanish naval vessels that may be there, or in the immediate vicinity.

²⁷ Courtright to West.

²⁸ [Charleston II \(C-2\)](#), *Dictionary of Naval Fighting Ships*, Navy Department, Naval History and Heritage Command, Accessed on February 7, 2021.

²⁹ Courtright to West.

³⁰ Glass to Long.

These operations at the Island of Guam should be very brief, and should not occupy more than one or two days. Should you find any coal at the Island of Guam, you shall make such use of it as you consider desirable. It is left to your discretion whether or not you destroy it. From the Island of Guam, proceed to Manila and report to Rear-Admiral George Dewey, U.S.N., for duty in the squadron under his command.³¹

Glass changed the convoy's course toward Guam and held a conference aboard the *Charleston* on June 5, 1898 to brief General Anderson, his staff, and other officials from the three transports on the details of the order and to advise them that the transports would accompany the *Charleston* for the Guam operation.³² Glass and his officers only had fifteen days to plan this operation and they were almost as in the dark about Guam as Juan Marina was about them.

Glass did not have any detailed information on the size of Guam's garrison and he expected a difficult fight. This lack of information concerning the new objective was described by Courtright who stated: "When the news of our destination and object was learned aboard the *Australia* there was considerable excitement, of course, and the cause of many pow-wows as "What about Guam and where is it anyway, and what do we want of it?," was frequently asked and debated. Well it served to keep our minds occupied to some extent as we sailed, O, so slowly, to the West by Southwest toward Guam."³³ What the Americans did know about Guam came from the descriptions of it given by American whalers that had stopped there over fifty years earlier. They knew that Apra Harbor was protected by two strategically located forts and Glass and his officers assumed that these forts would be well manned and would be equipped with strong artillery batteries as they planned their attack. Glass also estimated that there could be up to a thousand Spanish troops on Guam and among the many rumors about Guam that were being shared among his command was that two Spanish warships were in Apra Harbor. To defeat these threats and capture Guam, the Guam operation that would be carried out consisted of the *Charleston* sailing past Hagåtña to search for any Spanish ships that might be located there, then proceeding to Apra Harbor to neutralize the two forts guarding it, after which a ground force composed of the Marines from the *Charleston* and the *City of Peking*, and a contingent of army troops from the 2nd Oregon Infantry Regiment on the *Australia* would land on Guam to capture the island. Despite the

³¹ Leslie W. Walker, "Guam's Seizure by the United States in 1898." *The Pacific Historical Review* 14 (March, 1945): 3.

³² Glass to Long.

³³ Courtright to West.

apprehension caused about what most believed would be a difficult fight on Guam, the convoy fell into a steady routine for the next couple of weeks with the soldiers on the transports, many of whom were suffering from being at sea for the first time or from being billeted in the cramped holds of the transports or both, being brought up to the decks one company at a time for an hour or two each day, to conduct their drills and to get exercise and fresh air, while the *Charleston*, leading the convoy, also practiced and prepared for its first combat action in the Spanish-American War.

The American attack on Guam completely surprised Juan Marina and the Spanish garrison. Glass put his plan into action after the dark outlines of Guam's shores were sighted early Sunday morning on June 20, 1898. The *Charleston* and its convoy were just a few miles north of Guam at dawn that day and its crew prepared for action on their way to Apra Harbor, which they expected to reach before 8:00 a.m.³⁴ The capture of Guam began with the *Charleston's* search for Spanish ships at Hagåtña. After arriving there, Glass found no vessels of any kind and he proceeded to Apra Harbor. Had the war occurred in the early 1800s, perhaps Fort San Rafael and Fort Santa Aguada would have given the Americans a great surprise by firing on them as they passed within their range along Hagåtña's coastline. However, almost a century later, the forts, long stripped of their garrisons and guns, were merely mute witnesses as the threat they were made to defend against, an enemy attacking from the sea, unfolded before them. Monsoon season was beginning on Guam and it was a gloomy morning with light showers drizzling from an overcast sky. Despite this, the ships were sighted and a small crowd gathered at the *Tolai Acho*, an old stone bridge that spanned the Hagåtña River, to watch the American ships as they passed outside of the capitol city's boat basin. The Spanish officials learned from the crowd that the ships were American and although visits from American warships on Guam were uncommon, the *Charleston* and its convoy aroused only slight curiosity from the Spanish garrison of Guam resulting in some of the Spanish Marine Infantry putting on their shoes and dressing up more than usual and their officers getting into their gold lace coats and chapeaus.³⁵ Juan Marina's principal lieutenants, Pedro Duarte Anducar, Captain of the Spanish Marine Infantry, Francisco Garcia Gutierrez, the naval commander of Apra Harbor, 1st Medical Officer Jose Romero Aguilar, a Spanish Army physician, and Jose Sisto were dispatched to make the two hour journey to Apra Harbor to meet the American ships. Little did they know that it would be a warm welcome indeed.

³⁴ Robert E. Coontz, *From the Mississippi to the Sea*, (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1930), 204.

³⁵ Courtright to West.

The *Charleston's* next objective was the forts of Apra Harbor. It arrived at the harbor's entrance at 8:30 a.m. and Glass signaled to the transports to wait in a northern position outside of the entrance and await further orders while the cruiser prepared to make its run into the harbor to attack its forts with all hands at their battle stations, the ships decks cleared, and all guns ready for action. As the *Charleston* turned to enter the harbor, an unidentified ship was sighted within it. With the rumors of two Spanish warships at Guam still fresh in their minds, the *Charleston's* crew enthusiastically trained their guns on the unknown vessel which responded quickly by hoisting its Japanese merchant colors and Glass subsequently confirmed it was not a warship, but a small Japanese trading vessel from Yokohama and that it was the only other vessel in Apra Harbor. Glass ordered his crew to stand down leaving the Japanese vessel in peace, and slowed the cruiser to transfer T.A. Hallett, the *Australia's* third officer, who had volunteered to pilot the *Charleston* through Apra Harbor because he was familiar with it and Hallett performed this duty efficiently by piloting the ship safely through the harbor's shoals and reefs.³⁶ Glass ordered the

Charleston to steam directly into the harbor and the ship traveled through its channel bringing it beneath the northern cliffs of the Orote peninsula where Glass and his officers sighted Fort Santiago perched atop a cliff that rose two hundred feet above them. Glass ordered his gun crews to bombard the fort, however this could not be done due to the fort's high elevation. A. Farenholt Jr., the *Charleston's* chief medical officer described the anxious moments that followed:

This elevated battery could be dimly made out amount the trees and as we passed into the channel and as one after another of our guns could not be brought to bear and the situation became exiting. A single three-pounder or a company of riflemen could have made it unpleasant for us. We kept on and not a single gun was fired.³⁷

Glass determined that the fort was in ruins and abandoned and ordered to *Charleston* to continue on its course into the harbor. Shortly thereafter Fort Santa Cruz was sighted directly ahead of the *Charleston* and looked like a "small, square, stone, boxlike affair built on a low coral reef in about the center of the harbor."³⁸ Glass ordered the *Charleston's* secondary battery to fire on the fort to get its range and to ascertain if it was occupied and a few of the ship's three pound guns roared to life firing a dozen shells into Fort Santa Cruz. After receiving no response from the fort, Glass ordered the guns to cease firing and anchored the

³⁶ Glass to Long.

³⁷ Farenholt, 756.

³⁸ Ibid.

Charleston in a position to which it could control the harbor. He then discovered that Fort Santa Cruz, like Fort Santiago, appeared to be abandoned. Glass dispatched one of his officers to board the Japanese vessel to obtain information about conditions ashore and signaled the transports to enter the harbor to join the *Charleston*. But where were the Spanish? The Americans had found their forts abandoned and none of their warships present, Glass and his crew anxiously pondered this mystery which would soon be solved.

The Spanish Officials dispatched from Hagåtña to meet the American ships heard the sound of the *Charleston* guns firing on Fort Santa Cruz as they waited at the Piti wharf, and they concluded that the warship was offering a ceremonial salute. Pedro Duarte Anducar, Captain of the Spanish Marine Infantry, sent orders to Hagåtña to transport two artillery pieces from there to Apra Harbor so they could return the salute. Meanwhile, Francisco Garcia Gutierrez, the naval commander of the harbor, 1st Medical Officer Jose Romero Aguilar, and Padre Jose Palomo, a Guamanian priest, boarded two whaleboats and made way to greet the American ships. The crew of the *Charleston* sighted the whaleboats carrying the Spanish officials just after the boarding party heading for the Japanese vessel had shoved off and approximately two hours after the bombardment of Fort Santa Cruz. Farenholt described the scene:

At 10:30, a couple of white European boats were seen coming off from the upper end of the harbor, one of them flying a large Spanish flag which trailed in the water water astern. We could see the white uniforms of two officers and the rail was crowded fore and aft with our people, watching the slow Spanish stroke bring the boats alongside.³⁹

After the Spanish officials were aboard the *Charleston* they were sent to Glass and one of the most famous conversations of Spanish-American War occurred. Gutierrez began it by saying: “You will pardon our not immediately replying to your salute, my captain, but we are unaccustomed to receiving salutes here and are not supplied with proper guns for returning them.” Glass, likely bewildered, replied by stating: “What salute? Those were hostile shots. Our countries are at war.”⁴⁰ Glass described what occurred next in a report he sent to Secretary Long on June 24, 1898, just four days later: “These officers came on board and in answer to my questions, told me they did not know that war had been declared between the United States and Spain, their last news having been from Manila, under the date of April 14 [1898]. I informed them that war existed and that they must consider themselves as prisoners.”⁴¹ The Spanish officers also disclosed to Glass that the Spanish garrison could not

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Karnow, 119.

⁴¹ Glass to Long.

resist the *Charleston* or the large number of troops in the transports. Glass then paroled them for the day with instructions to proceed to Hagåtña to inform Juan Marina that Glass wanted to see him aboard the *Charleston* at once and the Spanish officers assured Glass that Juan Marina would do so as soon as he could reach the port.⁴²

Glass examined Apra Harbor while waiting for Juan Marina. He had the harbor's navigational hazards marked with buoys so that the transports could safely enter it. Glass had been ordered to destroy any fortifications on Guam. However, it was ultimately determined that Guam was practically defenseless because none of its forts had any batteries. Glass confirmed this by visiting Fort Santa Cruz where he found: "It was entirely useless as a defensive work, with no guns and in a partly ruinous condition, and that it was not necessary to expend any mines blowing it up."⁴³ Hence, other than the initial bombardment of Fort Santa Cruz, the Americans did no further harm to Guam's forts. The survey also found that there was no coal on Guam and it was discovered that the last Spanish warship to visit Guam had done so eighteen months prior to the arrival of the *Charleston*. Meanwhile, after Apra Harbor's shoals and reefs had been marked with buoys by the *Charleston*, the *City of Peking*, *Australia*, and *City of Sydney* entered Apra Harbor on the afternoon of June 20, 1898 to join her. Guam's forts played no part in defending the island against the Americans and its defense was left up to its garrison. But were the Spanish Government of the Marianas Islands and the officers and men of the 2nd Battalion, Marine Infantry Regiment and the Guam Militia up to this task?

Although Guam's Spanish garrison had the capability and some time to conduct a defensive operation, Juan Marina decided to comply with the American's demand that he surrender Guam due to his belief that the Americans would occupy the island. Juan Marina declined Glass' invitation to meet aboard the *Charleston*. True to their promise to Glass, Gutierrez and Romero had returned to Hagåtña and briefed Juan Marina about the state of war between Spain and the United States and the true purpose and mission of the American ships. Juan Marina dispatched Jose Berruezo Garcia, an Alférez, ensign or sub-Lieutenant, of the 2nd Battalion, Spanish Marine Infantry Regiment, who also served as the Governor's secretary, and an interpreter to deliver Juan Marina's written response to Glass' request to meet aboard the *Charleston*. Garcia arrived at the *Charleston* at 5:00 p.m., on June 20, 1898, and delivered Juan Marina's letter to Glass.⁴⁴ Juan Marina's letter stated:

By the captain of the port in which you have cast anchor I have been
courteously requested as a soldier, and above all, as a gentleman, to hold a

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Statement of Jose Berruezo Garcia, and Glass to Long.

conference with you, adding that you have advised him that war has been declared between our respective nations, and that you have come for the purpose of occupying these Spanish Islands. It would give me great pleasure to comply with his request and see you personally, but as the military laws of my country prohibit me from going on board a foreign vessel, I regret to have to decline this honor and to ask that you will kindly come on shore, where I await you to accede to your wishes as far as possible and to agree as to our mutual situations. Asking your pardon for the trouble I cause you, I guarantee your safe return to your ship.⁴⁵

Glass knew that it was too late to send a landing party due to it being high tide which would prohibit his forces from crossing the reef between his ships and the Piti Wharf. He asked Garcia to inform Juan Marina that either Glass or an officer sent by Glass with a communication for Juan Marina expressing Glass' wishes, would come ashore between 9 to 10 a.m., the next day which was June 21, 1898. The Spanish and Americans both held councils of war to carefully plan their actions for that day.

Juan Marina held a council of war that evening in Hagåtña. The Spanish had the option of defending Guam using the one-hundred-sixty-six marines and Guam Militiamen of the 2nd Battalion of the Spanish Marine Infantry. Despite being outnumbered twenty-two to one, they had the advantage of being on land. The American troops and their supplies would have to disembark from ships and cross reefs making them vulnerable to enemy fire until they reached the shoreline. If the Americans succeeded in landing the Spanish Marines and Guam Militia had the advantage of knowing Guam's difficult terrain while their American counterparts lacked any knowledge of Guam's interior. The Americans had the disadvantage of being restricted to Guam's few and not-well developed roads where all their movements would be vulnerable to ambush. Although the Americans had the advantage of the *Charleston's* firepower, the warship mainly threatened Apra Harbor, the Piti Wharf, and Hagåtña, and the Spanish could have mitigated this threat by evacuating those locations, which they could have done, albeit not easily, in the fourteen hours remaining before the Americans landed. Though Spanish firepower was limited to their four mobile cast iron artillery pieces, these could be emplaced to defend against an American landing as mentioned in the 1830 engineering study of Guam's fortifications.⁴⁶ They could have also been emplaced on the high ground of the Orote Peninsula where they could fire at the

⁴⁵ [Juan Marina to Henry Glass, June 20, 1898](#), *Documentary Histories, Spanish American War, Capture of Guam*, Navy Department, Naval History and Heritage Command. Accessed on February 9, 2021.

⁴⁶ Driver and Brunal-Perry, 21.

vulnerable decks of the American ships below. However, such actions would require at least three things to succeed. First, it would require supplies, especially ammunition. The battalion more than enough ammunition for such defensive operations with seven-thousand-five hundred rounds of 7mm Mauser on stripper clips for rapid loading in their bolt action Mauser Rifles, and they had two-thousand rounds of 43 Spanish for their Remington Rolling Block breach loading rifles, as well as more than enough cartridge belts and boxes to carry them in.⁴⁷ Second, it would require troops trained to maneuver, build and fight from hasty defensive positions, and conduct ambushes. The Spanish Marines and Guam Militia, though better armed than their American counter-parts, did not have this training and had only used their rifles for hunting and their artillery for ceremonial salutes.⁴⁸ Additionally, their four cast-iron artillery pieces had been previously condemned and were considered unsafe for the purposes of providing ceremonial salutes.⁴⁹ Hence, it was reasonable for the Spanish to conclude that their battalion would not likely be able to successfully conduct defensive operations against the superior numbers of American troops and the warship that they were facing. However, weaknesses in troops could be mitigated through leadership.

Strong leadership was the third thing the Spanish required for a defensive operation against the Americans to have a chance of success. Although Juan Marina and most of his administration were military officers, like him, their combat experience appears to be limited to fighting Philippine insurgents. They were now faced with a formidable and numerically superior conventional military force. Further, based on the language of Juan Marina's letter to Glass, it appears that he believed that the main objective of the Americans was to occupy Guam. He likely did not know that the American troops aboard the transports were the reinforcements for Dewey in the Philippines or that Glass was ordered to only spend a day or two on Guam. That fact would have been decisive in determining whether to use the battalion to conduct a defensive action against the Americans as such act might have successfully deterred the Americans for a day or two. However, without knowing this, it was reasonable for the Spanish to conclude that defending Guam with their marines and militia would be a daring, risky, and audacious course of action. Juan Marina and his officers proved to be more logical and cautious instead, and their council of war concluded with their decision to surrender Guam to the Americans the next day.

⁴⁷ William Braunersreuther, *Report of Lt. William Braunersreuther On the Capture of Guam*, The Spanish American War Centennial Website. Accessed on February 9, 2021.

⁴⁸ Courtright to West, and Glass to Long.

⁴⁹ Glass to Long.

While the Spanish were conducting their council of war, Glass was preparing to take Guam by force. That evening, Glass conferred with Anderson to plan the landing party that would go ashore the next day. Anderson gave Glass two companies of the 2nd Oregon Infantry Regiment aboard the *Australia* for the operation. Glass added the army troops to the *Charleston's* thirty Marines who would be reinforced with the Marines aboard the *City of Peking*. The landing party was organized into two divisions and was placed under the command of U.S. Navy Lieutenant William Braunersreuther, the *Charleston's* Navigator. Braunersreuther was ordered to depart at 8:30 a.m. on June 21, 1898 because of the favorable tide conditions at that time, yet, the landing party would be no easy duty. Its rowboats would have to be towed to the reef using steam launches and from there the boats would have to be lifted by the Marines and soldiers who would carry them over the reef, and once there, they had to be rowed to shore. Glass gave Braunersreuther his written demand for the immediate surrender of the defenses of Guam and all officials and persons in the military service of Spain. Glass instructed Braunersreuther to keep the two divisions of the landing party at ready off-shore and that Braunersreuther would go ashore under a flag of truce to present the letter to Juan Marina and wait only half an hour for a reply. Braunersreuther was instructed that if the Spanish surrendered, he must bring Juan Marina and the other Spanish officials on board the *Charleston* as prisoners of war. However, if the Spanish refused to surrender or delayed beyond the half hour time limit to reply, Glass instructed Braunersreuther to return to the landing party offshore and proceed to Hagåtña where he was to:

Capture the Governor, other officials, and any armed force found there. You will bring the prisoners captured to this ship [*Charleston*], destroying such portions of the defenses of Agana as practicable in the time at your disposal and such arms and military supplies as can not be conveniently brought off. You will see that private property is respected as far as possible, consistently with the duty assigned you, and will prevent any marauding by the force under your command. The greatest expedition must be used, and it is expected that the men of the landing party will be able to return to their ships before dark today [June 21, 1898]. The men landed will be supplied with rations for one day and be equipped in light marching order.⁵⁰

For Glass, one way or the other, June 21, 1898 would be the last day Juan Marina would be Governor of the Marianas Islands.

⁵⁰ Glass to Long and Glass to Braunersreuther, June 21, 1898, as seen in Don A. Farrell, *A Pictorial History of Guam, The Americanization, 1898-1918* (Tamuning, Guam: Micronesia Productions, 1986), 24.

Even when confronted with the true intent of the U.S. forces that captured Guam or their plans for him and the rest of the Spanish garrison, Juan Marina did not offer to surrender more of the Marianas Islands in an attempt to avoid becoming a U.S. Prisoner of War. Juan Marina was true to his word. He had told Glass that he would meet him ashore and at 6:00 a.m., Monday, June 21, 1898, under an overcast and cloudy sky, Juan Marina, accompanied by Gutierrez, Andujar, and Romero, left Hagåtña to meet with Glass or an officer sent by him at the Piti Wharf. Juan Marina left two Alferezes, his secretary Jose Berruezo Garcia, who had met with Glass that previous evening, and Marceilino Ramos Lopez in charge of the capitol and to await further instructions from him.⁵¹ Meanwhile, Braunersreuther and the marines and soldiers of the landing party found themselves clambering aboard their boats from the *Charleston*, *City of Peking*, and the *Australia* in a heavy drizzle. Braunersreuther landed at the wharf around 10:00 a.m., under his flag of truce where he was met by Juan Marina and his party. After formal introductions were made between the parties, Braunersreuther presented Juan Marina with Glass' letter which stated:

In reply to your communication of this date [June 20, 1898]. I have now, in compliance with the orders of my government, to demand the immediate surrender of the defenses of the Island of Guam, with arms of all kinds, all officials and persons in the military services of Spain now in this island. This communication will be handed to you tomorrow morning by an officer who is ordered to wait not over one half hour for your reply.⁵²

Braunersreuther informed Juan Marina that it was 10:15 a.m. and that he had a half-hour to reply and to consider that the Americans had three transports filled with many troops and a formidable warship in Apra Harbor. Juan Marina thanked him and went into a nearby building with his officials and although he had already decided to surrender Guam, in a token show of resistance he appeared twenty-nine minutes later and handed Braunersreuther a sealed envelope addressed to Glass and stated that this was his reply. Juan Marina expected Braunersreuther to return to the *Charleston* to deliver his letter to Glass, but to his surprise, Braunersreuther broke the letter's seal, and Juan Marina hastily remarked "Ah, but that it was for the commandante." Braunersreuther stated that he represented Glass and he requested that Juan Marina read the letter. Juan Marina did so and stated:

I am in receipt of your communication of yesterday demanding the surrender of this place. Being without defense of any kind and without

⁵¹ Statement of Jose Berruezo Garcia

⁵² [Glass to Juan Marina, June 20, 1898](#), *Documentary Histories, Spanish American War, Capture of Guam*, Navy Department, Naval History and Heritage Command. Accessed on February 9, 2021.

means for meeting the present situation, I am under the sad necessity of being unable to resist such superior forces and regretfully accede to your demands, at the same time protesting against this act of violence, when I have received no information from my government to the effect that Spain is at war with your nation.⁵³

In a mere two sentences, over two hundred years of Spanish rule on Guam had ended. However, this proved to be the beginning of a new ordeal for Juan Marina, the Spanish Officials, and the Spanish Marines on Guam.

Instead of occupying Guam as they expected, the Spanish quickly discovered that the Americans were going to leave Guam and take them with them. The ordeal began immediately after Juan Marina read his letter to Braunersreuther who then proclaimed that Juan Marina and his party were now his prisoners and that they would be taken onboard the *Charleston*. The Spanish protested, arguing that this was a violation of the flag of truce, that they were not prepared to leave Guam as prisoners because they had no clothes and would be leaving their property interests and families behind. Braunersreuther denied violating the flag a truce arguing that he had made them his prisoners after he accepted their surrender, but he mercifully allowed them to write to their families to send their clothes and personal effects to the Piti Wharf. He also directed Juan Marina to write an order to his two lieutenants in Hagåtña instructing them to march the Spanish Marine Infantry with their arms, accoutrements, ammunition and flags to the Piti Wharf by 4:00 p.m. that evening. Braunersreuther then returned to the *Charleston* with Juan Marina, Gutierrez, Romero, and Andujar, and while underway, he signaled the two divisions of the landing party who were still at sea, to return to their ships because the attack on Hagåtña was no longer necessary, and he signaled the *Charleston* that the Spanish had surrendered. Braunersreuther and his prisoners arrived back at the *Charleston* at 12:30 p.m. that afternoon and he delivered Juan Marina's surrender letter to Glass. However, Braunersreuther had not finished his job because he had to return the Piti Wharf to receive the rest of Spanish Garrison and their equipment. At this point, the last opportunity to resist the Americans lay with the two Alferez's in Hagåtña. Would they comply with Juan Marina's instructions or would their zeal for Spain or their ambitions compel them to resist? For either purpose, the Alferezs and the rest of the Spanish garrison had to make their way to Apra Harbor.

The Spanish Garrison complied with Juan Marina's instructions. The Alferez's received Juan Marina's letter at 1:00 p.m., on June 21, 1898 which stated: "The Commander of the American

⁵³ Marina to Glass, June 21, 1898, as seen in Farrell, 29.

War Cruiser “Charleston” has intimated me with the surrender of the island that I have no choice but to accept. As a result, at 4pm V. will be in Piti’s docks with all his armed force and ammunition, removing the guards and handing over the premises to the Governor. Equal conduct will follow the Lieutenant Commander of the Artillery Section, bringing Remington weaponry and endowment of it, leaving the park guard in charge of the premises he occupies.”⁵⁴ The Alferezs, not knowing that this instruction was dictated by Braunersreuther, collected their battalion’s troops, weapons, ammunition and equipment as instructed, and began the trek to the Piti Wharf. The Alferezs also received additional instructions to bring garrison’s flags in Hagåtña with them and the Spanish flags that had soared over the Government House, the Artillery Park, the Barracks of the Spanish Marine Infantry, and the Captaincy of the Port, were lowered on Guam for the last time. A new flag would soon fly over the island. After receiving Juan Marina’s written surrender of Guam from Braunersreuther earlier that day, Glass and a small party of officers and other military personnel and war correspondents went to Fort Santa Cruz where, at 2:45 p.m., on June 21, 1898, they raised the Stars and Stripes accompanied by a twenty-one gun salute by the Charleston, while the bands from the California and Oregon regiments played the Star Spangled Banner. Guam was now the first Spanish territory the Americans captured during the Spanish-American War.

Braunersreuther completed his assignment that evening. He left the *Charleston* at 3:30 p.m., that day with the ship’s detachment of thirty marines and traveled to the Piti Wharf where he met the Alferezs and the rest of the Spanish Garrison at 4:00 p.m. Braunersreuther inventoried and confiscated their arms, equipment, ammunition, and flags and made the two Alferezs and the fifty-four soldiers of the company of regular Spanish Marine Infantry his prisoners, and placed them on scow that transferred them to the *City of Sydney* by 7:00 p.m. After disarming the fifty-two soldiers of the company of Guam militia that were present, two were absent and reported to be ill, he paroled them without any restrictions and observed that after they learned that they would not be interned with the other company in their battalion and would be allowed to return to their homes they were: “Manifesting such great joy at being relieved of their arms and giving away to men in my force buttons and ornaments on their uniforms, thereby conveying to me the impression that they were equally glad to be rid of Spanish rule.”⁵⁵ Whether the Guamanian militia men were truly glad to be rid of Spanish rule or simply glad that they were not to made prisoners and taken away, their joy was justified as the American ships would soon leave their shores.

⁵⁴ Statement of Jose Berruezo Garcia

⁵⁵ Braunersreuther.

The Stars and Stripes flying over Fort Santa Cruz did remain there long. Shortly after the flag raising ceremony, it was lowered and Glass prepared to continue his mission of taking the three transports and their troops to Manila. As there was no coal found on Guam, Glass had to transfer coal from the transports to refill the *Charleston's* coal bunkers so that the ship could complete its journey to the Philippines. The American ships also purchased fresh supplies from Guamanian merchants. The *Charleston*, *City of Peking*, *Australia*, and the *City of Sydney*, departed Guam on June 22, 1898 and arrived at Cavite, Philippines on July 1, 1898. Prior to leaving, Glass entrusted Guam's governance to Francisco Portusach, one of Guam's leading merchants and the only American Citizen residing on the island at that time. However, Glass left Portusach no troops or other administrators to occupy the island. Despite this, Portusach had greater contact with the Americans for the duration of the Spanish-American War than his predecessor Juan Marina had with the Spanish. In mid-July, 1898, the monitor U.S.S. Monterey stopped on Guam to refill her boilers with fresh water and to take on fresh supplies. A week later, another monitor, the U.S.S. Monadnock stopped at Guam for the same purpose accompanied by the collier *Nero*. Portusach and residents of Guam were informed of the end of the war when the U.S.S. Pennsylvania stopped there on September 17, 1898 on its way to the Philippines. Despite the end of the war, Guam's fate had yet to be decided.

III.

The capture Guam helped transform America's strategic objectives during the war.

The capture of Guam was but one of a series of quick and decisive victories with few or no casualties that transformed the McKinley Administration's plans for Spain's distant lands in the Pacific. The Spanish-American War ended just a month and half after the United States captured Guam but that did not end America's need for a secure line of supply and communications to the Philippines. Guam's strategic importance to the United States was its location which America could use as a coaling station between America's newly acquired territory in the Philippines and the U.S. Navy requested that Guam be retained after the war for this purpose. McKinley approved the Navy's request for Guam and instructed the U.S. peace commissioners in Paris negotiating the treaty with Spain to include Guam in the treaty. The Treaty of Paris created an American Empire in the Pacific with the Philippines in the western Pacific, Hawaii in the eastern Pacific, and Guam which solidified America's lines of communications and the transit of America's warships between these points.

The capture of Guam was but one of a series of quick and decisive victories with few or no casualties that transformed the McKinley Administration's plans for Spain's distant lands in the Pacific. In June, 1898 McKinley drew up his first set of demands on the Spanish if they

asked for an armistice and he and his Secretary of State, William R. Day then waited patiently for Spain to demand peace. This opportunity came on July 26, 1898 when the Queen of Spain sent a message to McKinley through the French Ambassador to the United States requesting the terms under which America and Spain could discuss peace and resolve the Cuban problem. Day replied by giving McKinley's three conditions for peace to the Spanish. First, Spain must relinquish sovereignty over Cuba. Second, Spain must cede to the U.S., Puerto Rico and other Spanish territories in the West Indies, and an island in the Marianas to be selected by the United States. Third, the U.S. would occupy and hold Manila pending the conclusion of a peace treaty which would determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.⁵⁶ These demands did not express mere American optimism. In just three months, America had not only captured Guam, but had also destroyed Spain's navy squadrons in the Pacific and the Caribbean, joined Philippine insurgents besieging Manila, conquered north-eastern Cuba, and had established a foot-hold in Puerto Rico. Spain was not winning the war and the quick American victories on both fronts fanned the fires of American imperialism. The real question for McKinley was how much of the Philippines and the Marianas America should keep. In July, 1898 he stated:

We will first take the Philippines, the Marianas, the Carolines, and Puerto Rico. Then when we have possession, undisputed, we will look them over at our leisure and do what seems wisest. Personally, I am in favor of keeping Luzon and fortifying Manila. We know very little about the group, but that which we do know makes it very doubtful that if there would be any advantage to be derived from holding it all... Apart from that idea, I favor the general principal of holding on to what we get.⁵⁷

Hence, McKinley was contemplating keeping all of the Marianas Islands and not just one of them. As for his last statement, Guam was the only island in the Marianas that America had actually taken. Juan Marina was the Governor of the Marianas Islands and Hagåtña was the capitol of the entire archipelago. Glass knew this, yet, he followed Long's orders to the letter by only insisting that Juan Marina surrender Guam.⁵⁸ Juan Marina was only too happy to oblige Glass by limiting his surrender to Guam alone. Yet, America demanded to select an island in the Marianas it would keep, which one would it choose?

The Spanish-American War ended just a month and half after the United States captured Guam. Spain responded to McKinley's demands by agreeing to relinquish her sovereignty

⁵⁶ Day to Duke of Almodovar del Rio, July 22, 1898, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898*, 821.

⁵⁷ Grenville and Young, *Politics, Strategy, and American Diplomacy*, 287.

⁵⁸ Glass to Long.

over Cuba. Spain also agreed to the second demand, which included cessation of an island in the Marianas to be selected by the United States, and stated: “This demand strips us of the very last memories of a glorious past.”⁵⁹ Spain only contested the third U.S. demands for the Philippines. Despite this, the war officially ended on August 12, 1898 after a protocol and agreement to end hostilities was accepted by both America and Spain. News of the war’s end did not reach the U.S. forces besieging Manila or its Spanish defenders before the Spanish surrendered the city to U.S. forces on August 13, 1898. On August 22, 1898, a Naval War Board which included Long, Rear-Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, the famous and revered naval strategist, and Sicard, concluded its study of which overseas territories the United States should acquire for use as naval bases. The board recommended that America acquire Pago Pago, Samoa, Hawaii, Guam, Manila, and one of the Chusan Island.⁶⁰ Guam’s place in this roster is not surprising considering its recent use as port in which U.S. ships traveling to the Philippines could take on coal and acquire fresh water and supplies, a use that America would continue to need if it acquired Manila or the entire Philippine archipelago from Spain. The board’s recommendation was followed by a naval strategic study conducted by Commander R.B. Bradford, Chief of the Navy Department’s Bureau of Equipment. This bureau was responsible for supplying coal and repair facilities to support U.S. Navy vessels world-wide. Bradford’s study concluded that America’s need for more naval bases in the Pacific was proven by its experience in the Spanish-American War and he stated:

Admiral Dewey, as soon as war was declared, was of course, without a base of supplies, without coal, and without even a harbor of refuge... Had he been defeated, he would have been obliged to abandon the Asiatic Station. With the coal in the two steamers, had they remained in his possession, he probably could have reached Hawaii, but not San Francisco. I am positive, if this country is to possess any colonies, however insignificant, in the vicinity of the China Sea, that coaling stations are absolutely necessary in the Pacific along the route of communication from our coast.⁶¹

Hence, from the outset of the Spanish-American War and thereafter, Guam’s strategic importance to the United States was its location which could be used as a coaling station between the territories in the Philippines the U.S. anticipated to receive, and America’s west coast.

⁵⁹ Duke of Almodovar del Rio to Day, July 22, 1898, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898*, 821.

⁶⁰ Greenville and Young, 295.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

McKinley approved the Navy's request for Guam and on September 16, 1898 he instructed the five U.S. peace commissioners in Paris negotiating the treaty with Spain to include Guam in the treaty. The America and Spain agreed to the final draft of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898. The treaty gave the United States Guam, the Philippines for the sum of \$20,000,000, and also authorized Spain to evacuate its remaining, citizens, weapons, munitions, livestock, and equipment from Guam and the Philippines.⁶² The Treaty of Paris was ratified by the U.S. Senate on February 6, 1899 making Guam the island in the Marianas that was selected by the United States and a U.S. Territory eight months after its capture on June 21, 1898. Hawaii had been annexed by the United States after Congress passed the Newlands Resolution on July 4, 1898. The United States now had its new Pacific Empire with the Philippines in the western Pacific, Hawaii in the eastern Pacific, and Guam which solidified America's lines of communications and the transit of America's warships between these points.

IV.

The U.S. capture of Guam was the dawn of America's Empire in the Pacific.

The U.S. capture of Guam proved to be the dawn of America's Pacific Empire. Spain's evacuation of its remaining citizens and movable property on Guam between 1898 and 1899 guaranteed that a new era on Guam would begin. However, it would begin by the establishment of the U.S. Naval Government of Guam and not a civilian government. Guam was merely the first Pacific territory the U.S. acquired during the war. After capturing Guam, the America annexed Hawaii on July 4, 1898, and captured the Philippines after the Spanish surrender of Manila to American military forces on August 13, 1898. Hence, the first light of America's Pacific Empire began on June 21, 1898 when the U.S. captured Guam.

Spain's evacuation of its remaining citizens and movable property on Guam between 1898 and 1899 guaranteed that a new era on Guam would begin. McCloud and Company, which had been chartered by the Spanish Government in the Philippines to make regular supply runs to the Marianas Islands, sent their last ships to Guam under this contract. The *Saturnos* arrived on Guam in September, 1898 and took most of the Spanish citizens remaining on Guam to the Philippines. The *Uranus* arrived on Guam on November 22, 1898 and left with the families of Juan Marina and Gutierrez and most of the Spanish priests on Guam. Spain's remaining equipment and movable property on Guam was removed by the *Elcano* which arrived in March, 1899 and transferred these materials to Saipan, which remained a Spanish Territory after the war, and the *Esmeralda*, which was a Japanese Schooner chartered by the

⁶² Congress, House, "A Treaty of Peace between the United States and Spain." House Doc. No. 62, 55th Congress, 3^d Session, 474, 832, 834, and 836.

new American Government in the Philippines.⁶³ The evacuation complete, Spain's long rule over Guam and the Spanish Era of Guam's history had truly come to an end. Guam was to become the only U.S. Territory in the Pacific to be given a military government. As a result of Guam's strategic importance to the U.S. Navy, McKinley gave Guam to the Navy via an executive order on December 23, 1898 and Long appointed U.S. Navy Captain Richard P. Leary as the first Naval Governor of Guam. Like Glass before him, Leary commanded a cruiser, the *Yosemite*, which arrived on Guam on August 10, 1899 to establish the U.S. Naval Government of Guam. A new era in Guam's history was about to begin.

Conclusion

America's capture of Guam on June 21, 1898 during the Spanish-American War was a cross-cultural contact that profoundly influenced four important political developments in the Western Pacific region during and after the war. First, America's need for a coaling station to project its military forces across the Pacific resulted in the capture of Guam and Spain's most humiliating territorial loss during the war. After Dewey had defeated the Spanish Squadron at the Battle of Manila Bay and the decision to send fifteen-thousand troops to Philippines was made, Hawaii, albeit an important stepping-stone, proved too far away from the western Pacific and Guam's strategic location solved this problem. The Battle of Manila Bay, the rapid mobilization and departure of the *Charleston* and Anderson's force to Guam and Philippines, and the near century of Spanish atrophy in maintaining sufficient naval forces, fortifications, artillery, and troops on Guam to defend it from an attack by the sea, ensured that Juan Marina had no knowledge of the war, the American attack on Guam, or the sufficient means to defend the island from the attack.

Second, Guam was one of the war's American victories that encouraged the McKinley Administration to alter its foreign policy from non-annexation to the annexation of Spanish Pacific territories occupied by American forces during the war. In just three months, America had not only captured Guam, but had also destroyed Spain's navy squadrons in the Pacific and the Caribbean, joined Philippine insurgents besieging Manila, conquered north-eastern Cuba, and had established a foot-hold in Puerto Rico and this altered the Sicard War Plan's stated objective of using the Philippines as leverage in America's peace negotiations with Spain over Cuba. Instead, as a result of these victories, the McKinley Administration debated how much of the Philippines and the Marianas Islands they would keep after the war,

⁶³ Pedro C. Sanchez, *Guahan/Guam, The History of our Island* (Hagåtña, Guam: Sanchez Publishing House, 1987), 75 and Congress, House, "Defense of the Island of Guam" *Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury* (Transmitting a copy an Estimate of Appropriation for the Defense of Guam), January 13, 1902, House Doc. 227, 57 Congress, 1st Session [Washington, 1902], 718.

ultimately deciding on keeping the entire Philippine archipelago and retaining Guam to secure its lines of supply and communications to the Philippines.

Third, Juan Marina's twenty-nine-minute delay in responding to Glass's demand to surrender was not merely token resistance. Instead, thanks to Juan Marina, Guam was the only island in the Marianas that America captured during the war. As the Governor of all the Marianas Islands, he could have surrendered them to America. However, he limited his surrender to what was demanded by Glass and did not add to it, not even when faced with being forced to leave his family on Guam and depart the island as an American prisoner of war. Juan Marina's surrender of Guam began the political division of the Marianas Islands, a division which continues to this day.

Fourth, Guam's capture was the dawn of America's Pacific Empire. Guam was the first Spanish Territory in the Pacific captured by the Americans during the war. It was closely followed by the U.S. annexation of Hawaii on July 4, 1898, and then by the Spanish surrender of Manila to American military forces on August 13, 1898. This empire has begun to sunset with the Philippines being given their independence on July 4, 1946 and Hawaii becoming the fiftieth state on August 21, 1959. Guam, still a U.S. Territory, remains a remnant of this empire which began on June 21, 1898 with raising of the Stars and Stripes over Fort Santa Cruz, in Apra Harbor, Guam.

Zoom Recording



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