

KUSTUMBRE, MODERNITY AND RESISTANCE
THE SUBALTERN NARRATIVE IN CHAMORRO LANGUAGE MUSIC

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By

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This work is dedicated to my loving wife Francine, who started this journey with me, and to Isa, Mariana and Michael III, who joined us along the way.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation traces the history of Chamorro music from pre-colonial accounts of Chamorro songs, through the peak years of the recording era in the last three decades of the twentieth century. The revival of Chamorro music traditions in post-war Guam is demonstrated to be a significant cultural movement that has largely gone unnoticed by scholars in fields that deal with issues of history, culture, colonialism and music. The focus of this study is the life stories of singers and songwriters who were born during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s and grew up amidst the radical post-World War II transformation of the American Territory of Guam. They were also the first generations of Chamorros to live all or most of their lives as American citizens. Through the utilization of oral histories and songs as primary sources, this dissertation brings to light perspectives that have generally been left out of most studies of Guam's past, which have focused on written source material and the actions of political leaders. In doing so, this dissertation brings attention to a subaltern narrative in Guam history, which demonstrates that non-elite Chamorros have played an under-recognized role in perpetuating indigenous continuities in Chamorro language and culture. This dissertation also addresses common perceptions that Chamorro songs are inauthentic because of the heavy adaption of western styles. This adaptive approach to western influences is shown to be a continuation of long established strategies of resistance to colonial hegemony that is consistent with the syncretic cultural system known as *kustumbren Chamorro*.

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CHAPTER 1
KUSTUMBRE, MODERNITY AND SUBALTERN RESISTANCE

In the fall of 1968, a twenty year old college student named Johnny Sablan went into a studio in Hollywood, California and recorded *Dalai Nene* (Goodness Sweetheart). The album was a mix of Chamorro songs from his island home, the American Territory of Guam. By 1968, Sablan was already a veteran of the music industry, having established himself as an American pop singer and recording artist in southern California during the early 1960s. But neither he, nor anyone else, had ever recorded an album of Chamorro language songs. Sablan's generation, the first generation of Chamorro American citizens, had been raised on the belief that their future lay in the embrace of American culture. Chamorro culture still centered most Chamorros' lives, but it was associated with a past era that would inevitably fade away with time.

For Sablan, making the album began as a way to solve an identity crisis he experienced in college as he realized that, despite his success as a pop singer, he did not know the songs of his homeland. To make the album, and several more over the next few years, he collected songs from older Chamorros including Clotilde Gould, Fred De la Cruz, Rick Cruz, Roque Mantanona, and Jesus Charfauros. He also had the help of his uncle Fred Guevara, who gave him songs and helped him learn to write songs in the Chamorro language. All of these mentors had been born before World War II and had grown up thinking and speaking Chamorro as their first language. They had also perpetuated older musical traditions that had largely remained out of view in the American-oriented public culture of post-war Guam.

Sablan's albums presented Chamorro music and culture in a new way. He took what had been an oral music tradition and showcased it in the thoroughly modern format of the long playing record. Packaged in sleek album covers complete with liner notes, photographs and artwork, his albums were not out of place among the many American records that Chamorro music fans kept in their homes. The albums demonstrated that Chamorro songs could have a place in modern Guam. Significantly, these songs became a vehicle for the perpetuation of the Chamorro language. More than just promoting the language however, the songs told stories about past and contemporary life from Chamorro perspectives, countering the homogenizing effect of English language media, education and entertainment options that dominated Guam's public sphere. Dozens of artists followed Sablan's lead, spawning a small-scale recording industry that peaked in the 1980s and 1990s. This music is now featured at public and private festive events, broadcast on two Chamorro language radio stations, and carried across the globe to the ever-growing Chamorro diaspora who crave a connection to home.

At first glance, the story of the Chamorro music recording industry appears to be one of a clear-cut indigenous revival through music. During the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, amidst global political and cultural decolonization, Pacific islanders were re-claiming heritages that had been marginalized by settler colonialism and demonized by missionaries.¹ However, while these struggles are well documented, the story of the

¹ These movements were diverse and each developed in the context of local circumstances and political aims. For examples see George Kanahale. *The Hawaiian Renaissance*, (Honolulu: Project WAIAHA, 1982), 6; David Goldsworthy "Music, Identity and Cultural Politics" in *Sound Alliances: Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific*, (London and New York: Cassell, 1998), 47; Haunani-Kay Trask "Hawai'i: Colonization and Decolonization" in *Class and Culture in the South Pacific* (Suva: USP, 1987), and J.F. Dupon, "The Renaissance of Melanesian Culture in New Caledonia, An interview with Jean-Marie Tjibaou" *Ethnies*, Spring, 1989. 74-78.

Chamorro music recording industry is not. The Government of Guam has at various times recognized Sablan and a few other established artists for their efforts to perpetuate Chamorro culture, but their life stories and songs have been almost completely ignored by scholars in various fields that deal with issues of history, culture, colonialism, and music. Despite the success of Sablan and many of the other artists who followed him, the relationship of the recording industry to other aspects of the Chamorro cultural renaissance that continues to this day is ambiguous.

Research for this dissertation included talking to dozens of artists and fans, through formal interviews and informal conversations, listening to Chamorro radio, and attending nightclubs, parties and fundraisers where Chamorro music was performed. It was clear that although Chamorro music can be heard throughout the island, few young people are involved in the Chamorro music scene. Two Chamorro language radio stations ensure one can hear Chamorro music any time of the day, but there is a clear segregation between the island's popular music stations which target young audiences and the Chamorro stations which clearly target middle aged and older Chamorros. Chamorro artists continue to be featured at public events that celebrate Chamorro culture and a considerable fan base continues to hire them to play at parties, but in many ways the musicians and fans constitute a sub-culture that is shrinking.

Chamorro music draws fans from all segments of the island population, but the music scene is most closely associated with working-class Chamorros born in the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s. Johnny Sablan was therefore an exception in that his family was relatively affluent. He was able to attend private school, and his parents were even able to relocate to the United States and later send him to college. The connection

he forged with working class Chamorros through recording Chamorro language music was therefore doubly significant. Most artists interviewed for this project had been raised by parents who had grown up as farmers before the war and had minimal formal educations or English language fluency. When the United States transformed the island into a permanent military fortress in the last year of World War II, their parents were not prepared to take advantage of opportunities in the new cash based economy. Therefore, these artists, like most Chamorros of their generations, had few opportunities for education beyond high school. Some were able to get jobs in the Government of Guam, but for most of the men, the best chance for a career was with the United States military. It became apparent during the research for this dissertation that there were few Chamorro recording artists who did not have at least a few years of military experience. Many had spent entire careers abroad and had only come back to Guam to retire. Their stories of family members spread out across the United States suggest that much of the Chamorro music fan base may live away from the island. Younger Chamorro music fans were generally from the rural villages of southern Guam and from the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands where Chamorro language fluency has been maintained to a greater extent than in Guam's urban center.

Over the last few years, new releases of Chamorro music have slowed to a trickle, pointing to the possibility that the Chamorro music recording industry may be a cultural movement that has largely run its course. Prominent Chamorro music producer Tom Bejado suggested in 1996 that the "renaissance of Chamorro music that the island experienced in the late 1970s and early 1980s is dead."² In 2008, another well known

² Jayne Flores, "Kantan Chamoru: Preserving the Homegrown Jams" *Latte: The Essence of Guam*, August 1996, 46.

Chamorro music producer, Andy Leon Guerrero, noted that demand for Chamorro music was declining with the passing of older generations:

As the years go by, a lot of your fluent Chamorro speakers are dying. So, like my generation can speak Chamorro, but people younger than me, it's less common. So as my generation, the fifty and older start dying, you're going to see less people buying.³

This dissertation makes no attempt to predict the future of the Chamorro language, or Chamorro music, but Leon Guerrero's statement gives a sense of how the Chamorro music recording industry is closely tied to the experiences of the generations of Chamorros who grew up at a time when the common bond of language was a defining feature of the Chamorro community on Guam. They also came of age amidst the radical cultural, social and political changes of post-World War II Guam. Their life experiences, historical and cultural perspectives, humor, and musical sensibilities, are reflected in the songs of Chamorro recording artists.

The musical tastes of these generations do not necessarily conform to modern expectations of what indigenous music should sound like. Most Chamorro songs are composed in western styles introduced in the twentieth century. The common styles are country and western, cha-cha, *batsu* (waltz), polka, rock and roll, jitterbug, and pop ballads, though Chamorro music has been composed in virtually every style imaginable. Some of the songs are translations of popular American songs. Many others are adaptations of American songs, in which melodies are borrowed but songs are re-arranged or modified in various ways and original lyrics are completely discarded for new Chamorro ones. This is by no means unique to Guam. Media studies scholar Phillip Hayward notes that “[in recent decades], indigenous peoples have increasingly used and

³ Andy Leon Guerrero. Interview with the author, Tumon, Guam, 31 March 2008.

adapted forms of popular music as an expression of their cultural identity.”⁴ However, in Guam, growing emphasis on pre-colonial indigenous identity has put contemporary Chamorro music, with its clear embrace of foreign influences, in an ambiguous position.

During the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, information about Guam’s past, gleaned both from historical documents and archeology, became increasingly accessible to the general public and greater emphasis was placed on pre-colonial history in public school Guam history classes.⁵ As Chamorros began to embrace this past, new articulations of Chamorro cultural identity gained an increasing profile in the island’s culture. Artists developed jewelry designs based on ancient artifacts found in archeological sites, and scholars and other interested individuals recovered long forgotten knowledge of ancient canoe designs and navigation technology.⁶

Most significant, in the context of this dissertation, is the raised profile of cultural dance and chant performances. Cultural dance is a modern performance art consisting of artistic representations of Chamorro music and dance through three historical eras. This movement, chronicled by Judy Flores, is in many ways a continuation of the groundwork established by Johnny Sablan when he set out in 1966 to reconnect with his indigenous identity through music. Sablan has also been directly involved in the development of this

⁴ Phillip Hayward (Ed.). *Sound Alliances: Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific* (London and New York, Cassell, 1998), back cover.

⁵ Lawrence Cunningham, initially a contract teacher who came to Guam in 1968, was among the leading educators who led this movement to make general information about ancient Chamorro society available to the general public. From the development of the first “Chamorro Day” celebration at a Guam public school in 1968, he spent decades studying accounts of pre-colonial Guam. A significant legacy of his work is the high school level textbook *Ancient Chamorro Society* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1992), which focused exclusively on ancient culture. Cunningham was also instrumental in reviving navigation and canoe building through the group TASI (Traditions About Seafaring Islanders).

⁶ See Judy Flores, “Art and Identity in the Mariana Islands: Issues of Reconstructing an Ancient Past” Ph. D. dissertation, University of East Anglia, 1999.

art form from its beginnings in the early 1980s.⁷ The numerous intersections in the histories of the two movements require that a discussion of the Chamorro music recording industry must begin with a brief overview of this parallel development in the history of Chamorro music.

The first performance of what would come to be known as cultural dance was developed for the Festival of Pacific Arts (Fest Pac), which had been scheduled to take place in New Caledonia in 1984.⁸ It came about in part because the Guam delegation did not feel that the music of recording artists such as J.D. Crutch, a country/rock singer who had been part of Guam's previous delegation to Papua New Guinea festival in 1980, were suitable representations of Chamorro culture. Judy Flores, who was a member of the planning committee for the 1984 festival remembers that "In 1983, when the task force first met to plan Guam's presentation, our initial discussion centered on the question of 'what is our culture?'"⁹ The decision made by the committee was that they needed to showcase something of the pre-Spanish indigenous identity to go along with the Spanish era and contemporary presentations. She observed that:

In the eyes of Guam delegation organizers, the Festival of Pacific Arts seemed to serve as a measurement of their Pacific identity. Their colonial heritage has in fact made Chamorros different from other Pacific nations, but in this context they want to be perceived as Pacific Islanders. In their development of a Pacific Islander image, they felt compelled to select and emphasize aspects of their indigenous Chamorro heritage and minimize their colonial heritage.¹⁰

Several prominent individuals worked to develop the presentation. Johnny Sablan was the musical director, local dance instructor Benjie Diola choreographed the dances,

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ The Festival of Pacific Arts was initiated by the South Pacific Commission. The first festival was held in Suva, Fiji in 1972 and takes place every four years, shifting between different island hosts. The 1984 festival was scheduled for New Caledonia but was canceled due to political unrest. The first international performance of "Guahu Taotao Tano" was held in Tahiti in 1985.

⁹ Judy Flores, "Art and Identity," 238.

¹⁰ Ibid.

and Chamorro historian Robert Underwood wrote the script and provided the historical context.¹¹ The central figure in the development of the presentation, however, was Carlos Taitano, the prominent statesman who had played a key role in the United States citizenship movement thirty-five years earlier. In the early 1980s, Taitano and Underwood were both active in the movement for indigenous self-determination and political status change. It was Taitano who came up with the overall concept for the performance and titled the presentation “*Guahu Taotao Tano*” (I am the one who is a person of the land).¹² The choice of the term “*taotao tano*” instead of “Chamorro” was a clear political statement.

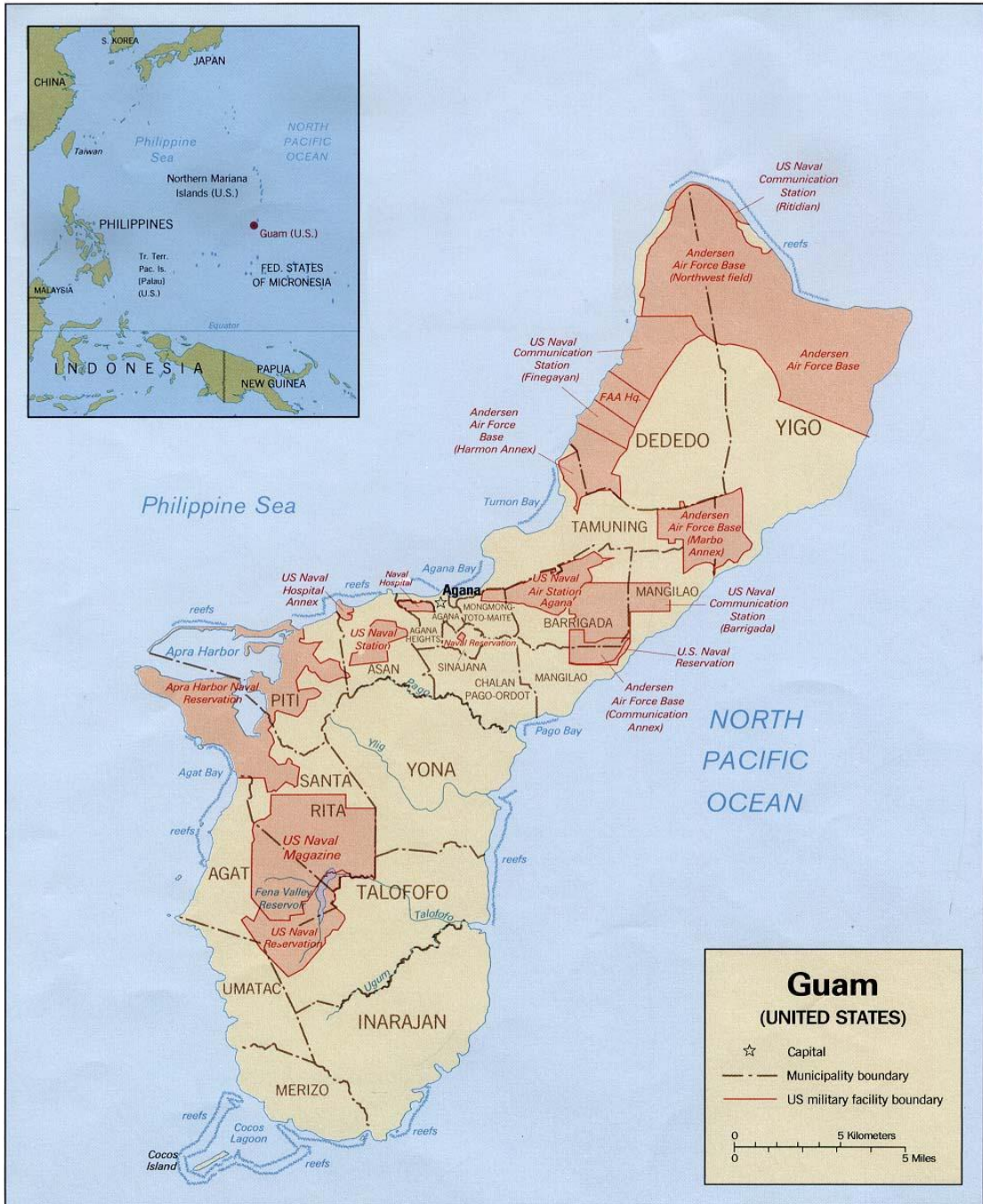
The term “Chamorro,” while today retroactively applied to the ancestors of modern day Chamorros prior to colonization, is most likely not an indigenous word. It was first documented in 1789, and it only became a common identification for the indigenous people of the island in the nineteenth century after considerable cultural change and intermarriage with outsiders.¹³ *Taotao* (person) and *tano* (land) are, on the other hand, clearly indigenous. The choice of these terms in the title of the play marks a turn during these years towards a greater emphasis on pre-colonial identity.

“*Guahu Taotao Tano*” was first presented on Guam in December of 1985. The section of the performance representing the ancient period was undoubtedly the most significant aspect of the show since almost no knowledge of ancient dances and chants existed. Instead, much of the presentation was composed of recreations based on

¹¹ Robert Underwood, “Guahu Taotao Tano,” *Glimpses*, 1985,31.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Felicia Plaza, “The Origin of the Word Chamorro” in *The Guam Recorder* vol. 1, no. 1 (Hagatña: MARC, 1971), 4.



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Figure 1. Map of Guam.

descriptions of ancient life found in missionary records. Most cues to music, dance and dress were taken from other Pacific Islands. Nevertheless, the presentation had a deep impact on the audience, who, in many cases had never seen their pre-colonial ancestors or culture represented in any format. Frank Rabon, who was one of the dancers in *Guahu Taotao Tano*, formed the group *Taotao Tano Cultural Dancers* and continued to work with Carlos Taitano to develop cultural dance.

By the late 1990s, Rabon's students began to establish their own groups and there are now numerous cultural dance groups organized under the umbrella group *Pa'a Taotao Tano*. Cultural dance has support from the Guam Visitor's Bureau and it is now incorporated into some public school curriculums. The public presence of cultural dance has created a greater sense of awareness on Guam of the deep roots of the Chamorro people on the island. At the same time, emphasis on celebrating a connection to the ancient past raises questions about the relation of modern Chamorros to their more recent past and the cultural identity that has grounded Chamorros for generations.

MODERNITY AND THE SUBALTERN NARRATIVE IN GUAM HISTORY

In the story of Johnny Sablan's quest to find identity through the revival of indigenous Chamorro music, two competing historical narratives that shape modern Chamorro identity collide. The first narrative is one of progress of "a people" moving towards a modern political identity. As will be demonstrated later in this chapter, this narrative shapes many recent writings about Guam's past. This narrative aligns neatly with the development of the cultural dance movement, which was specifically developed to reframe the way Chamorro identity was understood. However, when Johnny Sablan recorded the songs of older Chamorros who had grown up before World War II, he

forged a connection with musical traditions that developed outside of a modern political identity. Understanding the significance of these older songs requires understanding the subaltern narrative in Guam history. Ranajit Guha defines subaltern as “a name for a general attribute of subordination . . . whether expressed in terms of class, caste, age, or gender.”¹⁴ The subaltern narrative is the story of the ways indigenous continuities survived under centuries of colonial rule. Both a nationalist narrative and a subaltern narrative play a role in the story of the Chamorro music recording industry but they differ in the way they present the relationship between Chamorro identity and the wide range of influences that came amidst the development of European modernity.¹⁵

“Modernity” is an all encompassing term for the “industrial-capital order, the nation-state, and secular rationalism” which developed in Europe during the four centuries after 1500 C.E. and became nearly hegemonic as western nations imposed this order on the rest of the world through imperial domination.¹⁶ Modernity, often viewed as synonymous with “progress,” offered pathways to an improved quality of life but it developed amidst the rise of, and in part on the profits of, slavery and modern imperialism. Ignoring such contradictions, Europeans justified imperialism based on their view that they had reached an advanced state of civilization and that they therefore had the right to dominate and exploit those peoples who had not. The imposition of these ideas in the colonies, through colonial educational systems, and the reorganizing of native work forces for the benefit of colonial governance and capitalist industry, established

¹⁴ Ranajit Guha, cited in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Theory*, (London: Routledge, 1998), 216.

¹⁵ Here I refer to the relation between power and knowledge in the Foucauldian sense. By this I mean the way dominant discourses shape the way reality is understood. For an overview see Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977*, (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

¹⁶ Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997), 2.

hierarchies of knowledge that destabilized indigenous power structures and delegitimized indigenous knowledge.

Chamorro identity emerged amidst these developments since Chamorros were in regular contact with the west from 1521, when they began to trade with passing European ships. Nevertheless, for most of modern history, Chamorros had little engagement with the political, technological and intellectual revolutions that would transform Europe and the rest of the world. When Spain, itself on the margins of these developments, subjugated the Chamorros in the late seventeenth century, it brought not science, but Catholicism. The many Mexican and Filipino soldiers who married Chamorro women in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century undoubtedly also lived on the periphery of European developments.

By the nineteenth century, however, Spain was an empire in rapid decline and the internal dynamics of Chamorro society had become just as significant as the Chamorro people's relation to the colonial government. Part of the Chamorro community consisted of an upper class Spanish/Chamorro mestizo elite who were tied to the larger world through business and cultural connections and who were very much connected to the processes and ideas that were transforming the world.¹⁷ With the establishment of American rule in 1898, these Chamorro elites proved to be adept at articulating their concerns in the language of American democracy as they led a struggle against authoritarian naval rule. After liberation from Japanese occupation, and the granting of American citizenship, most Chamorros began to see embracing their new American national identity as a patriotic duty and a pathway to success in the new society.

¹⁷ For an excellent snapshot of life for Chamorro elites in the late nineteenth century see Carlos Madrid, *Beyond Distances: Governance, Politics and Deportation in the Mariana Islands from 1870 to 1877*, (Saipan: Northern Marianas Council for the Humanities, 2006).

Johnny Sablan, was in this context, the epitome of a modern, Americanized Chamorro. Taking advantage of opportunities in the modern world brought him considerable success. However, living in the United States and learning of the cultures of classmates from other parts of the world alerted him to the reality that Chamorros did not have an “official” national music. The underlying logic of the nation-state was that all peoples of the world had distinct, easily defined “national” cultures. Regardless of the fact that he identified as an American, and had no intention of challenging American political authority over the island, he still saw the importance of defining Chamorro national identity. Guam’s long history under colonialism had meant that Chamorros had been denied the instruments of power necessary to define such an identity in any formal political context.

Chamorro culture had been perpetuated through practice, but remained unofficial and distinct from the formal political identity of the colonial state. Sablan sought answers to his identity crisis in the folk songs of his homeland. In collecting these songs and composing new songs in the Chamorro language, he was arguably engaging in a nation-building project that followed the pattern established by modern western nation-states in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.¹⁸ In tapping into the folk music of Guam, and recording it in the form of a commercial long playing record, Sablan engaged modernity on multiple levels by commercializing, standardizing and documenting what

¹⁸ The collection of folk songs played a considerable role in the development of cultural and political nationalism during the rise of the modern European nation-state system. For a brief overview see, Phillip Bohlman, “Music and Culture” in Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton Eds. *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 50. For a broader overview on the development of the nation-state system see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983).

had been a fluid oral tradition. However, the songs he recorded conflicted with modern sensibilities in various ways. Most notably, almost all were based on western styles.

This dissertation argues that while the Chamorro songs composed in western styles don't seem to align with modern sensibilities of cultural purity, they are nevertheless rooted in a cultural outlook with deep roots in the Chamorro culture. Far from being a sign of a colonized or degraded culture, Chamorro music provides insight into what Vicente Diaz recognizes as the "remarkable ability of native cultures to survive, even if by adopting or adapting to elements from beyond its shores."¹⁹ Central to this process is that Chamorros maintained considerable agency over determining the cultural norms that regulated their society, and preserved an identity distinct from the colonial power. This power reflects what Ranajit Guha calls "dominance without hegemony."²⁰ Hegemony is defined as "the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all."²¹ Furthermore, "hegemony is important because the power to influence the thought of the colonized is by far the most sustained and potent operation of imperial power in colonized regions."²²

In Guam, the power to maintain an autonomous identity was rooted not in the formal institutions that were officially recognized and imposed by the colonial government, but in the extended family system that evolved out of pre-colonial matrilineal clans. Through perpetuating values distinct from the colonial culture, Chamorros maintained indigenous continuities in aspects of life where the colonial

¹⁹ Vicente Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism and Indigeneity in Guam*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 8.

²⁰ Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 20.

²¹ Bill Ashcroft, Garreth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, (New York: Routledge, 1998), 116.

²² *Ibid.*

government had little reach such as the home and the farm, but also in the imposed rituals of the Catholic Church. Today, the name for this cultural system is *kustumbren Chamorro*.

KUSTUMBREN CHAMORRO

Kustumbren Chamorro is the common term for the hybrid Catholic/Chamorro culture that developed during the Spanish era.²³ Today, it is understood from the perspective of the early twentieth century, since it was only in the twentieth century that attempts were made to describe Chamorro culture as a cohesive system. The dearth of information about Chamorro culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries points to the reality that it was not recognized as a culture by the colonial government.

Descriptions of colonial society instead tend to focus on the actions of the small group of Chamorro elites whose power was rooted in their familiarity with western knowledge, and their genealogical connections to Europeans.²⁴ However, comparisons between descriptions of seventeenth century missionaries and *kustumbren Chamorro* as it existed in the twentieth century reveal considerable continuities that were maintained outside of any official political authority, primarily by non-elite Chamorros. These continuities are proof of a subaltern narrative in Guam history.

²³ The term *kustumbren Chamorro* was first documented by the anthropologist Alexander Spoehr in 1954 in "Saipan: The Ethnology of a War Devastated Island" *Fieldiana: Anthropology*. vol. 41. Feb. 1954, 55.

²⁴ The Spanish class system in the colonies was a hierarchy based on birth place and ethnic origin that determined opportunities for individuals. At the top were *peninsulares* (full blooded Spaniards born in Spain), followed by *criollos* (Spaniards born in the colonies), *mestizos* (offspring of marriages between Europeans and indigenous people), *indios* (indigenous people) and slaves. On Guam, most *peninsulares* came as governors, priests, and military officers. There really was no *criollo* class on Guam since the *peninsulares*, and *criollo* men who settled permanently on Guam ended up marrying Chamorros. However, Chamorros were all intensely aware of the subtle distinctions based on skin color and genealogical connection to *peninsulares*. The major distinction within the Chamorro population, outside of the elite class, was the distinction between the town's folk and the rural villagers.

The clearest defining marker of this subaltern identity was the Chamorro language, which although influenced by large scale adoption of foreign vocabulary, retained much of its ancient grammatical structure.²⁵ It bound all who identified as Chamorro together as distinct from the colonial culture. Describing life on Guam in 1938, anthropologist Laura Thompson wrote, for example, that “most of the natives under thirty five years of age have some knowledge of English, but English is spoken among Chamorros mainly when in contact with *the official world* of the Americans.”²⁶ Her description points to the way language maintained social boundaries. It also marks a division between “official” and subaltern forms of knowledge and the reality that outside of anthropological studies like Thompson’s, most of what happened in the “Chamorro world” went unrecorded in written documents.

Despite the fact that so much of Chamorro culture was on the surface shaped by structures imposed by Catholicism and colonial rule, there were in reality many areas of life where the government had little direct influence. Outside of official discourse, Chamorros practiced a way of life that gave them considerable autonomy, and allowed them to shape the colonial encounter. One of the most important pillars of *kustumbren Chamorro* was the economic autonomy provided by subsistence agriculture. Although the Spanish required certain labor obligations from Chamorro workers, Chamorros largely maintained a subsistence economy. The most important part of this economic system was the *lancho* (ranch), small farms where Chamorros could raise crops to provide for their daily food needs. The Spanish government had initially required

²⁵ The maintenance of the structure of a language is key element of Guha’s idea of “dominance without hegemony.” For an example see his discussion of “Bangla prose” in *Dominance without Hegemony*, 177.

²⁶ My emphasis. Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People: A Study of Cultural Change and Colonial Education*, (San Francisco: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941)7.

Chamorros to live in church-centered villages as a way of ensuring submission to authority, but the unintended consequence of this policy is that Chamorros often ended up living far away from suitable agricultural land. Men and sometimes whole families spent most of their time away from town at their ranches. Chamorros also had access to forest and sea resources through hunting, fishing and gathering while most other goods could be acquired through bartering. As a result there was little need for cash to meet daily needs. For Chamorro men in particular, it meant that they spent much of their time away from the church and town, and instead, lived off of the land.

The other two pillars of *kustumbren Chamorro* were Catholicism and the extended family system. The relationship between these two institutions was significant in that Chamorros adopted the rituals and the beliefs of Catholicism, but did so in a way that conformed to pre-Catholic values and even some aspects of older religious beliefs. In organizing the celebration of Catholic sacraments of baptism, marriage, and death, as well as in rituals such as *nobenas* (novenas) for patron saints, Chamorros maintained pre-Catholic systems of reciprocity and feasting. In doing so they maintained older forms of social relations within the imposed structures.

The specific traditions transformed considerably over more than two centuries of colonial rule, and the evolution of these traditions is not well documented. However, Chamorro historian Robert Underwood identified core values that provided cohesion to the Chamorro community of the early twentieth century that have clear roots in the pre-Catholic culture. These values include:

1. *Familia*. Family authority and ties are pre-eminent in all social relationships, even to the point that “family takes precedent over law.”

2. Interdependence. “Interdependence is more important than personal independence.” A key element of this system are gifts of *chenchule*’ and *ika*, which are contributions in the form of goods, services or more frequently today, cash, provided to the host of a festive event. Such events are often organized around Catholic sacraments such as weddings, funerals and baptisms, but the concept of *inafa’maolek* (doing what’s good for one another) applies to many types of community activities and personal interactions.

3. Respect for social position and social situation. People should be treated with the respect due to their position in life. Most important is respect for old age. Respect is shown to elders by greeting them by *manninge*, which means to sniff the hand.

4. Respect for the natural environment. It is believed that the jungle and the ocean have a power that man cannot overcome. Part of this respect is rooted in the belief that the jungles are inhabited by spirits, known as *taotao mo’na* or *aniti*.

5. *Mamahlaho*, “a kind of intuitive measure which tells you when your behavior is proper and decent.” In many ways the concept of *mamahlaho* along with *familia* tie the other values together, because if one does not behave properly or honor obligations, he or she is viewed as *taimamahlaho* (having no shame) and this reflects not just on the individual but the entire family.²⁷

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this system is the central role of Chamorro women in perpetuating it. The central role of the Chamorro man was to provide for subsistence through farming, but this is not a role that is unique to Chamorro culture. Women within each extended family made sure that their families honored the reciprocal obligations which kept a large interconnected web of extended families in constant contact with each other. The combination of these values and traditions, along with the subsistence provided by the resources of the land and sea, constituted an autonomous society in which, more than anything else, loyalty to family was more important than the dictates of the colonial government. Family obligations always trumped individualism.

²⁷Robert Underwood, “Hispanicization as a Socio-historical Process on Guam.” (Unpublished manuscript prepared for University of Guam, Guam History Courses, 1978), 16-17. A general thesis that runs through much of Robert Underwood’s work is that of Chamorro autonomy, despite colonial domination.

Personal profit was frowned upon while generosity and distribution of wealth was highly respected.

SUBALTERN RESISTANCE

In this dissertation, this conservative worldview is viewed as form of subaltern resistance. As defined by Leith Duncan, “resistance” is “failure to cooperate.”²⁸

Subaltern resistance, however, brings attention not to the imposition that is being resisted, but instead, to the way the subaltern power structure resists colonial hegemony. It appears that colonial governors and other outside observers did not understand the intricacies of this competing power structure. Governor Olive’s mid-1880s description of Guam, one of the most extensive such writings of the era, is an excellent example. Irritated because he could not get Chamorros to engage in profit-making activities, the governor wrote that Chamorros regularly took jobs such as:

Repairmen, silversmiths, cabinet workers, blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, but only occasionally do work of this kind, the main thing is the *rancho*. Thus in the midst of an urgent project, they will disappear to go plant or harvest a crop, leaving word that they will be gone fifteen days or longer.²⁹

He also complained that Chamorros were “lazy, indolent, ignorant, and unimaginative to the point of indifference, with no concern for tomorrow.”³⁰ In yet another passage, he noted that “in the midst of poverty, he is inclined to extravagance. He is extravagant whenever the occasion arises, which is always unplanned for.”³¹ Olive’s frustration is that Chamorros seem to be doing things that make no sense in terms of a western logic that emphasizes individualism, personal gain, or what Olive considers is common sense.

²⁸ Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific* (USP, 1984), 2.

²⁹ Marjorie Driver, Trans. *The Mariana Islands 1884-1887 Random Notes of Governor Francisco Olive y Garcia*, (Mangilao: MARC, 1984), 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 25

³¹ *Ibid.*

To him, Chamorros are just a confusing people that exhibit contradictory behaviors.

What is evident in Olive's complaints is that he appears to have no conception of the dynamics of *kustumbren Chamorro* and how they tie Chamorros into a web of obligations. It is entirely possible that a Chamorro man's decision to abandon an "urgent project" had nothing to do with his dislike of the work, or his love of being at the ranch. In fact, he may have preferred to work on the urgent project and make some money. It may be, however, that whatever he had to do instead was tied to an obligation he had within his extended family, such as preparing for a fiesta, a wedding or a funeral. Less significant than the specific action, is that the colonial governors could not disrupt the system, and perhaps, did not even completely understand it.

In light of the reality that the power of Chamorro elites rested on their connections to western knowledge and business practices, it suggests that in modern Chamorro identity, there is a split between the tradition of formal political power, and indigenous continuities that were not officially recognized. *Kustumbren Chamorro* therefore constituted a subaltern power structure that resisted colonial hegemony. However, it also resisted anything else that conflicted with the daily priorities of Chamorros. This does not transfer easily to a modern political identity, and it conflicts with many other values of liberal modernity. However, it points to what Robert Nicole suggests is a "certain autonomous power in subalternity, among which is the power to resist."³² The American naval government would be much more proactive in its attempt to impose its hegemony.

³² Robert Nicole, *Disturbing History: Resistance in Colonial Fiji*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), 10.

THE COLONIAL STRUGGLE

The United States acquired Guam as a strategic colony in 1898, and in the post-World War II era, it developed the island into a massive military complex that is vital to its long-term interests in the western Pacific and Asia. Undoubtedly, it is in the interest of the United States to maintain as much control of the island as possible and it is also clear that the federal government has long understood that the easiest way to maintain control of the island is to achieve cultural and political hegemony. The first American leader to articulate this strategy was President McKinley, who coined the term “benevolent assimilation.” In Guam some of the clearest examples of institutions that have worked to ensure hegemony are education, health care and military service

During the early naval era these policies were not very effective, perhaps because Chamorros were wary of giving up their sense of autonomy to an authoritarian naval government. With the establishment of civilian government through the Organic Act of Guam and the granting of United States citizenship in 1950, the value of subaltern resistance became less clear. The conservative *kustumbren Chamorro* system rooted in the church, subsistence agriculture and extended family came into conflict with the influence of secularism, consumerism, individualism and American patriotism. There was no well articulated ideology in support of maintaining Chamorro identity. As a result, Chamorro identity has become increasingly difficult to define.

It is clear that without a cohesive identity, Chamorros are in a weaker position to move forward on political status issues and other issues facing the community. Over the last sixty years, Guam has by many measures experienced considerable progress. There has been tremendous population growth and economic development, while politically

Chamorros have gained considerable power. In 1970, Guam elected its first governor and since that time Chamorros have had considerable control over local affairs. Almost all elected officials and a large percentage of government employees are Chamorro, and yet, one gets the sense that Chamorros are destined to lose control of the island. A 2005 sociological study concluded that,

Indigenous Chamoru families are experiencing overwhelming suffering. Data from public health officials indicate that Chamoru people have the highest rates of diabetes, heart disease, strokes and overall poor health when compared to other ethnic groups on Guam. This is usually one indicator of a people not adjusting and struggling with modern life...Many indigenous Chamoru people are unable to adjust and fully benefit from the modernization, globalization, and technical advancements that a select few, including some indigenous people, are able to enjoy. Indigenous people become disenfranchised in a system that favors those with political power, land, higher education and money.³³

In suggesting that the problems facing Chamorros today are related to adjusting to modern life, this passage points to a central tension that underlies the struggle outlined in the story of Chamorro music. As already noted, *kustumbren Chamorro* developed in the Spanish colonial era as a strategy of resistance that rested on maintaining a subaltern autonomous domain. However, today Guam is thoroughly integrated into the modern world, and Chamorros are American citizens. Many of the structural underpinnings that made the maintenance of a subaltern identity possible, such as subsistence agriculture, the Chamorro language and Catholicism have lost their centrality in contemporary Guam. This profound shift has occurred in the lifetime of today's oldest generation, which grew up before World War II. The above passage suggests that suggests that the tension between *kustumbren Chamorro* and modernity is leading to a breakdown of Chamorro

³³ Juan Rapadas, Mamie Balajdia and Donald Rubinstein, "Guam: Caught Amidst Change and Tradition" in *Social Change and Adaptation in the Pacific Islands: Cultures in Transition*, (New York: Springer, 2005),166.

society and it is therefore of considerable significance that the dynamics of such tensions are understood.

Hawai‘i provides an ominous example of the prospects of anti-colonial resistance when the cultural identity of a people breaks down. Lilikala Kame‘eileihiwa demonstrated for example that the process of religious conversion removed the structural underpinnings of native political hierarchies and that this led to the Mahele and the eventual disintegration of the Hawaiian kingdom.³⁴ Jonathan Osorio, in tracking the decline of the Hawaiian monarchy in the nineteenth century, concluded that

It is a story of how colonialism worked in Hawai‘i not through the naked seizure of lands and governments but through a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions. But ultimately, this is a story of violence, in which colonialism literally and figuratively dismembered the lāhui (the people) from their traditions, their lands, and ultimately their government.³⁵

Guam today is in very similar situation to Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century in that the indigenous leaders largely run the government, and yet there are signs everywhere that the long term prospects for Chamorros are bleak. Land steadily slips into outside hands, Chamorros continually leave for better opportunities in the mainland, and the component of the Chamorro population that constitutes an underclass in the larger society keeps growing.

THE NATIONALIST NARRATIVE IN GUAM HISTORIOGRAPHY

Guam historiography is a relatively undeveloped field. For most of Guam’s colonial history, Guam has largely been a footnote to histories of empire. Records of colonial governors, missionaries, and random visitors give snapshots of island society,

³⁴ Kame‘eileihiwa, Lilikala, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

³⁵ Jonathon Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 20002), 3.

but the daily life of Chamorros was largely unrecorded. This began to change in the late 1970s and early 1980s when scholars including Robert Underwood, Laura Souder, and Katherine Aguon, began to write the first histories that brought attention to Chamorro perspectives and Chamorro concerns. For the most part, such writings took the form of articles and conference papers on particular topics of interest to the authors. Most were not written in the discipline of history, but they explored topics that brought attention to significant issues in Guam history. In particular there was an emphasis on the impact of American colonialism on Chamorro language and cultural identity. These authors were often active in the struggle for self-determination and political status change and their writings helped shape the movement.

In the 1980s and 1990s this struggle coalesced around the quest for commonwealth. This political status option outlined a relationship with the federal government that would allow greater local autonomy at the same time that Chamorros could retain full United States citizenship. Guam voters selected commonwealth as their preferred legal status for Guam through a 1982 political status plebiscite and approved the Commonwealth Act in 1987. After years of unsuccessful negotiations with members of Congress and the Department of the Interior, Guam leaders abandoned the quest for commonwealth in 1997.³⁶ The federal government's rejection demonstrated its unwillingness to give up too much power to the local government. To do so would be to compromise the island's strategic value as a military colony. However, the failure of the commonwealth movement also revealed a general disinterestedness and apathy among

³⁶ For an excellent overview of negotiations between Guam and the federal government see "Failure of Commonwealth" in Vivian Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2000, 49-56.

the Chamorro population concerning political status, and there has been little widespread political momentum for any particular political status since.

The commonwealth movement and the ongoing quest for self-determination are significant to this dissertation because they have coalesced energies around the development of a nationalist narrative that emphasizes the need for self-determination. Summed up by prominent activist Hope Cristobal in a contribution to *I Derechon I Taotao* (The Right of a People), a book compiled in support of the 1987 vote on the Commonwealth Act, the underlying motivations for what constituted de-colonizing Guam history are clear:

For many generations, the Chamorro people were told that to be Chamorro, was to be inferior, ignorant, backward. Moreover, they were advised by foreign historians and administrators with suspect motives, that the Chamorro people did not in fact exist. The people of Guam were told that the Chamorro had been erased from the face of the earth and, unfortunately, many of our people believed it.³⁷

In this passage she presents two critiques of Euro-centric narratives. The first is that Chamorros were deemed “inferior” to the colonizer. The second is that Chamorros “did not exist.” In response scholars began to emphasize Chamorro agency and present Chamorros as a unified and clearly defined “nation.” In the 1990s, the Government of Guam’s Political Status Education Coordinating Commission (PSECC) produced the *Hale-ta* series of primary and secondary level history textbooks as part of a public campaign to raise awareness of political status issues. These books are the product of numerous authors that include scholars, activists, political leaders and prominent citizens. These writings constituted a well developed counter-narrative to the once dominant

³⁷ Hope Cristobal. “The Organization of People for Indigenous Rights: A Commitment Towards Self-Determination. In *Hale-ta: Hinasso’ Tinige’ Put Chamorro, Insights: The Chamorro Identity*, Hagatña: Political Status Education Coordinating Committee, 1993. 137.

Eurocentric histories. Whereas Chamorros had once been ignored, they now figured prominently in their history. The culture, once ignored, was now formally documented in textbooks.

These writings provide a storehouse of critical perspectives that were sorely needed in Guam history, but the new narrative that emerged remains problematic from a historiographical perspective. As noted by Hayden White, “every narrative, however seemingly full, is constructed on the basis of a set of events that might have been included but were left out.”³⁸ Prasenjit Duara has recognized the problem of narrative in nationalist histories that “secures for the contested and contingent nation the false unity of a self-same, national subject evolving through time.” The promotion of a static identity which has remained unchanged over time is evident in the use of the definite article “the” in titles of *Hale-ta* series books that include phrases like “The Chamorro Identity” and “The Chamorro Perspective.”³⁹ However, these sources completely ignore the reality that authority that allows elites to speak for Chamorros ultimately derives from their closer familiarity with, and access to, colonial knowledge. In the nationalist narrative, the development of the native elite in the Spanish colonial era is rarely mentioned and Chamorro culture is generally presented as unchanging through time and uniform throughout the population. Indigenous continuities in Chamorro culture, however, have been maintained most systematically outside of that power structure by non-elites. Vicente Diaz has been particularly critical of developments in Guam historiography, noting that,

³⁸ Hayden White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 10, 24.

³⁹ *Hale'-ta: Tinige' Put Chamorro, Insights: The Chamorro Identity*, (Hagatña: PSECC, 1993), *Kinalamten Pulitikat: Sinenten i Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective*, (Hagatña: PSECC, 1996).

In Guam, for example, a cottage industry has emerged around history: A government commission revises public school history textbooks along more politically correct perspectives that while critically engaging foreign perspectives in anti-colonial mode, remain remarkably silent about native ordered gendered and class hegemonies.⁴⁰

Diaz's critique of "anti-colonial" mode suggests the way national histories, when defined against the colonizer, marginalize tensions within a colonized society and result in a distorted understanding of issues a society faces. This is not unique to Guam.⁴¹ David Chappell has noted that colonial histories often framed colonizers as "active agents" who dominate "passive victims." This led him to question whether reversing the approach is really an act of decolonizing history, or whether it was still an equally "problematic paradigm."⁴² He suggested that "the real challenge for 'post-colonial' Pacific historians is to be conscious of and address contradictions in our narratives, because interpretations of the past are not amenable to clear-cut, eternal paradigms."⁴³ Prasenjit Duara roots narratives that emphasize a static national identity in "the linear, teleological model of Enlightenment History."⁴⁴

Recent developments in Guam historiography suggest a shift away from simplistic paradigms that emphasize a colonizer/colonized dichotomy. In addition to the already mentioned Vicente Diaz, scholars including Keith Camacho and Anne Hattori have examined issues that reveal the complexity of colonial encounters and Chamorro

⁴⁰ Vicente Diaz "To 'P' or not to 'P': Marking the Territory Between Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7:3 (2004), 192.

⁴¹ In the Pacific, J.W. Davidson established the field of modern Pacific history concurrently with decolonization of Samoa in 1962.

⁴² David Chappell, "Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonized historiography or Problematic Paradigm?" *The Contemporary Pacific*. Fall, 1995. 303-304.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 316.

⁴⁴ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4.

national identity.⁴⁵ Camacho has examined the significant distinctions between Chamorros of Guam and the Northern Marianas, who have been divided by divergent colonial histories. Hattori has looked at issues of class and gender under the American naval administration that complicate the picture of Chamorros as a homogenous community, even in the putatively “simple” times of pre-war Guam. She noted in her study of naval health policies of the early twentieth century that,

The best stories are not one sided accounts of victory and defeat, resistance and compliance. Rather the most compelling stories are tales of the often overlapping process of adaptation, appropriation, acceptance, rejection, domination, and resistance.⁴⁶

It is in recognition of this complexity that this dissertation approaches the topic of modern Chamorro language music. This dissertation makes the case that the story of Chamorro language music, and even more so, the story of the Chamorro music recording industry established by Johnny Sablan in 1968, does not fit neatly into the dominant nationalist narrative that has framed most attempts to integrate the experiences of Chamorro people into representations of Guam’s past. As noted, Johnny Sablan was inspired by a very modern sense of cultural nationalism when he set out to document Chamorro songs, but many of the songs he collected preserved older, subaltern sensibilities that have been marginalized in nationalist discourse.

CHAMORRO SONGS AS SUBALTERN SOURCES

Through documenting Chamorro language songs, this dissertation utilizes subaltern voices that often get left out of both Eurocentric political histories and

⁴⁵ Keith Camacho, “Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory and History in the Mariana Islands,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2005., Anne Hattori, *Colonial Dis-Ease: U.S. Naval Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Anne Hattori, *Colonial Dis-Ease: US Naval Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 38.

nationalist narratives. In part, this follows the lead of the Subaltern Studies Group. In critiquing nationalist histories, they argued that Indian elites, who had been trained in British schools and wrote nationalist histories in support of decolonization during the last years of the Raj had “internalized [the] language of political modernity.”⁴⁷ Histories they wrote tended to present a “unitary nation.”⁴⁸ Subaltern Studies scholars therefore paid more attention to role of non-elites in history. They argued that indigenous languages and traditions, transmitted orally outside of colonial discourses, preserved a worldview that resisted modernity, and therefore the hegemony of colonial discourses, in various ways.

Chamorro language songs are one of the few sources of subaltern perspectives in Guam’s past, since colonial languages were always the official language of government. As noted by Chamorro historian Robert Underwood, “historically on Guam, Chamorro has been the language of the ordinary person as opposed to the language of the powerful.”⁴⁹ In Guam the tension between elite discourse and subaltern voices is less distinct than in a populous country such as India. Guam is a small society in which most Chamorros are related to each other in some way or another. The extended family system and the *chenchule* system also blur class distinctions. Nevertheless, there are differences in the perspectives found in official discourses and in the narrative that can be gleaned from Chamorro language songs.

This dissertation focuses primarily on Chamorro language songs of post-World War II Guam. These songs are heavily oriented towards non-elite perspectives since it was the emergent working class who most systematically perpetuated the Chamorro

⁴⁷ Dipesh Chakrabarty, “A Small History of Subaltern Studies” in *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.),14.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,15

⁴⁹ Cathy Coulehan, *Portrait of Guam: Life and Death of a Language*, video recording (Agana: KGTF Channel 12, 1994).

language in the post-war era. The transition to the cash economy, American citizenship, and the desegregation of the United States Armed Forces brought non-elite Chamorros unprecedented opportunities for upward mobility. However, succeeding as Americans often required compromising aspects of the old way of life that had centered Chamorro identity.

The story of the subaltern narrative in post-war Guam therefore merges with narrative of an emergent working class. The shift from an agrarian economy to an industrial society has been traumatic everywhere it has occurred. It transforms daily life patterns, reorders gender norms, and the new way of life often comes into tension with traditions and values developed in an agrarian society. For working class Chamorros, becoming successful in the modern world could require that they stopped practicing customs that defined them as a distinct people. But, maintaining their identities as a distinct people was also a source of strength. Borrowing from E.P. Thompson's "history from below" approach, this dissertation demonstrates that the shift from the agrarian to the industrial lifestyle experienced by the generations that established the Chamorro music recording industry is very much the story of the "making" of a Chamorro working class.⁵⁰ The songs these individuals wrote point to a strong desire to perpetuate Chamorro identity and language. In doing so, they clearly recognized the importance of maintaining a degree of subalternity. Nevertheless, they also celebrate life in modern Chamorro society, and many songs suggest satisfaction with American citizenship. Therefore, the story of Chamorro music sometimes aligns with the nationalist narrative, while at other times, it does not. The main value of these sources however is they allow non-elite voices a place in Guam history.

⁵⁰ E.P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966).

THE SPECTRE OF INAUTHENTICITY

In 1992, Margaret Jolly wrote of the “spectre of inauthenticity” that has haunted western writings about Pacific peoples. She recognized that there was a pervasive dichotomy between static, “dehistoricized” representations of true “authentic” indigenous cultures, and western culture which was free to evolve without restriction.⁵¹ She points to the hypocrisy that indigenous cultures are viewed as inauthentic if they change in context of inevitable new influences “whereas if colonizers are no longer doing what they were doing two decades ago, this is a comforting instance of western progress.”⁵² Jolly argued that western commentators “seem continually unable to deal with the conjunction and transformation of indigenous and exogenous elements in the creolized cultures that now exist throughout the Pacific.”⁵³ Diaz explains that Guam stands out in this regard,

In Guam, one finds not the classic remoteness and insularity that is supposed to deliver the specificity and particularity of cultural alterity on which modern anthropology cuts its teeth; instead one finds the complexity of creolized culture forged out of centuries of intercultural mixing as the principal form of indigenous social and cultural articulation.⁵⁴

In this passage, Diaz essentially provides an anthropological definition that explains complexity in Chamorro culture as it actually developed on Guam over centuries of colonial rule. This definition clashes with what is still a largely hegemonic conception, identified by Jolly, that ideally, indigenous culture should remain static and in a sense “outside of history.” The wide literature on the invention of tradition and national identity suggests that all modern identities are constructed, but sovereign western nations have often been able to obscure this. The first modern-nation states were free to establish

⁵¹ Margaret Jolly “The Spectre of Inauthenticity” *The Contemporary Pacific*, vol. 4, no.1 Spring 1992, 49.

⁵² *Ibid.* 56.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

⁵⁴ Vicente Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism and Indigeneity in Guam*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 17.

national myths that present national histories rooted in some pure distinctive essence, before they moved on to progress through history.⁵⁵

In Guam, where so much of the culture is obviously introduced from other places, it is apparent that while cuisine and clothing are readily adopted unproblematically, contemporary Chamorro music is less so. In part, this is because, the development of cuisine, for example, is mostly the product of cultural borrowing that happened a long time ago, but Chamorro musicians continue to produce Chamorro music in western styles as they have for generations. Music also has deep roots in western strategies of national myth making. Adorno notes that “since the mid-19th century, a country’s music has become a political ideology by stressing national characteristics, appearing as a representative of the nation and everywhere confirming the national principle.”⁵⁶

Guam has been a colony for nearly three and a half centuries and Chamorros have never controlled the instruments of power necessary to define such an identity. The clash between historical representations of cultural development noted by Diaz, and the desire to establish a modern identity rooted in static myths, as noted earlier is at the heart of narratives that collided, when Johnny Sablan looked to the *kustumbren Chamorro* folk music traditions to establish a musical identity for Guam. His legacy, the Chamorro music recording industry, has in some ways been marginalized by this reality.

Music scholars have generally looked past contemporary Chamorro music. Instead, interest has continually been directed towards older music. Most notable is the sustained interest in the competitive call and response style singing called “*chamorrta*”

⁵⁵ The literature on modern state sponsored national identity and invention of tradition is vast. My perspective has been shaped by authors such as Hobsbawm (1990), Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Anderson (1983), Lowenthal (1985), and Balibar and Wallerstein (1991).

⁵⁶ T.W. Adorno, quoted in Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Harvard: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 72.

which is understood to be the only example of a musical form rooted in the music of ancient Guam. This style of singing, discussed in the next chapter, was perpetuated well into the post-war era in more rural areas of the Marianas and is still known by a few elderly Chamorros today. *Chamorrита* had caught the attention of pre-World War II anthropologists such as Hans Hornbostel and his wife Gertrude, as well as Laura Thompson, who conducted an extensive survey of Chamorro culture in the late 1930s. Beginning in the 1980s, numerous local scholars turned their attention to *chamorrита* and produced a considerable body of literature on the art form.⁵⁷ These studies came at a time when the last generation of *chamorrита* singers was rapidly passing on. They are also essential to this current study because they provide a baseline from which modern Chamorro music is understood. Nevertheless, the lack of emphasis on the contemporary music that was popular at the time suggests a bias towards traditions that have a greater aura of cultural purity.

In the only book length work that chronicles the story of Chamorro music from ancient times to the present, Judy Flores' "Art and Identity in the Marianas Islands: Issues of Reconstructing an Ancient Past," the story of the Chamorro music recording industry come across as stepping stone on the way to cultural dance and other art forms that gained prominence at end of the 1990s.⁵⁸ In fact, the recording industry is not presented as a movement at all, and only a few paragraphs are devoted to the emergence of Chamorro language music recordings composed in western styles. This is not a

⁵⁷ These studies, listed in the Bibliography, include Kim Bailey (1981), Clotilde Castro Gould (1987), Carmen Iglesias Santos (1989), William Peck (1981, 1982, 1994), Laura Souder (1993), Judy Flores (1999) and Michael Clement, Sr. (2002).

⁵⁸ Judy Flores, "Art and Identity,"(1999).

critique of Flores's work, which was in fact not about the Chamorro music recording industry, but it does point to the way dominant narratives shape research interests.

Paul Gilroy, a historian who studies the culture of the African diaspora, outlines a tension over cultural identity within the black communities of the United States and Great Britain. He demonstrates that music is a format in which tensions over national identity play out. Through examining contemporary music he identifies a debate within the African diaspora between "essentialist" and "anti-essentialist" conceptions of African identity and critiques both. "Essentialist" conceptions of African identity, the "essence" of all African people is located in the shared homeland in Africa, while the historical experience of slavery, subjugation, multiple displacements and cultural change are viewed as "cultural contamination." He attributes this view to "the impact of European theories of nationhood, culture and civilisation on elite African-American intellectuals in the early and mid-nineteenth century."⁵⁹

However, he is also critical of anti-essentialist views of culture which deny the significance of race at all, because ultimately, the historical experiences that shape modern black identity are rooted in racism. He proposes that "analyzing the history of black Atlantic music might play a useful role in constructing a more satisfactory set of anti-anti-essentialist arguments."⁶⁰ Anti-anti essentialism, applied to African diasporic identity, emphasizes that identity formation is a historical process, not rooted in one place or time, but instead in historical experience. It is history of racism, subjugation and multiple displacements, but also, of resistance, adaptation, and survival. This dissertation argues that this concept helps explain the process of Chamorro identity formation, under

⁵⁹ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 96.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, x.

an equally long history of subjugation, which like the African diasporic identity paralleled the development of western modernity, and intersected with it in various ways. The Chamorro music recording industry is a product of this history.

THE STUDY OF MUSIC IN CULTURE

The field of ethnomusicology, defined as the “study of music in culture” is a relatively young discipline that emerged because neither of its parent fields was equipped to deal with music in indigenous societies.⁶¹ Musicology developed on the Eurocentric assumption that only “civilized” western societies had “music.” As part of a cultural system that was understood uncritically by Europeans themselves, western music was viewed as an art form and the “domain of a special, almost extra social, autonomous experience.”⁶² Early anthropologists on the other hand saw music as separate from the “kinds of events and processes that make up the predominately verbal and visual life ‘real life’ of which social reality is assumed to consist.”⁶³

Ethnomusicologists increasingly reject racial essentialism as well as a hierarchical view of culture, but they are also finding that differences between peoples across the globe have become less significant with the increasing hegemony of modernity and other forces of globalization. Stokes asks, “How is the anthropologist to make use of these kinds of insights in societies more like our own?”

In our own technologized existence, the ritual forms of music have become peripheralized, and the rest, social dances, bar sessions, concert attendance, listening to a new CD at home in the evening or on the radio during the day fit into the gaps created by work, or at least, the working day.

⁶¹ Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997), 2.

⁶² *Ibid.* 3.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

And yet, the social and cultural worlds that have been shaped by modernity (that is to say, the industrial-capital order, the nation-state, and secular rationalism) would be hard to imagine without music... Music is clearly very much a part of modern life and our understanding of it, articulating our knowledge of other peoples, places, times and things, and ourselves in relation to them.⁶⁴

In the case of Chamorro music, this dissertation demonstrates that the music found on modern CDs is a continuation of old folk traditions, but has not been recognized as such. This dissertation is situated in the field of history and not ethnomusicology, but it is apparent that the topics discussed in this dissertation align with new developments in ethnomusicology. Much of the information documented here will be of interest to ethnomusicologists, media studies scholars and specialists in other related fields.⁶⁵ Lyrics are the focus of this study, but descriptions of song styles are attempted.

An important aspect of Chamorro music is that unlike many musical genres that develop in the context of political struggles and culture contact situations, there are no clear musical qualities that define the genre. This suggests different dynamics than movements such as *kaneka* music in New Caledonia, which has been described as being “created consciously by musicians to forge a musical identity with a specific social-political orientation” and that “affiliations to Kanak social and political independence are clearly encoded in the musical sound, style, texts, performance practice, dress and behaviour.”⁶⁶ Other movements like the revival of *hula kahiko* in Hawai‘i, while not inherently political, clearly perpetuate a pre-colonial indigenous music and dance

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ During the summer of 2010, I had the opportunity to present a paper on Chamorro music at the Inter-Asia popular music conference in Hong Kong. There I found considerable overlap in the story of modern Chamorro music with many papers from throughout East and Southeast Asia. Such comparisons are beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, through continued participation in conferences with music related fields I hope to develop connections and place Chamorro music in the broader contexts of these other movements.

⁶⁶ David Goldsworthy “Music, Identity and Cultural Politics” in *Sound Alliances: Indigenous Peoples, Cultural Politics and Popular Music in the Pacific*. 47.

tradition that was suppressed by missionaries and now plays a role in a type of Hawaiian cultural nationalism that is linked to the sovereignty movement.⁶⁷ In many ways, the cultural dance movement more closely aligns with movements such as *kaneka* in that political consciousness is imbued in the musical arrangements.

In a 1996, Jayne Flores interviewed numerous Chamorro recording artists in order to identify distinct musical qualities that might define the genre, but what she found was apparent confusion. Some defended translations and adaptations and some said the music should all be “original.” Others ranked various styles of music in terms of their historical roots in the island. One argued that English language songs could still be Chamorro music, as long as the lyrics were written by a Chamorro, but another noted that a recent cha-cha hit written in English by a statesider living on Guam was still Chamorro because it had become a mainstay of Chamorro parties.

Chamorro music producer Tom Bejado made no attempt to define the music in terms of a particular style. Instead he explained, “never mind the song, the melody is just a vehicle for the words.”⁶⁸ Obviously, the words are of considerable significance today, because song is one of the few areas of modern Chamorro culture where the language still plays a central role. This makes even direct translations of English songs significant vehicles for the perpetuation of the culture. More than just using the language, however, the best songwriters are praised for their eloquence, and their ability to express deep

⁶⁷ In “Hawai‘i: Colonization and Decolonization” in *Class and Culture in the South Pacific* (Suva: USP, 1987) Haunani-Kay Trask clearly links the revival of *hula kahiko* (ancient hula) and the Hawaiian language with “resistance and the struggle for autonomy.” (162-163). George Kanahale in “The Hawaiian Renaissance I” presents a more nuanced view of “the Hawaiian Renaissance.” While he recognizes that the cultural and intellectual rebirth was critical to the success of Hawaiian political activism in the 1970s, he clearly views culture and politics as separate issues when he notes “I suspects [the renaissance] will be used more and more by political activists to try and galvanize the Hawaiian community for political purposes.” (9)

⁶⁸ Jayne Flores, “*Kantan Chamorro: Preserving the Homegrown Jams*” *Latte: The Essence of Guam*.40.

feelings that relate to Chamorro experiences. During interviews, it became clear that when people spoke of great “songwriters” they were referring to lyricists. Bejado’s other observation, “never mind the song,” is also significant. The relationship between song lyrics and the musical arrangement to which it is set, if looked at from the full range of Chamorro music recordings is rather arbitrary.

In many cultures certain melodies, instruments or rhythms are associated with particular meanings, but modern Chamorro music draws influences from virtually anywhere and there is no formal tradition that ascribes meaning to certain sounds. Songwriters often explained that they wrote lyrics and then “looked for a tune” that fit with them. The source of the tune might be an old song that had been passed down from earlier generations, a recent American hit, or a melody that just came to them by shifting through chord progressions on a guitar. What stuck out though is that very few people showed a preference for “original” tunes over borrowed ones. This is reminiscent of Nicholas Thomas’ observation that in cross cultural contact situations, “Objects have...often marked alterity, and particular strategies for dealing with it—through appropriation and incorporation or distancing and contextualization.”⁶⁹ By this he suggests that the meaning one culture ascribes to an object upon its manufacture may become disconnected from its original meaning in ways that conform to the receiving culture’s sensibilities and can in some cases come to be a marker of difference. In following the argument, outlined earlier in this chapter, it is apparent that appropriating exogenous musical influences into the culture is consistent with other elements of *kustumbren Chamorro*.

⁶⁹ Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 206.

At the same time, this process has developed in the context of colonialism and in constant contact with colonial cultures with much more clearly defined national cultures. The key thread in Chamorro music is not a particular musical quality, but the way Chamorro language lyrics express a subaltern Chamorro identity. The chapters are loosely organized along a subaltern narrative of indigenous continuities and the relationship of these continuities to the larger colonial society.

ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter 2 examines the history of Chamorro songs from the late seventeenth century wars of Spanish conquest and conversion to World War II. During these years, Chamorro language was the primary language spoken on the island. Colonial languages existed alongside Chamorro but the Chamorro language was a marker of membership in the community. Pre-colonial era songs are too limited (there is only one) to build a chapter around, so this era is combined with the Spanish and early American eras. This chapter traces the story of Chamorro songs, from foreign accounts of the music of pre-colonial times, to the assemblage of songs that constituted *kustumbren Chamorro* musical traditions in the 1930s and 1940s.

This chapter establishes two important baselines on which the arguments in future chapters rest. The first is that *kustumbren Chamorro* musical traditions are rooted in the historical experience of the Chamorro people under Spanish and early American era colonialism. This chapter challenges criticisms that the heavy borrowing of western musical styles by Chamorro songwriters suggests a degraded culture, or even a lack of culture. Instead this chapter employs Paul Gilroy's concept of "anti-anti-essentialism." Most songs from the eighteenth and nineteenth century have been lost. However,

situating the story of Chamorro music during these years in the context of multiple displacements and demographic change, as well as shifting class hierarchies, provides the context in which various aspects of *kustumbren Chamorro* musical traditions are traced.

The second baseline established is that from the moment of colonial subjugation in the late seventeenth century, through the Japanese occupation in World War II, Chamorro language songs marked a subaltern identity. Whether in Spanish, American or Japanese times, Chamorro language was always associated with the subordinate class in the colonial society. Like other *kustumbren Chamorro* practices it was perpetuated entirely by Chamorros themselves and largely went undocumented in official written sources. During these years, Chamorros remained only partially integrated into the global capitalist economy. Chamorro language songs were however a marker of those who were less so. Individuals, in southern Guam and in other rural areas perpetuated older musical traditions longer than more upwardly mobile elements of the society who associated more closely with the colonial government and more readily embraced colonial knowledge.

Chapter 3 examines the roughly twenty five year period following World War II. During these years, Chamorro culture and language, while still part of everyday life, were stigmatized as Chamorros became increasingly oriented towards their new identity as American citizens. A discourse of Americanization and modernization permeated political rhetoric as well as popular culture. These years began with life in refugee camps and most did not ever go back to their pre-war homes. Younger people who were contemporaries of the mainland's baby boomers had radically different life experiences depending on class and regional differences.

The introduced music types that were popularized during these years shaped the development of Chamorro music in various ways. Country western was popular island wide, but particular emphasis is placed on the popularity of these songs among non-elite Chamorros. Employing country music historian Bill Malone's analysis of the relationship between country music and the southern working class, this chapter draws parallels with the non-elite Chamorro experience.⁷⁰ Eric Zolov's analysis of rock and roll and the liberal values it embodied is also considered in the context of *kustumbren Chamorro*.⁷¹ In examining the emergence of "Guamanian society" alongside settler colonialism, English language "Guamanian songs" are shown to reflect a break from pre-war understandings of the island as a source of sustenance, in favor of romantic stereotypes of tropical paradise that are shared by settlers alike. In these songs, a distinctive Chamorro identity is marginalized or even erased.

Finally the chapter examines subaltern Chamorro language music traditions that are perpetuated largely under the radar of the emergent public sphere. Some of these songs are drinking songs (*kantan bulacho*), sung by older men and have little emphasis on the wider Chamorro community. However, in the 1960s, a group of young men named the Charfauros Brothers went against the norms of the time and began to sing Chamorro language songs in public. One song in particular, Jesus Charfauros' "*Munga Yo' Mafino Englesi*" stands out as a subaltern protest song, in that it is directed at the Chamorro language community and makes calls for Chamorros to preserve their language and cultural identity.

⁷⁰ Bill Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin' Country Music and the Southern Working Class*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

⁷¹ Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

Chapter 4 chronicles the period from 1965 to 1972 through the story of Johnny Sablan and his successful efforts to produce commercial long playing records of pre-war and modern Chamorro language music. This story of indigenous revival is placed in the context of concurrent global movements of decolonization. The close ties between Chamorros and the Vietnam War created a society that was very supportive of the military, but songs about the war suggest a more apprehensive attitude towards the horror of war. By collecting songs from older Chamorros, Sablan took a subaltern oral tradition and brought it into the public sphere. He then opened a recording studio on Guam, and assembled island talents to make the *Casamiento* album, greatly increasing the profile of local Chamorro singers. These songs present a wide range of perspectives on the Chamorro experience at the time, but for the most part they lean towards a conservative working class perspective on the cultural changes the island is facing.

Chapter 5 chronicles the development of the recording industry during the period from 1973 to 2000. The establishment of the *Programma Chamorrta* radio show in 1973 and the establishment of the Charfauros Bros. recording studio, along with the development of nightclubs that catered to Chamorro music fans marked beginning the boom years for the recording industry. During the 1980s, the introduction of new talent from the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands to the Guam nightclub scene and into the Chamorro music recording industry resulted in a further expansion of the music. During these years, Chamorro music, both in recorded form and in live performance maintained the presence of Chamorro language in the public culture just at the time that Chamorro language fluency was rapidly declining.

Chapter 6 considers the legacy of recording artists and the contemporary state of Chamorro music in the context of the shift in the way Chamorro musical identity is presented by the cultural dance movement. In particular, emphasis is placed on Daniel De Leon Guerrero a middle aged Chamorro recording artist who emerged on the music scene in 1998 after decades on the United States mainland. This chapter argues that De Leon Guerrero and the cultural dance are both legacies of Sablan's establishment of the recording industry in 1968. However, they present different narratives of Guam history. De Leon Guerrero's music is presented as a continuation of the subaltern type of musical expression chronicled throughout this dissertation, while cultural dance is presented as a thoroughly modern identity, which aligns better with the nationalist narrative. Conclusions are offered about the implications of these narratives and the possibility of synthesis.

CHAPTER 2
THE HISTORICAL ROOTS AND ROUTES
OF *KUSTUMBREN CHAMORRO* MUSICAL TRADITIONS

Referring to the state of Chamorro music in 1928, American naval official J.P. Searles remarked that, “the race may, in the far distant past before Guam was discovered by the Spanish, have had indigenous songs, but today nothing of the kind exists.”⁷² Another naval official, Lt. Comdr. R.F. Armknecht, wrote in 1941 that “Another curious lack in Guam’s native tongue is the dearth of songs. Perhaps there were songs in the old days, but they have been forgotten for Spanish and English ones.”⁷³ Reflecting the disconnect between colonial discourse and the subaltern Chamorro experience, it should be pointed out that anthropologist Laura Thompson had just collected Chamorro folk songs during her fieldwork in 1939. Nevertheless, the record of Chamorro music from ancient times through the early American era is extremely limited. More generally, the record of Chamorro history during the Spanish colonial era is vague. The common perception of Chamorro history until very recently was that Chamorros were a “mongrel race” perhaps not even related to the ancient inhabitants of the island.

Early histories suggested what Alan Moorehead called the “fatal impact,” in which once thriving indigenous cultures collapsed amidst colonial subjugation and population loss.⁷⁴ During the twentieth century foreign and indigenous scholars discredited this myth. American anthropologist Laura Thompson’s work in the 1930s was most significant because by comparing her comprehensive survey of the society with pre-colonial accounts she was able to identify clear connections between modern Chamorros

⁷² P.J. Searles “The Queerest Stringed Instrument in the World” *The Guam Recorder*, January 1928

⁷³ R.F. Armknecht, “English in the Homes of Guam” *Guam Recorder XVII*, July, 1941. 140.

⁷⁴ Alan Moorehead. *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific 1767-1840*, (New York: Harper Row, 1987).

and their pre-colonial ancestors. Jane Hanline Underwood's study of the island's population history dismissed the myth that Chamorros had become extinct by tracing the indigenous roots of the contemporary Chamorro population.⁷⁵ Still, the history of the Chamorro people during Spanish colonial era is a turbulent one, marked by radical displacements and trauma.

Tracing the history of *kustumbren Chamorro* music traditions brings attention to what James Clifford refers to as the importance of "routes" as well as "roots" and what Paul Gilroy refers to as "anti-anti-essentialism."⁷⁶ These authors both champion flexible understandings of culture that take into account the complexity of cultural identity in the modern world. Among these modern realities are experiences of displacement, cultural mixing and diaspora, all of which call into question static definitions of culture that gained prominence globally with the rise of the European nation-state model.

Gilroy in particular emphasizes the role of music as a vehicle for the perpetuation of identity. His concept, which he also refers to as a "changing same" recognizes that the historical experience of displacement can be the source of identity as well. In his examples of diasporic African populations in Britain and the United States, he demonstrates that roots in slavery and post-slavery subjugation and discrimination were the context in which modern diasporic African identity emerged. In such a context, the maintenance of identity is a form of resistance since it brings cohesion to a group which faces various forms of subjugation within the society it finds itself. In a concept that suggests even residents of small Pacific island colonies who never left their island share

⁷⁵ Jane Hanline Underwood, "Population History of Guam: The Native Origins of the Neo-Chamorros of the Mariana Islands," *Micronesica*, 12:2, 1976.

⁷⁶ James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 1993.

parallel experiences with diasporic peoples, historian Francis Hezel argues that Guam's neighbors in the Carolines and Marshalls became "strangers in their own land" as colonial powers transformed the cultural landscape of the islands.⁷⁷ In Guam, the experience was more complex since a more complete adoption of the colonial culture and wide scale intermarriage with non-Chamorros obscured the tension Chamorros faced with the imposed cultural traditions. Examining Chamorro history reveals that the large scale additions of foreign influence happened not just once, but in stages over multiple generations in which different groups of people and new cultural influences were introduced to the society.

In tracing the origins of *kustumbren Chamorro* musical traditions, this chapter does so with the recognition that these musical traditions were never static. For the most part these traditions align with conventional definition of "a long established custom or belief" that is passed on from one generation to the next.⁷⁸ However, in negotiating a changing world, people continually adapt traditions to new circumstances and over time they can transform radically. Gilroy sees tradition as "a process rather than an end."⁷⁹ Clifford suggests that "cultural survival and invention" can themselves be viewed as "tradition." Boyarin argues that "diasporic cultural identity teaches us that cultures are not preserved by being protected from "mixing" but probably can only continue to exist as a product of such mixing. Cultures as well as identities are constantly being remade."⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Francis Hezel. *Strangers in their own Land: A Century of Colonial Rule in the Caroline and Marshall Islands*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), xiv.

⁷⁸ The Oxford American College Dictionary (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁷⁹ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 276.

⁸⁰ Boyarin, 1993, cited in James Clifford. *Routes: Travel and Translation*, 270.

Defining Chamorro music over five centuries of contact with the west requires such a flexible definition. It also requires paying attention to class tensions in Chamorro society. In the stratified society that emerged, indigenous identity was subordinated both in society and in official discourses that represented the island's culture. In tracing the routes of Chamorro cultural continuity, it is therefore necessary to look at subaltern aspects of the Chamorro experience that were ignored by the colonial society and largely left out of written sources. Among the various oral traditions perpetuated within Chamorro families it is clear that some were specialized such as fishing technologies and traditional medicines and so did not form part of the general consciousness of the Chamorro community. Song on the other hand was an element of Spanish era and early American era Chamorro culture that played a central role in the lives of all Chamorros.

Most songs from these early periods of Chamorro history have been lost and are likely irrecoverable but comparisons between the seventeenth century accounts and the much better documented music of the early to mid-twentieth century suggest considerable indigenous continuity. This chapter traces the story of indigenous continuities and adaptations in music in the context of the shifting dynamics within Chamorro society during the Spanish, early American and Japanese colonial eras. In the process, this chapter defines a cultural baseline of *kustumbren Chamorro* music traditions as it was understood by the oldest Chamorros who participated in the Chamorro music recording industry.

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF CHAMORRO CULTURE AND MUSIC

The earliest accounts of Chamorro music come from the period between 1521 and 1668, when thousands of visitors passed through the Marianas on European ships yet

made no sustained attempt to colonize them. During these years Chamorros gained considerable familiarity with the foreigners. They adopted iron, cloth and other items they found useful into their culture. Most contacts with Europeans were brief and characterized by mutual mistrust. Political control remained firmly in the hands of Chamorros. European accounts from the time point to a pattern by which outsiders who attempted to live in the islands, if not killed immediately, would be treated as highly valued property by Chamorro clans. Some were adopted into clans and intermarried, playing similar roles in Chamorro society to beachcombers throughout the Pacific.

There was no centralized political organization for the Marianas but there was considerable social stratification. An upper caste called *chamorri* had a monopoly on sea resources. A subordinate caste, called *mañachang*, were required to show deference to the *chamorri* and were barred from entrance into the ocean or from eating salt water fish. Clans based on matrilineages called *achafñak* (compound word meaning “same birth”) constituted the most significant political organization. Kinship was avuncular, meaning men were the chiefs but their power came from their mother’s family. Women lived on their husband’s clan land but the children belonged to the mother’s clan.⁸¹ Wives had tremendous power in their husbands’ clans since through divorce they could seriously disrupt clan alliances. Clans were in constant competition and a hierarchy was likely established through warfare. However, it is apparent that feasting and other forms of competition could bring status to clans.

Music played multiple roles in Chamorro society during these years. Fray Juan Pobre, a Franciscan missionary who spent seven months in Rota in 1602, described how

⁸¹ Lawrence Cunningham. *Ancient Chamorro Kinship Organization*, (Agat: L.J. Press, 1984), 61. For an excellent overview of pre-colonial Guam see Scott Russell, *Tiempon Manma’ fo’na, Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Marianas Islands*, (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation, 1998).

debate, through song, played an important role in the *gupot* (a type of feast which brought different clans together). He explained that “one debater will get to his feet and begin to argue, or to make up ballads, or to poke fun at those across from him.”⁸² The highest form of debate was a type of call and response singing called *mari*.⁸³ A similar account from 1668 reports that Chamorros sang their “ancient myths, the best singers gambling on who could sing the most verses.”⁸⁴ Men would “celebrate victory with satirical songs in which they lauded their own feats and made fun of the vanquished.”⁸⁵

Chamorro women reportedly “sang their history and legends in measured time.”⁸⁶ History, as in most Pacific cultures, was rooted in genealogy, and genealogy led eventually to the creator gods *Puntan* and *Fu’una*. Father Coomans, a Jesuit missionary, reported in the 1670s that the creation myth was told “with verses...and is sung at road intersections.”⁸⁷ The Belgian Jesuit Fr. Bouwens (reflecting the strong biases of the missionaries) provides insight into the formality of this education as well as the significance of genealogy in the ancient Chamorro view of creation.

He arrived at the house of an Indian chief named Apuro, who had just taught a few disciples certain poems in which such poets are used to mix in a thousand humbug stories regarding their First Parents who they call creators of the heavens, earth and sea.⁸⁸

In addition to history, there were undoubtedly countless forms of knowledge transmitted through song. The chants of the *makahna*, shaman who communicated with ancestral spirits, and the chants of navigators were suppressed by the missionaries.

⁸² Fray Juan Pobre, *Fray Juan Pobre in the Marianas*, translated by Marjorie Driver, (Mangilao, UOG MARC, 1989), 18.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1969), 24.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Rodrigue Levesque, *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Documents vol.6* (Gatineau: Levesque Publications, 1995), 81.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 357.

Makahna posed a theological challenge to the missionaries, while navigators complicated efforts to consolidate the island populations on one island. Their chants did not survive to be documented in writing. One song describing a banned practice, that of co-habitation of young men and women in the *guma' ulitao* (bachelor's houses), was however documented.

Traditionally, young boys moved to these houses at puberty to be trained for manhood by their maternal uncles. In addition to various specialized knowledge, *guma' ulitao* were places where young women called *maulitao* would be sent for short periods of time to gain sexual experience in preparation for marriage. The families of the young women encouraged the practice because it brought status to the woman and wealth to her father. Jesuits saw the practice as a form of prostitution. The song "*Huyong Akaga*,"⁸⁹ gives insight into the indigenous view of the practice. Mothers sang the song to their daughters as they went off to the *guma' ulitao*. The lyrics point to the social acceptability of the practice and a clear clash with the values of the missionaries.

Hudjong akaga makanno!
 Sa pago nai um mannghi
 Sa guin la-muna um daghi
 Dja um hago pulan sapit

Go out my dear girl to be eaten
 Because right now you are delicious.⁹⁰
 Because later, you will be frustrated
 And you will be the one suffering⁹¹

⁸⁹ Note that spellings of quoted material exhibit a wide variety of spelling systems. This is because, historically, there has been no standard orthography for Chamorro language. In my own translations, I follow Topping (1976). For example my spelling of the term "*huyong*" (to go outside) follows Topping. Freycinet spells the same word as "hudjong."

⁹⁰ *Mannge* (delicious) used in this way is a reference to sexual attractiveness. The metaphor of "eating" in the song can be understood as a reference to sex. The term "dahgi" translated by Freycinet as "frustrated" is likely the same as the modern word "dagge" which in modern Chamorro means taro or another root crop that is "over ripe" and "not edible." (PSECC,2009) In this context it is likely that 'frustrated' can be understood to mean that the women might be seen as less attractive as she becomes older and have trouble finding suitors.

⁹¹ Louis Claude de Freycinet. *An Account of the Corvette L'Uranie's Sojourn at the Marianas Islands, 1819*. Glynn Barrat trans. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2003), 127.

Another aspect of pre-Catholic Chamorro culture that caught the attention of foreign observers was the elaborate display of mourning upon the death of an important person. Mourning included recounting the lives of the dead, singing “melancholy songs,” the blowing of conches, and wailing that went on for many days. More extreme measures would be taken for important chiefs, as mourners would “destroy coconut trees, burn houses, pull boats to pieces and raise their shredded sails before their houses as signs of grief and suffering.”⁹² According to a 1611 account, mourning was an obligation that had to be fulfilled and if someone was unable to do so, a person “hires someone to mourn on his behalf.” The same account reports that “there are many hired female mourners” reflecting the central role women played in rituals surrounding death.⁹³

Radical political and cultural changes were set in motion in 1668 when the Jesuit missionary Father Diego Luis de San Vitores arrived on Guam. Unlike previous independent attempts at missionizing, San Vitores had the official support of the Spanish government which supplied him with a garrison of thirty-one troops and a military commander. The justification for conversion was primarily religious, but the Spanish by this time understood that successful conversion of an entire society rested on achieving total political control. The term they used for this process was “*reducción*” which meant “to subdue, convert, and gather pagans into Christian congregations.”⁹⁴ San Vitores preferred peaceful means but he did not oppose using force when his mission began to encounter stiff resistance.

⁹² Scott Russell. *Tiempon Manmafo'na, Ancient Chamorro Culture and History in the Northern Mariana Islands*. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 1998), 155.

⁹³ Rodrigue Levesque, *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Documents vol.III* (Gatineau: Levesque Publications, 1991), 38.

⁹⁴ Robert F. Rogers *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 43.

His murder in 1672, by the chiefs Matapang and Hirao, led to an expansion of warfare in which the Spanish soldiers used brutal tactics such as public execution by quartering, burning villages and canoes, and forcibly resettling the survivors in church-centered villages on Guam. Some of the children of clans that resisted resettlement were kidnapped by the Jesuits who raised them to despise the “pagan” beliefs of their parents.⁹⁵ The wars of conquest, the trauma of forced relocation, and a series of disease epidemics decimated the population. In 1710 there were only 3,539 Chamorros survivors settled in a few small church-centered villages on Guam and one on Rota, the island just to the north.⁹⁶

While the process of conversion was ultimately violent and destructive, the Jesuits attracted willing converts early on. According to the Jesuit historian Le Gobien, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores used music to attract converts, who met him even before he stepped off the ship in 1668.

At first the natives shyly held back upon the arrival of the ships and did not want to come aboard [the ship]. San Vitores, however, encouraged them to sing the litany of the Virgin and soon they approached, mixed with the Spaniards and sang with them. Upon entrance into the villages, “Christ’s message’ was sung, which had been translated by San Vitores into Chamorro verses. All came and listened because they loved the singing.⁹⁷

Much of the history surrounding San Vitores is hagiographical and must be read with some skepticism.⁹⁸ Still, there is little doubt that the Jesuits were skilled in learning as much about the indigenous cultures where they worked as they could, and that they

⁹⁵ Ibid.,61.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 43.

⁹⁷ Georg Fritz. *The Chamorro: A History and Ethnography of the Mariana Islands*. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historical Preservation, 2001), 46. The “litany of the Virgin” consists of a “litany” of names for the Virgin Mary. It remains part of the modern rosary and has likely been said on Guam every day since this first recounting in 1668.

⁹⁸ See Vicente Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, for an excellent analysis of the role of hagiography in historical representations of San Vitores and the Jesuit mission.

found in song a way to bring in converts. Michael Clement Sr. observed that “The Jesuits recognized the skill in poetry and song and used it to their advantage in teaching Christian doctrine.”⁹⁹ In their proselytizing, they incorporated the competitive aspect of Chamorro songs.

In order that there be no lack of hymns, the father wrote in verse some of the principal mysteries of our faith. They wrote them in couplets around the “sweet names of Jesus and Mary” and the children would sing on the road during the day, in their homes and villages at night.

The jealousy of one village towards another aids in the facility and speed with which they learn, for they like to enter into competition as to who understands the Christian Doctrine the best, challenging one another to hold a contest. When they arrive at the village...they are led to the public place where their contest of mysteries and prayers is to be held.¹⁰⁰

Chamorros had various reasons for supporting or challenging the mission. Many conversions were undoubtedly sincere, but since those who did not passively submit to Jesuit authority were invariably violently subjugated, it is likely that considerable resentment remained, possibly for generations, among Chamorros who accepted Christianity for no other reason than to avoid execution. Diaz suggests that conversion was a form of passive resistance that allowed Chamorros to maintain core aspects of their pre-Catholic identity despite the imposed system.

The Spanish process of reducing Natives to Catholicism was simultaneously the Chamorro process of reproducing indigenous spirituality and values. In the barrios that became parishes, in the new Catholic calendar of rituals and practices, Chamorros found refuge within the Catholic Church. The refuge can also be seen as a virtual “inoculation” against the Church itself.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Michael Clement (Sr.) “The Ancient Origins of Chamorro Music.” M.A. thesis, University of Guam, 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Fr. J. McDonough, “The Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis de San Vitores of the Company of Jesús, First Apostle of the Marianas Islands” unpublished manuscript (Guam: Guam Humanities Council, n.d.), 432.

¹⁰¹ Vicente Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, 27-28.

This idea of “reproducing indigenous spirituality and values” is compelling as it has parallels with similar processes of Roman Catholic conversion in numerous societies across the globe. At the same time, as in Europe, indigenous elements of this hybrid Catholicism gave way to greater hegemony of official church doctrine over many generations.

SPANISH COLONIAL SOCIETY

With the completion of the conquest of the Marianas in 1695, violent resistance to Spanish colonialism ended. In a process begun in the 1670s, a colonial society took shape in which race, class and culture began to define a new social hierarchy. While the governorship was always held by a Spanish *peninsulare*, large landholdings and lower level political positions would first come under control of soldiers who settled permanently on the island and married Chamorro women, and then later, to their mestizo descendents. From the very beginning of Spanish rule, it was advantageous for Chamorro women to marry soldiers. Royal orders to the Spanish governor *Don Jose de Quiroga* in 1680 instructed him to “have particular regard for married troops, and bear in mind the number of persons in given families, when distributing land and food stuffs.”¹⁰² In the same instructions, an order to “allocate a special place apart from the Spanish troops for the *Papangas*, in view of their inferiority” points to the race based hierarchy within the Spanish empire.¹⁰³

¹⁰² “Statutory Regulations” in Louis Claude de Freycinet, *An Account of the Corvette L’Uranie’s Sojourn in the Marianas 1819*, translated by Glynn Barrat, (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2003) 199.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 200 “*Papangas* refers to Filipino soldiers of the Pampangan ethnic group. These soldiers were more numerous than the Spanish on Guam and many ended up marrying Chamorro women and retiring. They enjoyed advantages over Chamorro men because of their pensions and their families seem to have flourished since their surnames live on as modern Chamorro names while most of the indigenous names listed in the census have not. As indigenous people who had also been recently subjugated to Spanish rule, they were more closely related culturally to the Chamorros than to the Spanish and it is easy to see why,

The 1728 census points to a very clear segregation of settlement patterns. The capital of Hagatña was home to 400 Spanish and Filipino soldiers and retirees. Many were married to Chamorro women and had numerous offspring.¹⁰⁴ These families constituted roughly half the population of the Marianas. In the outlying barrios of Hagatña and in the rural southern villages the population was predominately indigenous. One official Spanish report from 1772 characterized the indigenous population as living in a “miserable state, caused by the extreme greed of the person who governs them.”¹⁰⁵

Descent from the Spanish soldiery did not guarantee status since only a few island elites monopolized the island’s meager resources. Even retired soldiers were victims of corrupt governors and elites who lent money at “usurious rates.”¹⁰⁶ The typical life for a Chamorro man involved daily or weekly treks to small family farms called *lanchos* (ranches). Tax policies varied considerably over time, but could pose considerable impositions on Chamorros who relied primarily on subsistence agriculture and bartering for most necessities. Obligations to the Spanish government included the *polo*, a requirement to work for the government on communal projects or on government farms that supplied the *almacen* (government storehouse).¹⁰⁷

Following the collapse of the Spain’s American empire in the early nineteenth century, Guam came under the jurisdiction of the Governor General of the Philippines.

upon marrying Chamorro women, they accepted the cultural norms established by Chamorro women in their households.

¹⁰⁴ For a good picture of ethnic segregation and family size, see the 1758 census. *Documentos Relativos a la Micronesia: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Legajo Filipinas 480 “Año de 1758”* Prepared by MARC, University of Guam, 1974. Also see 1728 census *Padron General de las Personas que Habitan en las Islas Marianas*. Manila, 30 Junio de 1728[census]. Typescript copy, MARC., University of Guam (n.d.)

¹⁰⁵ Jane Hanline Underwood, “Population History of Guam: Context of Microevolution” *Micronesica* vol. 9, no.1. July 1973, 20.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.19. The reference to elites and governors extending loans to Chamorros and soldiers is found in Robert Rogers *Destiny’s Landfall*, 78.

¹⁰⁷ Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 79. Elites could pay a tax to be relieved of this duty.

With less money coming in, the government enacted policies to make the island more self sufficient and to strengthen the island's defenses against foreign threats. Such policies created new opportunities for Chamorros in the government and in the island militia. Chamorros regularly filled government positions including *gobnadorcillo* (mayor), *teniente* (deputy), *juez* (superintendents in charge of fields and harvests, livestock, police, and *aguacil* (bailiff).¹⁰⁸ Such arrangements blurred the line between colonizer and colonized, since Chamorros working in the government and in the military, were collaborating in the maintenance of colonial rule. After the 1790s, such occupations also required knowledge of the Spanish language, further establishing a connection between foreign knowledge, and power, within the Chamorro culture. At the same time, Chamorro blood, or any non-Spanish blood for that matter, defined one as an underclass in the colonial society. Chamorros, in this emerging, middle/upper class had reason to be both resisters and collaborators depending on the circumstance. Such arrangements in colonial societies give stability to the colonial government.¹⁰⁹

The culture of Hagatña was from the beginning heavily influenced by a blend of Filipino, Mexican and Spanish elements. Clothing styles, farm implements, household goods, domestic animals and most of the fruits, vegetables, and spices came to resemble the cultures of the Philippines and Mexico, to which Guam was linked by the Manila galleon trade. Almost immediately, Filipino practices such as the making of *tuba* (an alcoholic beverage made from fermented coconut sap), and cockfighting became part of everyday life on the island, while the influence of Mexican culture was evident in the

¹⁰⁸Laura Thompson *Guam and its People*, citing de la Corte, 27.

¹⁰⁹ See Ranajit Guha's discussion of "The General Configuration of Power in Colonial India" in *Dominance without Hegemony*, 20-23.

adoption of corn as a daily staple in the form of *titiyas* (tortillas). The widespread use of tobacco was also immediate and so important that it served as a form of currency.

Jesuit missionaries who served as the parish priests until their global expulsion in 1768 also had a major role in shaping the culture by introducing crops, instructing Chamorros in religious and secular knowledge, the Spanish language, trades and music. Augustinian Recollects and secular and diocesan priests from the Diocese of Cebu replaced the Jesuits as the island's spiritual leaders. Foreign men from Spain, the Philippines and Mexico who settled on Guam were already Catholic before they came, and so posed little conflict with the mission and probably played a role in bringing Chamorro Catholicism more in line with that of the larger Spanish Empire. In the nineteenth century, priests were in short supply and they often had to divide their time between several different rural parishes. By this time, however, Chamorros had long adopted Catholic religious rituals as their own. The first Chamorro priest *Padre Jose Bernardo Palomo y Torres* was ordained in Cebu in 1859 and soon became a prominent island leader.¹¹⁰

Women had no formal power in the Spanish colonial government but it is clear that women, as both mothers and wives, played the central role in perpetuating the aspects of modern Chamorro culture that are most clearly rooted in pre-colonial practices. These continuities are found in the language, values and in the maintenance of reciprocal obligations including *chenchule* and *ika* among extended families and clans.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰Marjorie Driver, *The Augustinian Recollect Friars in the Mariana Islands 1769-1908*.(Mangilao: MARC, 2000), 101-102.

¹¹¹ Here I refer to clan according to the contemporary Chamorro usage, which differs from ancient Chamorro clans. Pre-colonial Chamorros practiced unilateral kinship through matrilineages that were clearly associated with specific territories. Presumably, they were ultimately rooted in totemic ancestors. Modern Chamorros practice bilateral kinship in that both paternal and maternal lineages are important. The term is therefore synonymous with the term "extended family" and individuals often associate with

Reciprocal obligations are remnants of the pre-Catholic economic system. While like other cultural traditions they were not officially recognized by the government, they brought cohesion to the Chamorro community by ensuring continual communication amongst interconnected webs of extended families.

The rearing of children and the maintenance of both intra- and inter-clan relationships had been the domain of women before colonization and remained so afterwards. If foreign men coming from patriarchal societies had been in a dominant position in the family, it seems likely that they would have insisted that their children learn of their culture. With the exception of the few elite families where Spanish was spoken as the primary language in the household, this did not occur.¹¹² Instead women maintained control of the family and in doing so constituted a counter-hegemonic institution that perpetuated indigenous identity.¹¹³

COLONIAL DISCOURSE AND SUBALTERN CONTINUITIES

Place of residence, wealth and lineage in various ways marked class distinctions in nineteenth century Guam. The indigenous term *mana'kilo* (high people) referred to the

numerous clans. There is no clear association between clan identity specific territories although prominent families often own large areas of land. Land inheritance is negotiated in various ways. In general, modern clan founders, memorialized in clan nicknames, are prominent men who had numerous children and were able to acquire a large amount of land. Clans with the highest status can usually be traced to European or prominent mestizo patriarchs. Nevertheless, women are arguably more powerful than men in most families and are the primary organizers that bind large clan/extended family networks together.

¹¹² Numerous interviewees for this project spoke of foreign fathers and grandfathers but never identified with their male ancestors' cultures. Chamorro songwriter Connie Fejeran told of how her Spanish father preferred to speak his own language, but aside from a few songs, she never learned to speak his language.

¹¹³ Etienne Balibar suggests that while formal schooling is "the principal institution which produces ethnicity as a linguistic community...the state, economic exchange and family life are also schools in a sense." Etienne Balibar "The Nation Form: History and Ideology" in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein eds. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1991),98. In this context the role of women in both the handling of family resources and child rearing is of considerable significance to the continuity of indigenous culture. For more on the role of Chamorro women in perpetuating Chamorro identity during the colonial era, see Laura Torres Souder. "Unveiling Herstory: Chamorro Women in Historical Perspective" in *Pacific History. Papers from the 8th Pacific History Association Conference*. (Mangilao: University of Guam, 1992)143-161.

island's *penisulare*, *criollo* and European *mestizo* elites while the lowest class of people who worked as servants in town or as landless farm laborers were known as *manak'papa* (low people). Most Chamorros were neither *mana'kilo* nor *manak'papa* but could be said to be "non-elite." Another distinction was between the more cosmopolitan town people and the more isolated residents of rural villages (*poblanos*). The class hierarchy that developed on Guam during the Spanish colonial era created a hierarchical relationship between indigenous and colonial knowledge. Chamorros learned the Chamorro language at home, and, the Church at various times utilized the language, but Spanish was the language of government and commerce.¹¹⁴

Language therefore marked a division between the official discourse about the Spanish colony on Guam recorded in written documents and the subaltern indigenous language, values and traditions that were passed down in Chamorro families through practice and oral transmission. Indigenous continuities were therefore not written down and the exact process by which Chamorro culture evolved is not clearly understood. Numerous descriptions of eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth-century Guam present the island as a colonial outpost, out of place within the larger Pacific where indigenous cultures maintained much clearer connections with their pre-colonial pasts.

Many visitors to Guam looked past the Chamorros and instead marveled at the

¹¹⁴ In the 1790s, as Chamorros began to play a larger role in the government, Spanish language fluency became a requirement for employment. The role of Chamorro language in the Church is unclear. As already noted the Jesuits learned the language and used it in the process of conversion but most of the Augustinian Recollects who replaced them after 1768 appear to have made less use of the language. However, Augustinians did provide some religious instruction in Chamorro and written Chamorro language appears to have been making a resurgence at the end of the nineteenth century. Mass was in Latin and religious songs were in both Latin and Spanish. Female Chamorro prayer leaders, called *techas* likely perpetuated Chamorro language prayers and songs from Jesuit times, but records are not clear. Father Eric Forbes reports that when the Spanish Capuchin Father Roman de Vera arrived on the island in 1915, there were virtually no Chamorro language religious texts. Forbes credits de Vera for creating the large catalog of Chamorro language *novenas* and other religious writings known to modern Chamorros. See Eric Forbes, O.F.M. Cap. *Pale Roman* (Hagatña: Eric Forbes, 2007).

communities of Carolinian islanders from the atolls to the south who the Spanish had allowed to settle on Guam and Saipan beginning in the early nineteenth century.

Carolinians wore pre-contact clothes and body ornaments and practiced their pre-contact dances and religious rituals. Chamorros by comparison wore pants, shirts and skirts, they farmed in the western manner and they went to church.

When visitors did write about Chamorros they noted exogenous influences such as cockfighting, *tuba* and cigars, as well as the numerous religious processions and the ubiquitous crucifixes and scapularies worn by Chamorro women. Such descriptions reveal much about daily life in the Marianas during the Spanish era, but they reflect a strong, largely unintentional, bias towards the familiar. Foreign observers generally could not recognize or did not care to recognize the subtle differences between Chamorro culture and the more familiar exogenous influences from Asia, Europe and the Hispanic world.

For the most part, people did not come to the island looking for the exotic. They came to resupply and repair their ships or to survey the ability of the ever weakening Spanish empire to protect its distant colony. Voyagers sometimes found comfort in Guam and its European trappings after travelling through an ocean that was still largely under indigenous leadership. Jacques Arago, who visited the island in 1819 with the Freycinet expedition, expressed excitement that he would have a chance to speak European languages while staying on Guam.¹¹⁵ Visitors primarily associated with island elites, and as distinguished guests on a small island where not too much happened on a daily basis, the governor and other prominent residents entertained them personally.

¹¹⁵ Jacques Arago. *Narrative of a Voyage Round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes*. (London: Truettel and Wurtz, 1823).

In 1854, Samuel Masters, an unofficial United States consul to Guam, gave an account of the elite families of Hagatña that suggests considerable familiarity with western music.

The gentlemen of the higher class pass their mornings in the transaction of a little business, and in lounging about smoking. In the afternoon they sleep and stroll about town until evening, when they visit friends or attend a *tertulia* or dancing party... His excellency Don Pablo Perez [The Governor], gives a *tertulia* every Sunday evening. The company was usually not large, comprising some thirty ladies and twelve to fifteen gentlemen. Dancing was introduced at an early hour, and continued until three o'clock in the morning. The ladies are the most graceful waltzers I have ever seen in any part of the world.¹¹⁶

Lt. John Mercer Brooke, United States Navy, passed through the island in 1859 and gave a similar description after being entertained by prominent *peninsulare*, Felix Calvo.

The Commissaire [Calvo] met us at the head of the stairs, and soon after, Don Vicente [his son] came in, accompanied by four sisters, all of them young and pretty. One Mrs. Marsh, had married an American, commanding a whale ship now daily expected from the Southern grounds. She was an interesting little lady, spoke English agreeably, had been to the United States, and returned with a piano and a knowledge of our own home songs and tunes, which she played skillfully. Her sister Ana also entertained us with music.¹¹⁷

At another house, Brooke was entertained by the daughter of a major, “who played admirably upon the harp.”¹¹⁸ In such houses, girls entertaining on the piano may have had sheet music that came from the wider world, or as mentioned above, played songs learned abroad. In addition to the above mentioned travels, the same passage notes that the Chamorro mestizo son of *Don Felix Calvo*, *Don Vicente Calvo*, “had visited England, China and Manila.”¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Bill Wuerch. “Non-Spanish Descriptions of Guam in the Nineteenth Century” in *Guam History Perspectives Vol. 1*. (Eds. Lee Carter, W.Wuerch and R.Carter, (Mangilao: MARC, 1998), 104.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 105.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

The lifestyle described in these accounts suggests that the island's prominent citizens, while in many cases ethnically Chamorro, were more oriented towards western culture than to the indigenous aspects of Chamorro culture. In such families, wealth and power stemmed not from their indigenous roots but from their *peninsulare* and *criollo* patriarchs. In light of the reality that such families produced the indigenous elite of the twentieth century, it is reasonable to suggest that within modern Chamorro identity this hierarchy is deeply ingrained. The description of waltzes performed in elite homes is also significant given the fact that by the early twentieth century, the waltz, known as the *batsu*, had become a primary dance associated with Chamorro festivities throughout the island. It points to a pattern, which will be demonstrated by numerous other examples, in which foreign introductions seem to have flowed from Hagatña to the island's rural areas.

Among the island's high profile visits was a French scientific expedition led by Claude de Freycinet, which surveyed the island in 1819. The governor, *Don* Medinilla y Pineda and his second command, the Chamorro mestizo Major *Don* Luis de Torres, both spared no expense in accommodating Freycinet's needs. Descriptions include elaborate multiple course meals, imported alcohol and all types of entertainment. The celebration of the governor's birthday included "violins, basses and a children's choir."¹²⁰ Freycinet however looked deeper during his comprehensive survey of the island.

He had tremendous help from Torres, who while reportedly "brought up in the Spanish fashion" had taken a great interest in Chamorro history and culture.¹²¹ Torres shared government archives and his own knowledge acquired by interviewing elderly Chamorros who had heard stories of earlier times. Torres also likely played a role in

¹²⁰ Ibid. xix, 300.

¹²¹ Scott Russell. *Tiempon Manmafo'na: Ancient Chamorro Culture and History in the Northern Mariana Islands*. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 1998), 56.

arranging the music and dance performances that Freycinet documented. Among the entertainment provided for Freycinet was a performance of the “dance of the ancients,” which resembles descriptions of dances in early missionary accounts. While other foreigners mention the dance, Freycinet took note of the accompanying song “*Hasngon gof-dja paloan- ho*” a song of courtship that reflects the centrality of betel nut in the ancient culture. It stands out because Freycinet notated the melody and documented the lyrics. It is not clear whether Torres provided the transcription to Freycinet or whether someone in Freycinet’s party transcribed the song based on the performance. Whatever the case, the song is the oldest documented Chamorro melody and the only Chamorro melody documented until the twentieth century.¹²²

Hasngon gof-dja pala-uan ho’	Deliberately, beautiful woman of mine
Nga ho saddi, gui mina-ho	I place you on my knees in my presence
Ho sunni ngo mamaon	I inflame (your desire) with (a wad of) <i>betel</i>
Ngo plupludjon djan puguaon	With a <i>betel</i> leaf and (crushed) <i>arek</i> nut ¹²³

Freycinet explained that,

These words were followed up by a refrain, consisting of mysterious phrases, the sense of which would have only been known to a few people in times past. Even so, the meaning was perfectly intelligible, being made so by gestures on the part of the dancers, and it invariably provoked noisy and universal gaiety among the onlookers. The actual words have no meaning today.¹²⁴

Just as important as Freycinet’s documentation of the melody and the lyrics is his observation that the anonymous “onlookers” understood the humor conveyed in the song and dance. The crowd reaction to this 1819 performance suggests the continuity of a subaltern knowledge that foreigners, observing islanders who went to church and wore

¹²² The musical notation for “Hasngon Gof Dja” is not included in the Barrat translation. Clement (Sr.) located the notation in the French language original, Freycinet, L.C. *Voyage Autor du Monde*: (Paris: L’Imprimerie Royal, Chez-Pillet, Imprimeur-Librairie, 1824), 398. A photocopy of the notation is included in Clement Sr. (2002).

¹²³ Ibid., 145-145

¹²⁴ Ibid. The mysterious phrases were part of the language of the *guma’ ulitao* known as *fino gualafon*.

western clothing, did not usually recognize. This performance, 125 years after the *reducción*, challenges the once common notion that the seventeenth century Chamorros experienced a “fatal impact.” If Chamorros were aware of the song in 1819, but no longer knew of it in the early twentieth century, then it suggests knowledge of the past eroded over a long period of time as it was replaced by new introductions, adaptations and innovations.

Between the middle and the end of the nineteenth century, Chamorro society underwent another considerable transformation. The most dramatic event from this period was the 1856 small pox epidemic which cut the island’s population by sixty percent, leaving 3,241 survivors.¹²⁵ The island’s population rebounded in the second half of the nineteenth century with the help of new, mostly male, immigration from the Philippines, China, Japan, and a random assortment of Europeans and Americans who had come to Guam on whale ships and merchant vessels. Many Chamorro men also left the island on ships. According one governor there were 800 Chamorros in Honolulu alone in the mid-1880s.¹²⁶

During these years, the “mestizo” population, once prominent in population counts, virtually disappeared. The shift reflects the rising prominence of “Chamorro” identity and the declining desire to associate with an ever weakening Spanish Empire. In the mid-1880s Governor Francisco Olive y Garcia complained that Chamorros “show greater appreciation for foreign persons and things compared with what they feel towards

¹²⁵ Robert Rogers. *Destiny’s Landfall A History*, 100.

¹²⁶ Jane Hanline Underwood. “Population History of Guam: Context of Microevolution” *Micronesica* vol. 9 (1), 1973, 24. It is likely that Chamorros living in Honolulu during the 1880s included a few generations of men and perhaps even children born in Hawaii. 800 men leaving after 1856 when the entire population of Guam was less than 4,000 would have constituted a massive exodus of crisis proportions and would have garnered more than a passing remark. The 1820s to the 1860s were the height of the whaling era in the Marianas when roughly 30 ships stopped by the islands each year to resupply. Trade with whalers became the primary economic activity on the island during these years.

people and things Spanish, which at times borders on contempt” and that “fluency in Castilian has been declining.”¹²⁷ Olive attributed the changes to new taxes implemented in 1830. The taxes exempted Chamorros but applied to *criollos*, mestizos and Filipinos, so everyone began to register their children, who were in fact Chamorro through their mothers, as Chamorro. He proposed that “when everyone became Chamorro for tax purposes, they were miraculously ‘Chamorroized.’”¹²⁸

Olive was likely complaining about Chamorro elites since non-elites seem to have always identified with the indigenous culture of the island. Elites were also most aware of the rise of nationalism globally during the nineteenth century. Many had family and business connections in the Philippines where anti-Spanish sentiment was building. Guam’s wealthiest residents also ended up housing Filipino and Spanish *deportados* during the late nineteenth century and likely discussed global political events with them.¹²⁹ In this context, it is useful to consider the role of nationalism in the development of Chamorro identity during these years. For most Chamorros, *kustumbren Chamorro* was a way of life that provided for their social security. The interdependence that it created defined them as a distinct people, but this alone did not imply nationalism, since allegiance in *kustumbren Chamorro* is not to nation, but to family. Elites did not need the social security provided by *chenchule*, since their wealth came from their business and

¹²⁷Marjorie Driver, trans. *The Mariana Islands 1884-1887: Random Notes of Francisco Olive y Garcia* (Mangilao: MARC, 1984), 25.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ The Spanish and American colonial governments both exiled political prisoners to the Mariana Islands at various times during the late nineteenth century and during the Filipino-American War. Under Spain some prisoners were housed in the homes of prominent Guam citizens. For more on the Spanish deportados in the Marianas see Carlos Madrid, *Beyond Distances: Governance, Politics and Deportation in the Mariana Islands from 1870-1877*. (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2006). For information on Filipino deportados see Augusto De Viana. *In the Far Islands: The Role of Natives from the Philippines in the Conquest, Colonization and Repopulation of the Mariana Islands 1668-1903*, (Manila: University of Santo Tomas, 2004).

from the colonial government. For such individuals, identifying as Chamorros, and participating in the customary obligations, including the web of *chenchule*, undoubtedly legitimized their place at the top of the social hierarchy, from which they monopolized the resources of the island.

The rise in Chamorro identity coincided with a blurring of distinctions between foreign and indigenous aspects of Chamorro culture. In 1819, Claude de Freycinet had observed clear distinctions between “*métis* or *criole* class [which] follows very much the lifestyle to be found in Manila or in Mexico” and the “natives.”¹³⁰ By the beginning of the twentieth century, virtually everyone identified as Chamorro. Within Chamorro identity, however, was now a blend of indigenous and introduced elements. Status and wealth derived from western knowledge and genealogical connections to people who had come with the colonial government. Indigenous continuities that defined all Chamorros as a distinct people had been carried on most systematically by non-elites, and these aspects of the culture were largely unrecognized in official discourses.

THE AMERICAN NAVAL ERA

The Spanish colonial administration, after the completion of the initial conquest, made little effort to transform Chamorros into Spaniards. In any case the Spanish class hierarchy defined an individual’s place in life by race and place of birth, so Chamorros could not really become Spaniards and were not expected to think or act like Spaniards. The American naval administration, which established its government in 1899, took a different approach. Through a strategy President McKinley called “benevolent assimilation,” the United States pursued a paradoxical policy of simultaneously denying

¹³⁰ Louis Claude de Freycinet. *An Account of the Corvette L’Uranie’s Sojourn in the Marianas 1819*, translated by Glynn Barratt, (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2003). 108.

Chamorros civil rights and putting forth a determined effort to bring Chamorros more in line with American cultural sensibilities. Little thought had been given to the fate of Chamorros during the acquisition, but in 1901 the United States Supreme court decided in *Downes vs. Bidwell* that as an “alien race” Chamorros would not be put on a track towards United States citizenship and that as an unincorporated territory the island was considered a possession of the United States but not part of the United States. It was also deemed to remain an “unorganized territory,” which meant that the island was not considered to exist as a political entity outside of its status as a United States naval installation.¹³¹

The suppression of Spanish era music was part of this process. While Spanish era observers had made little note of Chamorro songs, early American accounts report the prevalence of various instruments that had come during Spanish times. Violins and accordions were prominent and played a role in nearly all festive occasions.¹³² Also part of the musical culture was the *belembautuyan*, a type of musical bow, long considered indigenous although it most likely arrived on a ship hundreds of years ago.¹³³ Describing Guam in 1900, C.E. Rost, observed that:

In Agana, and throughout the island, there are few houses in which a musical instrument, native or Spanish, cannot be found. The *tumba* [a type of drum] and *gueras* [a gourd rasp, known today as *guiro*] are omnipresent, and in the cool of the evening a musical tinkling and strumming can be heard almost everywhere...¹³⁴

¹³¹ For extended discussion of the Insular Cases see Arnold Leibowitz “The Insular Cases: The Doctrine of the Unincorporated Territory” in *Defining Status: A Comprehensive Analysis of United States Territorial Relations*.(Netherlands: Martin Nijhoff Publishers, 1989), 17-26.

¹³² Mary C. Stevens, *Marjory with the Chamorros* (New York: American Tract Society,1907) 41,70..

¹³³ The *belembautuyan* is almost certainly of African origin, where such musical bows are known as *birembau*. The instrument is also popular in Brazil and likely made its way to Guam early in the colonial era. In the early twentieth century, it would sometimes accompany traditional songs known as *chamorritas*. See Clement Sr. (2002) and Flores (1999).

¹³⁴ E.C. Rost. “Guam and its Governor” in *Munsey’s Magazine*. April, 1900.22.

By the 1930s, accordions, mandolins, fiddles, and *belembautuyans* were still around but they were not as prevalent as they had been in 1905. People no longer played *gueras* and *tumbas*.

Early American era colonial administrators launched a concerted and somewhat successful effort to transform Chamorro musical sensibilities. One of the priorities of Guam's first American governor, Captain Richard P. Leary, was to establish a native military band.¹³⁵ Guam's third American Governor, Commander William E. Sewell saw a particular priority in teaching Chamorros to "learn and read music" so that they could "play instruments, instead of maracas, mandolins, castanets and Spanish guitar."¹³⁶ By the 1930s, most Chamorro children were going to school at least until the fourth grade, singing American folk songs and patriotic songs, and watching military marching bands.¹³⁷

Hagatña's central plaza became the site of public entertainment by the Navy band on weekend evenings and for civic events such as the Fourth of July parade and agricultural fairs. These events drew people from throughout the island and quickly familiarized everyone with American music. Chamorro musicians, who participated in such events, whether as members of the Insular Force band or in *pala pala* bands, played the popular American music that was expected at such occasions. The opening of two movie theaters in Hagatña during the 1930s not only broadened Chamorro awareness of American popular culture but also introduced Chamorros to many American songs including the immediately popular "cowboy tunes" featured in westerns. In the later

¹³⁵ Rost. 22.

¹³⁶ Adolph Scambelluri. Quoted in Michael Clement (Sr.) *The Ancient Origins of Chamorro Music*. M.A. Thesis. University of Guam. 2001. 108.

¹³⁷ There are continual references to these activities in the *Guam Recorder*, a newspaper published during the pre-war Navy era.

1930s Gaiety Theater owners Chester and Ignacia Butler opened up the island's first radio station K6LG.¹³⁸ The station played popular American records while family members all contributed live performances.¹³⁹ The station had limited range and since most people in Hagatña did not have radios, they also broadcast with loud speakers.¹⁴⁰

By the 1930s, these new influences amounted to a “public sphere” in Hagatña, which was primarily oriented around American culture, and had official support of the Naval government. In addition to the school system, the official voice promoting this American oriented identity was the Navy's print media outlet, the *Guam Recorder*. The newspaper described island life in English, and only documented aspects of island life that took place in English. Chamorro language songs were completely ignored in these sources and played little role in this emerging public sphere. As in earlier eras, island elites pursued a closer connection to the colonial power structure and culture. The American system also offered considerable opportunities for those who embraced American education and the segment of the population oriented towards adapting American ways grew during these years.

Prominent Chamorros, dissatisfied with authoritarian policies of the naval government, led a struggle for self-government and United States citizenship. In what has been called “politics of recognition,” Chamorro leaders countered arguments that they had not reached the state of political maturity to govern themselves by demonstrating their mastery of western ways.¹⁴¹ Most Chamorros, however, maintained a cultural

¹³⁸ Leo Babauta, “Chester Carl Butler” Guampedia.com, <http://guampedia.com/chester-carl-butler/> accessed 21 July 2011.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Greg Champion, personal communication. May 2009.

¹⁴¹ Ronald Stade, *Pacific Passages: World Cultures and Local Politics in Guam*, (Stockholm: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology, 1998), 111. The use of such strategies in the Philippines is highlighted in

outlook that retained considerably autonomy. Outside of schools and public buildings, the language of the island was Chamorro and over ninety percent of the island's population was Chamorro. Within the Chamorro communities, long established values that prioritized connections within extended families over the priorities of colonial governments were maintained. In the rural areas of southern Guam, American efforts to implement a new cultural hegemony progressed even more slowly.

KUSTUMBREN CHAMORRO MUSICAL TRADITIONS

Music played a significant role in perpetuating this subaltern aspect of Chamorro culture. By this time most Chamorro music was composed in styles that originated in other places and this quality undoubtedly contributed to the almost total lack of official documentation that it existed. Like other aspects of this culture, music reflected a mix of indigenous and exogenous. Many of the songs that were part of the Chamorro culture of the early twentieth century fit traditional definitions of "folk music" as songs "orally transmitted between generations." They also reflect the interest among folklorists in music that "represents a survival of pre-industrial culture."¹⁴² They were not composed for audiences other than the intimate community of extended family members and they were often spontaneously created or modified.

As discovered by the early twentieth century folklorists in places as diverse as England and Appalachia, found folk songs are not always "discrete entities" but can change with each performance.¹⁴³ Often they are not completely indigenous creations, but

Paul A Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

¹⁴² Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick. *Key Concepts in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1999), 146.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

instead draw from outside influences such as commercial pop songs.¹⁴⁴ University of Hawaii music professor Ernest McClain documented a wide range of Chamorro songs from the pre-World War II era and found that many were based on western songs. He concluded however that they were:

Folk songs in the sense that they are the common property of all the people, in that they have hitherto been learned entirely by ear, and in that each of them has a well defined usage. The songs are associated by custom and tradition with certain occasions and occurrences. They are not audience songs, but like true folk songs everywhere, are matters for general participation. Regardless of the origin of these tunes, they have become truly Guamanian in the process of adaptation, change and use.¹⁴⁵

Like other aspects of Chamorro culture, *kustumbren Chamorro* musical traditions reflect considerable regional variation and degrees of connection to pre-colonial traditions. By the twentieth century, songs with musical qualities that might have been recognized by ancient Chamorros were rare, but, there is reason to believe that they were not non-existent. Among the different types of Chamorro folk songs, *kantan chamorrta* stands out for its clear ties to pre-contact culture despite ambiguity about the specific process of the evolution of the song form during the Spanish era.

KANTAN CHAMORRITA

Ethnomusicologist Kim Bailey defined *kantan chamorrta* as:

Ancient folk songs, arranged in quatrains of two octosyllabic couplets, which, according to some writers, are composed on a single melody, the variations depending on the individual style of performance. The distinctive features are spontaneous improvisation and a dialogue performance between two or more people, depending on the occasion or function.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ McClain, 218.

¹⁴⁶ Kim Bailey. "Chamorrta Songs: A Surviving Legacy of the Mexican Verso?" A paper presented at the 26th annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Honolulu, Hawaii, Oct. 16, 1981. Filed at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam. 1-2.

Several early twentieth century Chamorros cited the *chamorrита* as the only indigenous melody, which led foreign scholars to direct considerable attention to it. Gertrude Hornbostel was the first to record the name “*chamorrита*” which she spelled “*tsamorita*.”¹⁴⁷ American Navy bandmaster Ermete Pellicani first notated the *chamorrита* melody for her in the 1920s.¹⁴⁸ Anthropologist Laura Thompson, who assisted the Hornbostels as a graduate student, included twenty-two of the verses in “Archeology of the Marianas.”¹⁴⁹ Among the verses was the couplet,

An gumupu si paluma.	when the pigeon flew
Ya tumohge gi ‘lu nunu	and stood on the banyan tree ¹⁵⁰

Prior to Hornbostel, similar lyrics were documented in 1904 by the German governor of Saipan, Georg Fritz. As translated by Fritz, the song began,

The dove approaches flying
 And sits down at the window
 And asks the brother
 How the sweetheart is¹⁵¹

Fritz noted the “the number of verses is unlimited, and each singer invents new ones.”

Throughout the twentieth century, the lyrics “*An gumupu si Paluma*” (When Dove flew) often served as the starting point for a *chamorrита* debate.¹⁵² The article “si” in

¹⁴⁷ The English “ts” more closely represents the sound spelled “ch” in modern Chamorro orthography.

¹⁴⁸ The notation is not dated but Clement Sr. concluded that Pellicani must have notated the melody for Hornbostel between 1925 and 1929. In 1929, the melody was submitted to the Bishop museum in Honolulu. Gertrude Hornbostel was the wife of the Bishop Museum sponsored archeologist Hans Hornbostel. Gertrude was the daughter of H. Van Costenoble, a German who settled on Saipan in 1901. Having grown up on Guam and Saipan, she was a fluent Chamorro speaker and was able to make valuable ethnohistorical contributions. In Guam, Chamorros gave her the nickname “Trudis Aliman” (Trudis the German). Scott Russell. *Tiempon Manmafo ‘na: Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Mariana Islands*. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 1998), 58.

¹⁴⁹ Laura Maud Thompson, “Archeology of the Marianas Islands” (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1932).

¹⁵⁰ The landing place of the bird can be anywhere, but trees and window sills are common.

¹⁵¹ Fritz, George. *The Chamorro*. (Saipan: Division of Historic Preservation), 2001. Chamorro adults in Saipan at the time had almost been born on Guam. The major period of the resettlement of the island occurred during the 1880s, 1890s, and the first decade of the 1900s.

Chamorro denotes proper names and suggests that the bird has human characteristics. Noting that the seventeenth century Jesuit missionary Father San Vitores asked his superiors, “May your reverence send us some images, which are great preachers of the divine mysteries...the image of the dove is not appropriate for explaining the Holy Spirit,” Clement Sr. suggests the dove may have been an ancient totem that compromised the dove’s Christian significance.¹⁵³ *Paluma* is likely an adaptation of the Spanish word “*paloma*” (dove). If this is the case, it is not a direct reference to a particular ancient totem. Still, the dominant use of the dove as a metaphor in twentieth century *chamorrita* clearly suggests a connection to an older worldview that is not completely understood today.

Despite the obvious deep roots of the song in Chamorro culture, neither Freycinet nor other eighteenth and nineteenth century visitors to the island make any mention of the melody or the lyrics. It is likely that because these songs were perpetuated when Chamorros celebrated amongst themselves, they were not documented in official discourses. *Chamorritas* also seem to have evolved with new influences. Bailey proposed that,

The Chamorritas of today have absorbed the poetic structures and melodic scales of the Spanish and Mexican romances of the 17th and 18th centuries, yet retained the jesting, competitive, and improvisatory style of the pre-contact Chamorrta, resulting in a ‘remodeled’ Chamorrta with a dialog form, preset poetic scheme, and a poetry-dictating-musical meter.¹⁵⁴

Michael Clement, Sr. puts greater emphasis on indigenous continuity in the melody itself.

Through examining the *hosngon gofdja* melody documented by Freycinet and the modern

¹⁵² “Paluma” is translated in different ways by different authors, (dove, bird, pigeon) so I have left their interpretations in the text. The Donald Topping’s *Chamorro-English Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1975) defines “paluma” as “Bird, dove, pigeon, slang for penis.”

¹⁵³ Clement, (2002) 99.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. This specific passage was cited by Judy Flores (2002) 172.

chamorrta documented by Pellicani, he found that they appear to be related and that the later could have evolved from the former. He also observed that while written notation of the melody gives the appearance of western tonal values, live recordings, particularly recordings made by Dr. William Peck in Rota during the 1970s, do not really conform to western notation. Peck also recorded the song “*Mapongo*” which has a different melody than the *chamorrta* but which Rotanese consider indigenous and is subject to improvisation in the same way as the *chamorrta*.¹⁵⁵ Clement, Sr. suggests the likelihood that the now standardized melody known as *chamorrta* derived from a more fluid tradition.

Chamorrta verses were often composed spontaneously but there were also numerous stock phrases and verses that were well known among *chamorrta* singers. Documented verses showcase the way song lyrics could preserve various types of knowledge from earlier times. One verse recorded by Thompson included a reference to Gatus, an *aniti* (ancestral spirit). Gatus allegedly had a penis so long that he could bridge rivers so that his warriors could cross. Any mention of Gatus was therefore understood as having a sexual connotation. The following verse recorded by Thompson references Gatus as praying on young chickens, an animal that is associated with various sexual metaphors in Chamorro culture.

Annai kahulu’ yo’ gi niyok
 Hu chule’ papa’ I patnitos
 Ya hu sodda’ nai si Gatus
 Na ha tutucho’ i pugitos

When I climbed up the coconut tree
 I brought down its heart
 And I found Gatus
 Eating raw, the little chickens¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ William Peck. *I Speak the Beginning: Anthology of Surviving Poetry of the Northern Mariana Islands*, (Saipan: Commonwealth Council for Arts and Culture, 1982),37.

¹⁵⁶ Carmen Santos, “Guam’s Folklore” *Umatac by the Sea: A Village in Transition*. (Mangilao: RFT: MARC, 1989).93. As noted in the discussion of “Hudjong Akaga” references to eating can be interpreted as sexual metaphors.

The reference to Gatus and the sexual nature of the song both point to a worldview that, despite conservative Catholic values, held on to aspects of older sensibilities and ancient cultural references. Other *chamorrита* lyrics included “love songs, lullabies, fishing songs and songs of farewell.”¹⁵⁷ The songs also provided a format “to tease the object of unrequited love, to taunt a rival in sport or to shame a shirker.” The following verse was reportedly sung by a hard working woman fed up with a lazy neighbor who comes to beg for fish. The verse reflects the common practice of teasing through song as a way of bringing up contentious topics in a less controversial manner.

An humahanao tumalaya	When you go fishing
Chuchule i talaya-mu	Take along your net
Yan kon todú guagua-mu	And also your basket
Ya un sisini i kinene-mu	And fill it with the catch ¹⁵⁸

Singing *chamorrítas* was a test of wits that brought status to the most skilled and would often begin spontaneously in the form of a challenge. Inarajan villager and recording artist Connie Fejeran Garrido, who remembered observing *chamorrítas* as a young girl in the 1950s explained a typical scenario in which many people were preparing for a large party.

When someone is having a party we all go the night before and we help. And while we’re doing all of the work, a group of people will be chopping, another one will be barbecuing, another will be making titiyas, another one will be making the rice. Some making *kelaguen* some making eskabeche, making atules. Then among the hundred people that are there, one will just get up from cutting his meat and will just sing about what is going on there “*ai hu chachacha i katne, para i tinino*” (I’m chopping the meat for the barbecue) and when they hear him sing, they’ll look around for someone to answer. If they know that you can sing, they say, “come on Mike, can you answer that?” Then someone will be brave enough and answer him so he answers back. The objective of that is to keep going until the other can’t answer back. Then you are the king of the “*chamorrита*.” So then whatever party you are at, people will say “hey there he is” and everyone

¹⁵⁷ Laura Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, 232.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 233.

will want to challenge. They'll say "hey I'm going to make him sing. See *fan* if you can make him shut his mouth."¹⁵⁹

It is worth comparing this description side by side with Fray Juan Pobre's 1602

description of *mari*.

They all come together to debate. The people of one party take their places inside some sheds and the other party likewise. One gets up and begins to debate and to throw verses and tell witticisms in their style against whomever is in front of him or against the other town and after he has finished another from the opposite side begins to debate against the former one... This dispute persists from 8 in the morning until 2 when they eat what they have brought, although usually the town where the gathering takes place gives them food.¹⁶⁰

Judy Flores points out that Fray Juan Pobre used the term "throw verses" to describe the debate which is exactly how *chamorrита* singers described the way *chamorrита* is sung today.¹⁶¹

Up until World War II, virtually all Chamorros homes had roofs of coconut or nipa thatch. Roof thatching was a labor intensive activity that had to be repeated every few years so village communities would often get together to help a neighbor. These events are remembered today as roof thatching parties since they were communal events that called for food and entertainment. Host families provided food and refreshments for everyone who came to help. Groups of women would sing *chamorrítas*, helping to bring cohesiveness and enjoyment to the group activity which was called *mandadalak*.¹⁶² The following verse from a *chamorrита higai* (thatching *chamorrита*) emphasizes this communal spirit:

Manhihigai hit pa'go

We are thatching now

¹⁵⁹ Connie Fejeran Garrido interview. Interview with the author. Inarajan, Guam, 4 March 2009.

¹⁶⁰ Rodrigue Levesque. *History of Micronesia, The First Real Contact: A Collection of Documents vol. III* (Gattineau: Levesque Publications, 1992) 180.

¹⁶¹ Judy Flores. "Kantan Chamorrита Revisited in the New Millennium" *Traditionalism and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania, Essays in Honour of Barbara Smith* (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2001), 29.

¹⁶² Carmen Iglesias Santos, "Guam's Folklore," 92.

Para ta afte in gima'-ta
Para I leheng-ta para u fa'maolek
Para todú i familia

To put a roof over our home
For the care of our shelter
For all of our family¹⁶³

Another group activity where *chamorríta* played a major role was in harvesting of seasonal fish runs such as *mañahak* (juvenile rabbit fish) and *tiao* (juvenile goat fish). Souder recorded a story of a typical fish run during the 1920s where groups of families would line the inshore reef areas from Hagatña to Tumon with nets. At the end of the day, she describes how,

After everyone had settled down, satisfied with an abundant catch and a full stomach, someone would start the Kantan Chamorríta. For miles up and down the shoreline, the calls and responses of the lead singers would be heard. Sometimes a neighborhood [neighboring?] group would respond. Sometimes women in the group would band together to try to outsmart the men through their verse innovations. Rhyming phrases would be thrown back and forth, sometimes for hours, with different people joining in and calling out challenges or responding to the rhyming of others.¹⁶⁴

One of the most time consuming activities for Chamorro women was weaving *guafak* (pandanus mats). To pass the time women would challenge each other in *chamorríta* singing. Men participating in equally monotonous activities such as tapping *tuba*¹⁶⁵ or mending fishing nets could also use *chamorrítas* to pass the time. *Tuberos* up in the coconut trees would yell, “hoi” to see if there were any other *tuberos* in the trees who were willing to respond. When men challenged each other to *chamorrítas* it could be intense and if the verbal jousting went too far, it could lead to physical confrontations.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Laura Souder. “Kantan Chamorríta: Traditional Chamorro Poetry, Past and Future,” *Manoa* 5(1): Summer 1993.189.

¹⁶⁵ *Tuba* is the fermented sap of a coconut blossom. Men who harvested *tuba* were called *tuberos*. A cut must be made in the coconut blossom in order to allow the sap to drain. In order to keep the sap flowing, *tuberos* reopen the cut every morning and evening. It can also be distilled into a type of moonshine called *agueyente*.

¹⁶⁶ Jesus Charfauros. Interview with the author. Chalan Pago, Guam, 22 May 2010.

Although the *chamorrta* melody was known throughout the island before World War II, it was more common in the rural southern villages and in Rota, where there was less mixing with outside cultural influences. Flores observed that,

In my years of observing and recording this art form, I have noted the practice, or perhaps inherent talent, seems to be transmitted through family lines. The largest concentration of remaining practitioners is in the rural villages, most notably Inarajan... Interviews with members of this group revealed that the practice of singing extemporaneous verse was an almost daily practice in their lives...¹⁶⁷

WEDDING SONGS

Up through the middle of the twentieth century, Chamorros perpetuated many distinctive wedding traditions that were rooted in ancient practices. The clearest continuity was in the tradition of *mamaisen saina* (asking the parents). In this ritual, the prospective groom's family visited the bride's family and offered betel nut. Acceptance of betel nut signaled acceptance of the marriage proposal. Chamorros throughout the island maintained this custom until the 1960s although it became increasingly less formal with each generation. A very specific, memorized form of dialog poetry known as the *amaga* chant gives a sense of what this process may have been like in earlier times. Flores reported that this chant was last performed during the 1920s as part of a wedding ceremony in the southern village of Inarajan. It begins with the groom's family during the first formal visit to the house of the bride, who call out "hoo-hoo-hoo" then one of the groom's uncles would call out:

Amaga', Amaga', Kao guahu guaguatu
Pat hagu lupok mamaila'
Kao guaha lupok para bai hu podong
Pat laktus para bai tinika'un?

Amaga' Amaga', do I approach you
or are you coming my way?
Is there a well that I might fall in
Or thorns to get pricked on?¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Flores, "Art and Identity," 177.

¹⁶⁸ See Flores, "Art and Identity, 173-176 and Clement, Sr., "Ancient Origins," for detailed discussions of Amaga.

The dialog continues for many more verses outlining the various steps in the formal acceptance of a marriage proposal. Flores suggests that the opening verse of the *Amaga* chant “seem to contain a formal ‘opening of pathways’ between clans of the bride and the groom, reminiscent of formal oratory practiced in other Pacific Islands.”¹⁶⁹ These direct connections with the pre-contact culture were fading rapidly in the early twentieth century with the flood of new influences from the United States but it is possible that it had never been part of the more cosmopolitan culture that had developed around the barracks in Hagatña. Chamorro folklorist Clotilde Gould, who was born before World War II, and was aware of the music of her peers throughout the island during the 1930s, noted that “It’s strange because nobody knows about *Amaga* in the north-central part of Guam, only in the south.”¹⁷⁰

Up through the early post-World War II era, Chamorros throughout Guam practiced a multi-part wedding ritual. The first stage was the *mamaisen saina* which, if accepted, would be followed at a later date by a second meeting between the parents called *ma gutos i finiho* that finalized the plans. The night before the wedding, the groom’s party celebrated at the groom’s house. Then in a ritual called the *komplimentu*, they marched to the bride’s house to bring gifts and to “compliment” her and her family. The *komplimentu* was accompanied by a great deal of singing and noise making. The next day, the wedding ceremony was held and either was preceded by or followed by a reception called the *fandango*.

In addition to *chamorrита* challenges, which often erupted during wedding festivities, numerous songs are known to have been associated with almost all weddings

¹⁶⁹ Flores, “Art and Identity,” 176.

¹⁷⁰ Michael Clement Sr. “Ancient Origins,” 67.

during the early American era and continued to be sung by families who perpetuated the traditional wedding rituals after World War II. These songs were often humorous and described some aspect of the courtship or marriage process. The song “*Nobia Kahulo*” (Wake up Sweetheart) tells a bride to “get up and wash your face” before her groom comes and finds her unprepared. The song *Basta Umuriyan Guma’* (Stop Running around the House), tells of a man who cannot get up the courage to ask his sweetheart’s parents for her hand in marriage. When he does they tell him that she is already engaged. “*Dipotse Kustumbre-ku*” (It’s just the way I am) is a humorous song that describes a man who cannot get up the courage to ask his bride’s parents for her hand until he is drunk. The song *Nobia Yangin Para Un Hanao* (Sweetheart, When You Go) reminds the bride to “*faninngge*” (sniff the hand as a sign of respect) her mother as a formal farewell before officially joining her husband’s family. These songs were well known to all Chamorros and each song has numerous versions. They were primarily oral traditions and were subject to all kinds of improvisation.¹⁷¹

CHAMORRO RELIGIOUS SONGS

Catholicism was undoubtedly one of the most significant features of life on Guam during the Spanish and early American eras. However, each colonial power viewed the role of Catholicism in society through a very different lens. When the United States took control of Guam in 1898, the conflict between the old and new system became readily apparent. Spain conquered the Marianas primarily in support of the Jesuit mission and as noted by Robert Underwood, “for Spain, good government, social order, a sense of

¹⁷¹ Ernest McClain, “Guamanian Songs: A Collection of Songs Commonly Sung on Guam and not hitherto Notated,” (Guam: University of Hawaii, 1948). University of Hawaii music professor Ernest McClain commented specifically on the frequent improvisation of the lyrics in these songs. His 1948 observation is supported by numerous versions that have since been documented, often with lyrics re-arranged and diverse titles for what are basically the same songs.

national purpose, cultural unity and Catholicism were all part of the same picture.”¹⁷² The predominately Protestant American naval administrators on the other hand largely held a negative view of Catholicism. In addition to their disagreements with the religious practices, they took issue with the blending of government and religion that was part of the Spanish system.

For Chamorros at the beginning of the twentieth century the Catholic Church had become “a symbol of culture as well as religion and to separate the two would be to rip the process from a context in which its true meaning can manifest itself.”¹⁷³ Thompson’s description of 1930s religious life on Guam occupies several pages, listing a seemingly endless array of community, family, and individual religious obligations, that for many included daily trips to the church for prayer in addition to prayer at home. All major life events were organized around church rituals while the largest community wide celebrations were the annual fiestas for patron saints held by each village.¹⁷⁴ Within the many Catholic ceremonies, Thompson noted how aspects of the older cultural system were perpetuated.

Set in time, form and content by the calendar of the Catholic Church, but they serve as an opportunity for travel and social intercourse, the exchange of gifts, feasting and courtship. The Catholic festivals are an adaptation of the feast, which plays a major part in Oceanic social, economic and religious community life...and serve as the nucleus for practically all organized recreation in the villages, and most of that in Hagatña.¹⁷⁵

Thompson was particularly attentive to the role of songs as vehicles for the perpetuation of indigenous elements in modern Chamorro religious beliefs. She observed that “in Chamorro tradition, singing has a magical significance, being used by fisherman

¹⁷² Robert Underwood, “Hispanicization as a Socio-Historical Process,” 11.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, 154-5.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 153.

to bring luck, by lovers as a sort of charm and by travelers to ward off evil influences.”¹⁷⁶ Most remarked upon by Thompson was the unique singing that could be heard at *nobenas* (novenas), nine day prayer rituals associated with Catholic sacraments or in honor of a saint. Like other elements of *kustumbren Chamorro*, *nobenas* are on the surface an entirely foreign introduction.

Thompson noted a peculiarity in the Chamorro practice, though, in the singing style of female prayer leaders called *techas*. She observed that the high shrill voice of the *techa*, as well as the unique style in which *nobenas* were sung, was much more typical of the music of other Pacific Island cultures, than it was to anything in the Hispanic world. The obligation to hold *nobenas* for a particular saint was inherited “through the female line, from mother to eldest daughter.”¹⁷⁷ Given the continuity of female lines despite many introduced paternal lineages, and because of the distinctive style of singing *nobenas*, there is reason to believe that some aspect of the old practice of religion lived on in the practices of the *techa*.

The determination of American administrators to bring Chamorros more in line with American sensibilities resulted in a power struggle that set the Church against the administration. One American governor was quoted as saying “The Catholic Church is certainly the most powerful organization in the island, outside the government, and possibly has a greater hold over the people than even the civil [Naval] government itself.”¹⁷⁸ Administrators immediately instituted policies such as the removal of crucifixes from class rooms in the name of separation of church and state.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. 157.

¹⁷⁸ Eric Forbes, OFM Cap., *Pale Roman*, 1.

Pious Chamorros found supporters in the Spanish Capuchins, the missionary order that took over from the Augustinian Recollects in 1915. These conservative priests felt American culture was “irreligious and presented potentially harmful influence over the Chamorros through its monopoly over education.”¹⁷⁹ They complained for example that “the Navy used the public schools to undermine the Catholic faith on Guam, by scheduling activities that coincided with church events, or which collided with Catholic piety, such as school dances during Lent.”¹⁸⁰ With the separation of religious instruction from secular education, the Capuchins created new institutions to meet the needs of the religious such as the establishment of catechism classes called *eskuelan pale* (priest’s schools). They also established the female youth group *hijas de Maria*, (daughters of Mary) to encourage conformity to strict standards of morality and they introduced new religious traditions.¹⁸¹ Among innovations that remained popular well into the twentieth century were the church raffle and the tradition of carrying of *niños* (statues of the infant Jesus) to each house in a parish community so that families could venerate them in their homes. Chamorros who carried the statue often sang songs as they walked through the village. Households provided them food and drinks.

The marines, naval officers, and military wives who taught in the Navy school system were almost universally Protestant and the schools were always under the supervision of the Protestant Navy Chaplain. A small Chamorro Protestant community, established by two Chamorro whalers from Hawai‘i, formed a natural alliance with the American government. The Chamorro Catholic scholar Father Eric Forbes characterized Chamorro Protestants as “eager to adopt American ways and to cast aside the traditional

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 24.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

role of Catholicism in determining social and cultural norms on Guam.” Despite their small number, Forbes notes that “some of its members were school teachers and government employees who might provide to all Chamorros an example of the benefits of acculturating into the American, Protestant milieu.¹⁸² This alignment set up a division between the Catholic/Chamorro worldview and the *tingo Amerikanu* (American knowledge).

Naval administrators staunchly advocated English language acquisition and instituted numerous policies to promote its use. The Chamorro language was banned in public buildings and teachers punished Chamorro children for speaking their language in school. The Catholic Church countered by promoting the Chamorro language in Catholic worship. The leader of this movement was the Spanish Capuchin Father Roman De Vera. De Vera was Basque and his people’s historic struggle to maintain their identity in Spain instilled a lifelong belief in promoting the use of indigenous languages in his work. During his work in the Philippines, participating in restoring faith in the church after the tumultuous revolutionary era, he learned Tagalog, Pampango and Bicolano.¹⁸³ Arriving on Guam in 1915, De Vera pursued a similar strategy, quickly immersing himself in Chamorro and gave his first sermon in the language after only two months.¹⁸⁴

The Catholic Mass during these years was in Latin and earlier priests, with the exception of the nineteenth century Augustinian Father Aniceto Ibanez, had done little to incorporate Chamorro language in to religious services. Under Spain, Chamorros

¹⁸² The Custino Brothers (Castro), Chamorro whalers who converted to Protestantism in Hawai’i, saw the establishment of American rule as a chance to challenge the dominance of the Catholic Church on Guam. They were soon followed by ABCFM, who found Chamorros on Guam to be frustratingly resistant to the new religion. Bill Pesch examines the story of the mission in “Praying against the Tide: Challenges Facing the Early Protestant Missionaries on Guam,” M.A. thesis, University of Guam, 2001.

¹⁸³ Eric Forbes, *Pale Roman*, 6.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

reportedly sang and prayed in Spanish and Latin, even though many did not understand these languages.¹⁸⁵ The only Chamorro language De Vera had access to were a *debosionario* (prayer book) written by the German friars in Saipan and a Chamorro catechism.¹⁸⁶ De Vera translated a formidable catalog of Basque, Spanish and Latin *nobenas*, songs and other literature that today constitute the basis of worship in the Chamorro language.¹⁸⁷

In translating religious writings De Vera was apparently motivated by more than just the practical communicative function of language. He also seems to have believed in a natural connection between language and the “essence” of a people that aligned with modern cultural nationalism. Chamorros undoubtedly valued their language as a marker of membership within the island community, but they did not attach the same significance to the indigeneity or cultural purity of specific words. Chamorros had maintained the basic structure of their language while freely adopting foreign words into the language, resulting in a vocabulary estimated to be one third to one half Spanish.¹⁸⁸ In contrast, according to Forbes, when both indigenous and Spanish words were known for a particular concept, De Vera selected the indigenous option “even if the Spanish

¹⁸⁵ This refers primarily to the nineteenth century. Records for the eighteenth century are less clear but it is likely that while the Jesuits were still in the Marianas up to 1768, Chamorro language played a larger role in the religion. As noted earlier, San Vitores and other Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century had no choice but to learn the language.

¹⁸⁶ Eric Forbes, *Pale Roman*, 16.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 18. While De Vera’s advocacy of indigenous languages is well documented, the shift to Chamorro language also addressed the reality that Spanish fluency was fading and older Chamorros were not learning English quickly. According to Archbishop Anthony Apuron, the global influenza epidemic, which hit the island in November of 1918 hit the elderly the hardest and wiped out eighty percent of the Spanish speaking population. With English fluency still not widespread, “the use of Chamorro as a medium of carrying on the work of the Church became from that date on insistently necessary.” Most Reverend Anthony Sablan Apuron, OFM Cap., D.D. “The Role the Church Played in Helping to Preserve the Chamorro Language and Culture.” Talk given at the Marianas Ballroom, Hilton Hotel, Tumon, Guam, 1 April 1996; 853 people died in total from the epidemic, which amounted to over five percent of the total population. Robert Haddock, *A History of Health on Guam*, (Hagatna: Cruz Publications, 2010), 196.

¹⁸⁸ Robert Underwood. “Hispanicization as a Socio-Historical Process,” 10. Loanwords from languages other than Spanish have not been quantified.

equivalent was more in use among Chamorros.”¹⁸⁹ Among numerous examples of De Vera’s work, Forbes, pointed to the term *fanñoda’an* (finding place) in place of then commonly used Spanish term “*indice*” (index) in De Vera’s publications. He replaced the Hispanicized *U ma onra i Tata* with now standard *U ma tuna i Tata* (Glory to the father).¹⁹⁰

The role of the church as a defender of Chamorro language highlights the complex relationship between colonialism and Chamorro cultural identity. Chamorros had adopted the initially imposed Catholic religion and conservative Spanish values as their own and now a new colonial power threatened this way of life. Ironically, anthropologist Laura Thompson, who in her writings recognized that Americanization threatened Chamorro cultural continuity, nevertheless seems to side with the Navy in her critique of the Capuchins.

The Spanish padres, most of whom have been brought up in the Basque mountains and schooled in conservative monasticism, are propagating in Guam a southern European type of Catholicism and culture. They interpret the doctrine of the Church in the language of the people. Hell and damnation await the sinner, the nonconformist and the unbeliever. The people are not allowed to read the Bible. A sacred history of the Church has been prepared for them in Chamorro, and they own and read the catechism.

With such a background the Spanish padres are ill fitted to understand or sympathize with new influences which are gaining a foothold in Guam. Helpless against a liberalism they cannot fully comprehend or sanction, they have apparently become more reactionary than were their predecessors. They are opposed to co-education, mixed picnics, uncensored moving pictures for young people, ballroom dancing, and an attempt to free unmarried girls from a strict Spanish system of chaperonage. Moreover they do not allow their followers to enter a non-Catholic church.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Eric Forbes, *Pale Roman*, 19.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. The distinction here is in the term “*onra*” from the Spanish “honor” (spelled the same in English) and the Chamorro term “*tuna*” (praise, extol) (Topping, 1975).

¹⁹¹ Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People*, 151.

In this passage she minimizes the implication of what adopting more liberal American views toward religion and morality meant for the perpetuation of *kustumbren Chamorro* identity. Spanish Capuchins were more conservative than American Catholics at the time, but they also supported the church-centered culture through which Chamorros had perpetuated their indigenous traditions for generations. American liberalism, particularly individualism, as articulated in the separation of individual identity from communal identity, and the license to freely challenge the heritage of one's ancestors, was in direct conflict with the traditions that had grounded Chamorros long before the coming of the Spanish Capuchins in 1915. The alternatives to Catholic institutions were secular American ones that had no relation to Chamorro cultural traditions and were therefore clear foreign impositions.

The duel between the church and the navy and the lines drawn between Chamorro Protestants and Catholics exposed a struggle over Chamorro cultural identity. It was not an anti-colonial struggle but instead the beginning of the struggle between *kustumbren Chamorro* and aspects of modernity that had up to that point had little influence on most Chamorros. The numerous Chamorro language religious songs composed and/or translated by Father Roman De Vera are a significant legacy of this struggle.

CHAMORRO FOLK SONGS AND ADAPTATION

The songs documented thus far all have, or once had, clearly defined roles in Chamorro society. The *chamorrta* and *Amaga* chant stand out for their formal structures that are likely rooted in the deep past while other wedding songs and religious songs are associated with formal traditions. Most Chamorro songs had less clearly defined roles, but nevertheless maintained older musical sensibilities. Often these songs were based on

introduced melodies but like the already mentioned songs, improvisation was always part of the enjoyment. McClain found that whatever the origin of a melody, Chamorros were “quick to invent their own verses for tunes which catch their ears.”¹⁹² As in the *chamorrита*, singers who could invent verses spontaneously gained respect.

Folklorist Judy Flores recounted an experience at a cultural fair in the 1980s in which she was recording elderly Chamorros singing *chamorrítas* that seems to blur the line between this well defined form and less structured songs.

They were asked to sing “traditional’ songs which I was recording. After singing traditional call and response impromptu verse – *Kantan Chamorrита*—they switched to the singing of songs from their childhood. These were pleasant, two step rhythmic melodies with romantic lyrics sung in Chamorro. After singing some of the songs in Chamorro, they suddenly switched and began singing the same songs in English. It was then that I recognized them as old Gene Autry cowboy tunes!¹⁹³

In reconciling the borrowing of foreign melodies with seemingly more “traditional” *chamorrита*, Flores proposed that “perhaps the tradition of borrowing melodies is based on the traditional use of one melody with slight variations on which to create the impromptu verse in *kantan chamorrита*.”¹⁹⁴ Another way of explaining this process might be to suggest that in *chamorrита*, the melody is rather arbitrary except for the fact that it facilitates improvisation by allowing singers to focus attention on improvising lyrics on the spot.

¹⁹² Ernest McClain, “Guamanian Songs,” 218.

¹⁹³ Judy Flores, “Art and Identity in the Marianas Islands,” 134.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 135.

McClain recognized that many of the songs he collected ranged from “markedly similar to American and European songs popular a generation ago to vaguely familiar.”¹⁹⁵ He explained that:

The Guamanian people who sang these songs patiently over and over in order that they might be recorded for this collection did not lay any claim to their being exclusively Guamanian. They were quite frank in fact, about most of them being borrowed from other sources.¹⁹⁶

He nevertheless concluded that in the process of adapting the songs and incorporating them into the culture they became “truly Guamanian.” This process of adaption involved considerable Chamorro agency. In the Spanish and early American eras, Chamorros enjoyed singing and dancing to Spanish and American songs. If the musical qualities of the songs were the most important aspect of this entertainment, then there would be no reason to translate introduced songs or to add new lyrics. However, this is exactly what Chamorros did. By doing so, they transformed the intended meanings of the original composer. As noted by Nicholas Thomas, this process is common in cultural contact situations, where foreign objects become entangled in multiple meanings. In doing so, Chamorros treated foreign melodies as vehicles for their own forms of cultural expression.

While the tradition of adapting foreign melodies likely goes far back into Spanish times, only songs known in the twentieth century are documented. Love songs, called *serenatas* (serenades), undoubtedly originated in Spanish times. These *serenatas*, “sung in village streets by groups of young men to attract the attention of sweethearts” were a reaction to strict Spanish era courtship practices that made face to face contact between

¹⁹⁵ Ernest McClain and Robert Clopton, “Guamanian Songs” in *The Journal of American Folklore*, July-September, 1949, 217.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

young men and women difficult.¹⁹⁷ The tradition was introduced from other parts of the Hispanic world and the songs consisted of “Spanish and Mexican tunes with words translated into Chamorro.”¹⁹⁸

Among the songs documented by McClain with clear western roots are songs like “*Sangan Kurason*”(Words from the Heart) which is an adaptation of “Old Black Joe” and “*Hagu I Mames*”(You are Sweet) which is loosely based on “Peggy O’Neil.” The song “*Dalai Nene*” (She’s Too Much) is reportedly based on a song called “Do you Remember the Time?” while “*I Puti’on*” (The Star), is an adaption of the song “Honolulu Moon.”¹⁹⁹ One of the most popular songs associated with pre-war Guam is “*Nihi ta Fanhanao ta Fanpiknik*” (Let’s Go Have a Picnic) which is based on a song called “Back Home Again in Indiana,” a popular song among Dixieland jazz performers today. It very well could have been performed by the Navy Band at the plaza.

Nihi ta fanhanao ta fanpiknik ²⁰⁰	Let’s go have a picnic
Gi hilo gi lanchon-mami	Up at the ranch
Ta chachak i tiba, ta pastot i chiba	We’ll cut the tuba, we’ll pasture the goat
Pues ta fanmamaboka	Then we’ll eat
Chetdon long yan un gallon	Bananas and with a gallon
Yan un boteya na aguayente	And a bottle of moonshine
Ta kelaguen i poya,	We’ll kelaguen a hen ²⁰¹
ta na’ pika-ka-ka-ka	We’ll make it very spicy
Ya mañahong hit siempre	And we will surely have enough ²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Judy Flores, “Art and Identity in the Mariana Island,” 134.

¹⁹⁸ Judy Flores, “Kantan Chamorrta Revisited in the New Millenium” in *Traditionalism and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania: Essays in Honor of Barbara B. Smith*, (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2001), 24.

¹⁹⁹ Barbara Jacala “Jimmy Dee—Guam Today, World Tomorrow” *The Guam Tribune*, 17 December, 1982, 11. I was not able to identify the song “Do You Remember the Time.” It is likely that Jacala’s informant, Jimmy Dee Flores, misidentified the song title. In interviews I found that people often mistook well known song lyrics for a song title, and this may be the case here.

²⁰⁰ In *Marjory with the Chamorros* (1907), a description of Guam through the eyes of a young missionary girl, Marjory describes how her young Chamorro friend had thoroughly enjoyed going on an “Americano peek-neek.” The description gives a clear sense that the word and the concept of picnicking was novel for Chamorros at that time. (New York: American Tract Society, 1907).

²⁰¹ Kelaguen is a popular Chamorro method of food preparation in which raw meats are ‘cooked’ with lemon or vinegar. It may be an adaption of the Filipino dishes *kilawen* and *kinilaw*.

²⁰² Clotilde Gould, *Chamorro Songbook*, Clotilde Gould, self published, 1970.

The song suggests a certain degree of affluence, and the influence of Americanization. For example the family outing at the ranch is called a “piknik” which is clearly an American word implying relaxation in a natural setting. Ranches were the source of subsistence for Chamorros for generations, and were undoubtedly the site of relaxation as well, but the song describes a ranch experience that might be enjoyed by families who had an additional source of income. Despite the increasing influence of American culture, Chamorro language remained the primary medium of expression for all who identified as Chamorro.

All of these songs are well known today because they have been recorded numerous times by contemporary Chamorro recording artists but what often gets lost when listening to recorded versions of these songs is that they were part of a very fluid tradition. McClain observed that many of the songs he collected in 1946 were based on songs from “a generation ago” and yet “younger generations” did not know them.²⁰³ His observation suggests that the foreign melodies had no real meaning in and of themselves other than their entertainment value. It is very likely that if he had collected songs a generation earlier he would have found that younger generations were unaware of the songs of their parents’ generations as well.

In light of this fluidity, it is notable that songs from right before the World War II held a special place in people’s memories. It is possible that the trauma of war lead post-war Chamorros to romanticize the pre-war era.²⁰⁴ “*Hagu i Flores*” (You are the Flower)

²⁰³ Ernest McClain, “Guamanian Songs,” 186.

²⁰⁴ Anne Hattori observed that “because of the traumas of war, memories and histories of the pre-war era have become decontextualized to portray it as a time of bliss, simplicity, peace and harmony.” Anne Hattori, *Colonial Dis-Ease: U.S. Naval Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 204.

stands out as such as a song, remembered today as one of the most popular songs of pre-war Guam.²⁰⁵ “*Hagu i Flores*” is an adaptation of “You are My Sunshine” which was only released in the United States in 1939. Considering that the original song probably had to catch on before a Chamorro decided to compose Chamorro lyrics for it, it is likely that “*Hagu i Flores*” was popular for only a short period of time before the Japanese invaded Guam on 8 December of 1941.

Many pre-war songs remembered today were children’s songs. This is perhaps because they were documented years later by people who had been children before the war. They are often based on simple melodies with humorous rhyming lyrics that are not much different than American schoolyard rhymes. Contemporary Chamorro artists continue to incorporate these familiar melodies into modern compositions. Among the most well documented of such songs is “*An Dangkolo yo’ Nana*” (When I’m big mother) which had countless versions. The first verse was

An dangkolo yo’ nana	When I grow up, mother
Bai hanao umeskuela	I shall go to school
An esta yo’ malate	and when I am smart
Bai hatsayi hao bandera	I will raise the flag for you

In the basic version the verse was followed by a chorus that repeated the line “Hooray, hooray, malate si Jose!” (Jose is smart). From there the song could go in many different directions, although the following seems to be a common addition.

Hu li’e guatu i batku	I see a ship out there
Gi puntan gi sanlagu	at the point to the north
Uma’gang i kapitan	The captain was called
Manoppe si Santiago	and Santiago answered
Hurreh! Hurreh!	Hooray! Hooray!
Falague si Jose!	Go get Jose
Hurreh! Hurreh!	Hooray! Hooray!

²⁰⁵ Forest Harris. Interview with the author. Santa Rita, Guam. 4 April 2008.

Falague si Jose!

Go get Jose

U dandan si Atanacio

Atanacio will play music

Ya u baila si Jose

and Jose will dance

Hip, hip, hip

hip, hip hooray

Hip hip hurreh!²⁰⁶

The randomness of these lyrics reflects a particular sense of humor that is often found in Chamorro songs. In addition to the humor found in the “nonsense” lyrics that may very well have come about as a result of not completely thought out extemporaneous rhyme, there is humor in the mental images that are thrown together. The root of the song, on the other hand, invokes the very different emotion of a young boy who wants to make his mother proud.

The primary audience for Chamorro songs usually consisted of extended family members who congregated for small celebrations. The largest non-religious events that drew people from throughout the island took place in Hagatña and featured American music. Nevertheless, many Chamorro songs came to be known island wide. Like other aspects of Chamorro culture, the shared body of songs demonstrated not centralized organization, but instead, a web of obligations that connected all members of the Chamorro community. When people traveled to other parts of the island for weddings, rosaries, fiestas and funerals, they shared songs and stories with each other.

Travel from village to village was not very easy, though, especially in the southern part of the island, where going from village to village involved fording small streams. Unless one had a family or religious obligation, most people spent their time between their home in the village and their ranch. Information about what was going on in other parts of the island was therefore always welcomed and people would readily

²⁰⁶ Ernest McClain, “Guamanian Songs,” 23.

provide travelers with food and lodging. It is likely that songs were an important way that information about events was documented and moved from village to village. In a tradition that historian Carlos Madrid believes existed at least since the 1870s, there were musicians “wandering with their guitars from village, entertaining ... with songs that recounted social events and folklore in exchange for board and lodging.”²⁰⁷ In such settings, songs known in one village became known throughout the island.

Such songs probably were not perpetuated for long since after a while they would have become old news, but a few songs survived in people’s memories to be documented in the post-World War II era. Folklorist Carmen Iglesias Santos described some such songs in a magazine interview, shortly before her death in 1998. The lyrics were not included but her descriptions point to the diverse topics that could become the subject of Chamorro songs:

“*Geran Engles*” (1898) a song about the U.S.S. Charleston in Guam’s waters and the defeat of the Spanish.²⁰⁸

“Farewell to Guam” (about 1914) Gertrude Hornbostle, a German merchant bids farewell to Guam before departing for a leper colony in the Philippines.²⁰⁹

“A Prisoner’s Song” (1920) Gaily Kaminga is charged with disturbing the peace and imprisoned for three months for ignoring the ban on whistling in Hagatña.

“*Si Botdayu yan si Guerrero*”²¹⁰ (1936) A song humbly requesting donations to fund a trip to Washington to seek U.S. citizenship for Chamorros.²¹¹

²⁰⁷The name of one such entertainer from the early twentieth century, an Inarajan man by the name of Daso, is still remembered today. Carlos Madrid. *Beyond Distances*, 4.

²⁰⁸ *Geran Engles* translates as “the English War.” Americans were known to Chamorros at the time as English speakers along with people from England. The war in question is the Spanish American War which resulted in the transfer of sovereignty over Guam from Spain to the United States.

²⁰⁹ The description of this song is unclear. Gertrude Hornbostle was the daughter of a German merchant named Herman Costenoble, but he did not leave Guam in 1914. It may describe the departure of another German merchant. Chamorro leprosy patients were all transferred to the Culion leper colony in the Philippines in 1912.

²¹⁰ *Si Botdayu yan si Guerrero* refers to Baltazar Bordallo and F.B. Leon Guerrero. Chamorros raised money to send these two leaders to Washington, D.C. to petition President Franklin D. Roosevelt for American citizenship. During the allotted five minutes the president gave them, Roosevelt politely directed the conversation to fishing and the leaders left without voicing their demands. At the time it was politically

One of the songs listed in the article was “*Dingaling Muñeka*” (Ring the Bell Doll). The article explained that the song celebrated the marriage of American Marine James Underwood and Ana Martinez in 1902. James Underwood, a retired Marine who became the island’s postmaster, became upset when Governor Gilmer issued an order prohibiting marriage between American citizens and the Chamorros and Filipinos living on Guam. The song is a protest against the law and a celebration of the marriage.²¹² Like other Chamorro language protest songs, it is a subaltern protest, in that it does not engage the colonial government in English. It also does not directly mention the law. Instead, it simply brings the issues to the forefront of people’s consciousness by singing about *Tan Ana Underwood*. A few lines of the song that are remembered by James Underwood’s grandson are:

Dingaling muñeka bestidu-mu ni asut Hayi nai na’an-ña, si Tan Ana Anda’ut	Dingaling doll with a blue dress What is her name? Tan Ana Underwood
Dingaling muñeka bestidu-mu ni asut Hayi nai lumakse? Si Tan Ana Anda’ut	Dingaling doll with a blue dress Who sewed it together? Tan Ana Underwood ²¹³

A common topic found in Chamorro songs is that of departure. Limited economic opportunities on Guam, as well as the desire for adventure, have led young Chamorros to seize opportunities to see experience life in the wider world. Throughout Guam’s colonial history, men have always had the option to hop on a ship. Whether on a Spanish galleon, a merchant vessel or aboard a U.S. Navy ship, such journeys promised adventure and

impossible for the president to push for Chamorro citizenship anyway since the Navy controlled the island and had already deemed the island and its people expendable in the face of the growing Japanese threat.

²¹¹ Cathleen Moore-Lin “Voices from the Past” in *Latte, the Essence of Guam*. June, 1997.56.

²¹² *Ibid*, 58.

²¹³ Robert Underwood. E-mail communication with author. 22 July 2010.

potentially life changing opportunities. David Chappell has noted that this experience involved crossing a “limen” into a new world of cultural experiences that began on the ship itself. Islanders who returned from such voyages were forever changed and undoubtedly brought stories home that delighted those who stayed behind.²¹⁴ Roughly one hundred years after the end of the whaling era Carmen Santos collected the following song about a Chamorro whaler. It does not tell too much about what life was like for a Chamorro whaler but it points to the power of song lyrics, as artifacts from earlier times that might otherwise have been forgotten completely.

Charfauros (A Chamorro Whaler)

Humanao yo’ puetton San Francisco	I left the port of San Francisco
Dia once de Febreru	On February eleven
Ma’udai-hu papa’ para Hagatna	I rode down to Hagatña
Oringyune’ oringyune’ de bayonero	Oringyune’ oringyune’ the whaler ²¹⁵
Chikun dururu, munga mana’ pupute	Kiss very hard but do not hurt
Dandan Charfauros, ya un baila didde’	Play the music Charfauros and dance a little
Chiku dururu, munga mana’ pupute’	Kiss very hard, but do not hurt ²¹⁶

During the early American era, opportunities to see the world generally came on American ships, particularly in the late 1930s, when opportunities opened up for Chamorros to serve as mess attendants in the United States Navy. “*Estorian Mumarino*” (Those Who Join the Navy) and “*Batkon Chauman*” (the U.S.S. Chaumont) both document the feelings of fear and apprehension that such adventures entailed. Like other

²¹⁴ David Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanic Voyagers on Euro-American Ships*. (Armonk: M.E. Sharp, 1997), xv. Chappell points out that Chamorro travel on European ships began with the first European-Chamorro encounter, when in 1522, one of the ships in Magellan’s fleet made its way back to the Marianas and briefly kidnapped a Chamorro man. (22-23) In 1818, a Russian explorer reported Chamorro men who were eager to catch a ride to Manila. (84) Chappell also tells the story of Joe “Guam” a Chamorro who was kidnapped by whalers in 1840 but came home after 20 years with tales of adventure and a “pocket full of pesos.”(86,169) .

²¹⁵ Oringiyune is apparently a slang phrase from the whaling era.

²¹⁶ Carmen Iglesias Santos, “Guam’s Folklore” in Rebecca Stephenson and Hiro Kurashina (eds.) *Umatac By the Sea: A Village in Transition*, (Mangilao: Guam, 1989), 96-97.

songs, they were frequently modified and there were multiple versions and verses.²¹⁷ Some are farewells to a sailor’s mother, others to his sweetheart, and still others simply express doubts about his decision.²¹⁸ The lyrics could also preserve insights into worldviews held by Chamorros in earlier eras. For example the line “*Yan ti matto kuatro años, ai pues asagua i chelo-hu*” (If I don’t come back in four years, then marry my brother) seems to reflect the perspective of a man that is already married.²¹⁹ By suggesting that his wife marry his brother, the lyrics point to an understanding of marriage that is less about individual relationships than a union between extended families.

A song from the village of Inarajan gives insight to the way Chamorro folk songs could delve into uncomfortable topics. Santos explained that the song “*Pale Inalahan*,” (The Priest of Inarajan) is about a priest who fathered children with an Inarajan woman. The lyrics are obscure, but Santos’ explanation is based on oral interviews with people from the village. Apparently these lyrics are veiled references that made sense to the Inarajan community of the time.

El Camino de Inalahan	The Inarajan road
Tien el casu sociadio	Has a social matter
Ai ke pobre Antonio	Oh well poor Antonio
El cabayo lumato	The horse has come for him
Annai matai si Antonio	When Antonio died
Dangkolo na aligria	There was a lot of excitement
Annai ma’pos si Pale’ Lotot	When Father Lotot left
Duru lalango si Dolores	Dolores fainted ²²⁰

²¹⁷ Laura Thompson documented thirty two verses of the song she titled “Those Who Join the Navy.” Among the verses are songs that reflect a full range of emotions felt by Chamorro men and various conversations that a man might have with his mother, a sibling, and his sweetheart.

²¹⁸ Thompson, 286-289.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Carmen Iglesias Santos, “Guam’s Folklore,” 100.

Chamorro songs generally described events that happened within the Chamorro community and rarely mentioned the presence of the colonial government. The song “*Humalom Enfetmera*” (Enrolling as a Nurse) stands out as a song that expresses apprehension about women who crossed the boundaries between the Chamorro community and the naval government. The nursing program involved recruiting a cadre of Chamorro women to become nurses who could attend to the health of the indigenous population. Chamorros up to that point had very little familiarity with western medicine. Most illnesses were treated by *suruhanus*, traditional healers who worked with herbal medicines and who based treatments on a philosophy of disease that attributed some ailments to *taotoa mo’na* (ancestral spirits). Childbirth was handled by *pattera* (midwives), elderly women who inherited knowledge passed down from maternal ancestors.

The scientific conception of health care introduced by the American Naval administration was foreign and intimidating. The Navy expected nurses would be examples to the rest of the community and that through familiarity with western medicine they would convince other Chamorros to adapt to the new way of life.²²¹ In light of the strict tradition of chaperonage, where an unmarried woman, seen in the company of a man, was viewed a disgrace to the family, the program generated considerable resentment. For a woman to leave her parents’ home and receive training in foreign knowledge and to be working with foreign unmarried men without a chaperone was a major break with traditional values.

²²¹ The story of the American naval era healthcare policies and how they were experienced by Chamorros is the subject of Anne Hattori’s *Colonial Dis-Ease* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004). Also see Anne Hattori, “The Cry of the Little People of Guam,’ American Colonialism, Medical Philanthropy, and the Susana Hospital for Chamorro Women, 1898-1941” *The Australian and New Zealand Society for the History of Medicine* Vol. 8, No. 1, 2008.

The song “*Humalom Enfetmera*” describes the plight of a woman who joins the program and meets a Navy man. He ends up impregnating her, abandoning her and leaving her disgraced. Such events undoubtedly occurred and the song is a clear warning to women who think of breaking social norms by joining the nursing program. More broadly it gives a sense of the tension between *kustumbren Chamorro* and a wide range of American values from new gender roles to science based understandings of disease. Like other Chamorro songs from the era, it was not documented in the Navy era English language print media. Instead it is an example of how songs in the Chamorro language, perpetuated through performance constituted a subaltern dialog within the Chamorro community.²²²

WORLD WAR II

The Japanese invasion of the island in December 1941 marked the beginning of radical changes to the island’s landscape. While the Japanese period, which lasted from December of 1941 to July of 1944, brought considerable hardship, it was also a period that forged unity amongst all Chamorros on Guam. While the threat posed by “Americanization” was ambiguous, and was understood by upper and lower class Chamorros differently, the threat posed by the Japanese was very clear and Chamorros only had each other to rely on to survive. Whether they had been primarily farmers before the war or not, most people moved to family ranches and returned to agricultural subsistence to avoid daily contact with Japanese soldiers.

Former Guam Congressman, Ben Blaz described how his family had been town dwellers but moved to their ranch in Chalan Pago during the war. In the everyday life and death struggle he found strength in “preserving our language and culture while the enemy

²²² Song lyrics are included in the Appendix.

was trying to impose theirs on us.” He also emphasized how returning to the land reaffirmed a connection to core values of interdependence and respect for family members and neighbors.²²³

Groups of neighboring farmers who pooled their strength to push back the jungle so we could plant; the women caring for the sick, working the gardens, preparing food over open fires; the men echoing each other’s folk songs at twilight as they cut tuba; the devout men and women who emerged as our natural leaders and who would always lead us in prayer during our most fearful and trying moments...²²⁴

Jesus Charfauros and his cousin Silvina Charfauros-Cruz Taumomoa had similar experiences as their families abandoned their homes in Agat and headed up to the interior ranch lands of Sumitaya’ and Fena.²²⁵ Jesus Charfauros, who would later go on to play a major role in developing Chamorro music in the 1960s, had fond memories of his childhood during the war years. Living off the land, and relying solely on family members for survival, taught Jesus to recognize the value of Chamorro culture in ways he might not have in peace time. Among family members, evenings by the fire were occasions to sing *serenadas*, *chamorritas* and other folk songs.²²⁶

All Chamorros suffered in the last year and a half of the war when the Japanese came to realize it was only a matter of time before American forces returned. Japanese patrols rounded up all able-bodied men and women for forced labor to build fortifications and to provide food for the growing troop presence. They ruthlessly raided Chamorro

²²³ Ben Blaz. Chamorros Yearn for Freedom” in “Liberation-Guam Remembers: a Golden Salute for the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Guam,” produced by the Subcommittee of the Golden Salute Committee for the observance of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Guam, 1944-1994(Maite: Graphics 1994)

²²⁴ Ibid. The reference to *tuberos* “echoing” each other’s folk songs is undoubtedly a reference to *chamorritas* since it points to two individuals answering each other with the same melody.

²²⁵ Taomomoa, Silvina “Guam’s Economic Development in Relation to Ancestral Land” by Jesus Cruz Charfauros as interviewed by Slvina C. Taumomoa, in Growing Up in the War Years-Elders’ Stories of Childhood Memories” A collection of Oral Histories conducted by History of Guam Students, University of Guam, 2002, 2.

²²⁶ Jesus Charfauros, interview with author Chalan Pago, Guam, 2007.

ranches leaving Chamorros to forage in the jungle and plant secret gardens which they tended at night after brutal forced labor during the day. Japanese officers ordered Chamorro women to work as personal servants and sex slaves, leading Chamorro fathers to hide their daughters, sometimes going as far as to smear manure on their faces so they would be less attractive if caught.²²⁷ In the final weeks before the Americans arrived, numerous atrocities were committed, including several large scale massacres.

In these seemingly hopeless conditions, songs in the Chamorro language were a source of strength.²²⁸ As noted by Carmen Santos,

The Chamorros united...quietly worked against the Japanese in a style known only to Chamorros. Their creativity in their verbal art was so profound that satirical songs, tales and jokes were intensified and shared among themselves.²²⁹

Some songs were directed against the Japanese, but the harshest criticism was often directed towards Chamorros who worked for the Japanese. Santos gives the example of the song “*Lan’ San*” composed by a group of women from the village of Mangilao who had been forced by the Japanese to work in the fields of Tiyan and Jalaguak. It is a criticism of their peer who had been recruited by the Japanese as the group leader to enforce Japanese orders:

Manmacho-cho i Senidan	The Senidan ²³⁰ worked
Guihi lago giya Tiyan	Here at Tiyan
Ma’gas niha si Lana’ San ²³¹	Their leader was Lana San

²²⁷ Lili Perez Iyechad, *An Historical Perspective of Helping Practices Associated with Birth, Marriage and Death among Chamorros in Guam* (New York: The Edwin Mellon Press 2001), 252.

²²⁸ Keith Camacho discusses several of these songs in “Cultures of Commemoration, The Politics of War, Memory and History in the Mariana Islands, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai’i at Manoa. Camacho suggests that these songs, and other strategies of passive resistance Chamorros practiced during the war fit James C. Scott’s concept of “weapons of the weak” in “song, prayer, and humor, whose overall content could be described as a kind of politicized spirituality.” James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), xvi.

²²⁹ Carmen Iglesias Santos, “Guam’s Folklore,” 105.

²³⁰²³⁰ *Senidan* was the Japanese name for female work groups. Ibid. 106.

²³¹ *San* is a Japanese word attached to personal names. *Lana* is defined by Topping as an “Expletive to express feelings ranging from mild surprise to complete disgust.” Topping, 121.

Kada ma'atan I atdao

Each time they look at the sun

Masaluda i atdao

Saluted the sun

Ai nana sumen diahlu

Oh mother, that's alright

Ai Lana' San, sumen diahlu

Oh Lana' San, that's alright

Sa' hago mas chatpa'go

Because you are the ugliest²³²

Chamorros were also quick to pick up songs from the Japanese. In at least one case, they took a song specifically composed to instill patriotic feeling for Japan, and completely subverted the intended purpose. Joseph Santo Thomas explains that,

Chamorros took advantage of the language barrier for a song that they were taught about Japan's flag...instead of using the given lyrics, which used the word "apaka" which means white in Chamorro, Chamorros hid a devious smile and sang instead the word, "aplacha," which means dirty in Chamorro. Apparently no one ever caught on.²³³

SAM, SAM, MY DEAR UNCLE SAM

World War II put Chamorros in a difficult situation. Although there was much they had resented about the pre-war American administration, they had lived under American rule for forty-two years, and had developed both a love for the popular culture of their colonizer and a patriotic feeling towards the United States. Faced with a new colonial master that was even more explicitly racist and authoritarian, Chamorros for the most part maintained a strong allegiance to the United States and held on to hope of an American return. This was a thorn in the side of Japanese administrators, who went to extraordinary lengths to stamp out any symbols of America. In response, a Portuguese

²³² Carmen Iglesias Santos, "Guam's folklore," 106.

²³³ Jojo Santo Thomas, *A Golden Salute for the 50th Anniversary of the Liberation of Guam*, produced by the Subcommittee of the Golden Salute Committee for the observance of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of Guam, 1944-1994(Maite: Graphics 1994), 26. Thomas does not explain why the Japanese taught Chamorros a Chamorro language song, but it may be that the song came from the northern Marianas, which had been under Japanese rule for over two decades when the war broke out. The lyrics referred to the color of the flag. Red and white/dirty.

Hawaiian man named Mr. Furtado came up with the song “Sam, Sam, My Dear Uncle Sam” which became a powerful symbol of loyalty to America.²³⁴ It usually began ,

Early Monday morning
The action came to Guam
Eighth of December
Nineteen forty-one

Followed by the chorus,

Oh Mr. Sam, Sam
My Dear Uncle Sam
Won't you please
Come back to Guam?

The song was apparently always sung in English but like other Chamorro songs it was subject to improvisation and countless versions emerged. One woman reported that the song was so popular, “even humming the tune around the Japanese infuriated them, and they would ‘*binta*’ (slap) you or dole out some other kind of punishment.”²³⁵ A man named Joe Guerrero claimed that he sang the song while hiding in the bushes in order to taunt the Japanese.²³⁶

While the song’s popularity during the war does point to a preference for American rule over Japanese rule, it should not be taken as proof of total acceptance of American colonial policies. The popularity of the song points to the complexity of the relationship between Chamorros and the United States. The story of “Uncle Sam” highlights the power of language, in this case English, to denote difference and a refusal to submit to cultural hegemony. It did not however imply that Chamorros were destined to abandon their language for English. The reasons for the decline of Chamorro language

²³⁴ Carmen Iglesias Santos, “Guam’s Folklore,” 104. The song would later become associated with the Pete Rosario, who apparently came up with many of the well known verses.

²³⁵ Joseph “Jojo” Santo Thomas “Song of Hope, Song of Faith,” 26.

²³⁶ KUAM, *Manlibre* 82. Video documentary on World War II, Agana, 1982.

are rooted in the radical transformation of the island after the war which Chamorros never could have imagined in 1944. In 1944 Chamorros were not American citizens and they did not think of themselves as Americans, but they found strength in an English language song that helped define them as a community, against the Japanese.

In the traumatic final weeks of the Japanese occupation, the Japanese forced Chamorros to march to various camps spread throughout the island. The largest, a clearing in the Manenggon valley, was vastly undersupplied, and Chamorros struggled to survive by scrounging what was available in the surrounding jungle. It is apparent from today's perspective that the Japanese were likely going to execute the Chamorros at Manenggon if the Americans had not arrived when they did. But it is also clear that if Chamorros had stayed in the island's population centers, thousands would have been killed when Americans leveled eighty-five percent of the island's buildings in the pre-invasion bombardment. Chamorros were caught in a conflict between two foreign superpowers and the welfare of Chamorros was clearly not a priority of either nation.

Chamorros were nevertheless thankful to be alive and they directed their thanks to the United States. The outpouring of emotion surrounding liberation is well documented in numerous histories and video documentaries. Among the symbols of liberation was the singing that erupted as people came to realize that they were free of Japanese rule. In addition to the "Uncle Sam" song, which, partly because they understood the English lyrics, was well remembered by the American Marines and soldiers who led Chamorros out of the camps, many Chamorros demonstrated their gratitude by singing American songs. War survivor Joe Guerrero recalled breaking in to "Happy Days are Here Again"

as the Marines led him out of Manenggon. A women named Mrs. Miller reportedly sang “Let Me Call you Sweetheart” during the trek.²³⁷

Silvina Charfauros Taumomoa, suffering from rickets, rode with her infant brother Victor Charfauros Cruz in their uncle’s carabao cart to the American camp at Finile, Agat, and recalled the centrality of music in her experience of liberation. Upon arriving at Agat she recalled that the “hillside rang out with hymns of “Atan Bithen del Carmen” (Agat’s patron saint), and “Atan Jesukristo,” our Catholic anthem song.” She also recalled numerous American patriotic songs and folk songs like “Tenting on the Old Camp Ground,” “Just before the Battle Mother,” “When Johnny Comes Marching Home,” “God Bless America,” and “My Country tis of Thee.” Living in the camp for months, she was in the constant company of G.I.s who maintained the camps and often entertained the Chamorro children. Taumomoa remembers that she learned to read by singing songs in the G.I. songbook such as “Rock of Ages,” “On the Rugged Old Cross”, and other popular hymns and southern folk songs.²³⁸

As noted, it was the island of Guam, not necessarily the Chamorros themselves, that was the object of the military mission but the experience of liberating Chamorros had a profound effect on the G.I.s who participated. For the Americans who would come to be known as the “greatest generation” and who would end up shaping the government and the culture of the United States for the next several decades, Guam would be known primarily for its role in World War II. For Chamorros who lived through this time, the experience of war and liberation would shape their understanding of the United States.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Taumomoa, 8. Taumomoa’s brother Victor would later become part of the Charfauros Brothers with his cousins Ignacio “Ike” Charfauros, and Tomas “Tommy” Charfauros.

The Japanese occupation strengthened ties within the Chamorro community, likely turned people closer to God, and gave people no choice but to return to the land as the source of self-sufficiency. *Kustumbren Chamorro* traditions were re-affirmed and Chamorros from Guam were probably more unified than they had ever been in their colonial history. If the United States had scaled back to pre-war levels, or left the island after the war, it is likely that Chamorro society would have regrouped, and rebuilt the island to resemble something not radically different from what had existed before. The United States did not leave however. Instead, in the last year of World War II, they set in motion a radical transformation of the island that threatened the structural underpinnings upon which *kustumbren Chamorro* had been built.

CONCLUSION

Chamorro music traditions transformed radically along with other elements of the culture during the two and a half centuries from the completion of the brutal *reducción* to the end of World War II. In the process a new culture emerged that bore little resemblance to its pre-colonial roots. Nevertheless, continuities can be traced. The process of adapting outside influence is also an important part of Chamorro history because it demonstrates the ways Chamorros helped define the colonial encounter, selecting which foreign influences they found useful or enjoyable. This story aligns not with essentialist conceptions of static cultures but instead suggests Gilroy's definition derived from studies of diaspora, of, "anti-anti-essentialism."²³⁹

This chapter provided a representative sample of songs that have been recorded, but the dearth of recorded songs from earlier eras suggests that it is likely a distorted sample. Nevertheless the songs that have been recovered point to the centrality of

²³⁹ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, 98-103.

kustumbren Chamorro values and traditions. The female controlled indigenous institution of the *familia* with its interconnected web of reciprocal obligations maintained the cohesion of this identity, while subsistence on the resources of the land and sea guaranteed a degree of economic independence that made the embrace of colonial knowledge unnecessary for survival. Song lyrics did not objectify Chamorro culture. Instead, they described life in a society where all understood cultural norms intuitively. This self-confident identity is reflected in the ready acceptance of foreign musical influences. It is clear that while Chamorro songwriters readily adapted foreign melodies that they found appealing, they did not generally attach political significance to a song's national origins. Instead, melodies served as platforms for improvisation, and as a way to tell stories that had meaning to fellow Chamorros. These songs, composed naturally in the Chamorro language, provide insight into the values, sense of humor, and internal issues within the Chamorro community.

Despite the seeming “unselfconsciousness” reflected in most of the songs, the maintenance of indigenous identity, the perpetuation of old styles like *chamorrta*, and the agency required to turn foreign songs into Chamorro ones suggest that singing was at least intuitively understood as resistance to Spanish/American/Japanese cultural hegemony.²⁴⁰ Secular and religious songs in the Chamorro language remained central to the daily routines of Chamorros despite American attempts to suppress the Chamorro language and Chamorro/Catholic rituals.

Songs like “*Humalom Emfetmera*,” which defined boundaries between the Chamorro community and the naval administration by teaching a moral lesson to young women who think of adopting the *tingo Amerikano* (American knowledge), were likely

²⁴⁰ See Margaret Jolly. “Specters of Inauthenticity” *Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 4, no.1, Spring 1992, 50-51

common although very few were documented. Satirical songs written during the Japanese occupation express clear anti-colonial resistance since they directly poke fun at the colonial power in ways that American era songs did not. The sum of these songs, presented in chronological order, provides insight into a subaltern narrative of indigenous continuity ignored in the colonial discourse found in formal written documents.

CHAPTER 3
GUAMANIAN IDENTITY AND THE MARGINALIZATION
OF CHAMORRO MUSIC

A radical transformation of Guam's physical and cultural landscape was set in motion in early July 1944 with the American shelling and bombing that destroyed eighty-five percent of the island's buildings. In August, even before the island was completely secure, Guam began its new role as a supply depot for the western Pacific forces and as a launching point for the firebombing of Japan. Over the next year, Guam became home to twenty-one military installations and 205,000 military personnel. Chamorros sat in refugee camps while the military condemned land and bulldozed Chamorro villages and farmland to make way for airfields and Quonset huts. Military development of the island did not end with V-J Day.

The war demonstrated the strategic value of the island to the United States. Guam's proximity to Cold War hotspots including French-Indochina/Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, China and Korea ensured the new role for the island would be permanent. Military construction continued after the war ended, as wartime naval and Air Force facilities were transformed into permanent bases. Land condemnations continued as well, and at its peak eighty three percent of the island's land area was under military control. As Chamorros came out of the refugee camps in late 1944 and 1945, they found that in many cases they could not go back to their old way of life. Hagatña and the surrounding villages that had constituted Guam's population center before the war had been leveled, and many of the prime farming areas were under military control. Instead of rebuilding Hagatña, the navy settled Chamorros in new villages built on surplus land wedged between military installations. Even though the military scaled back at the end of

the war, the military still outnumbered civilians 68,000 to 25,000 in 1948 and military personnel would outnumber civilians on Guam until 1960.²⁴¹

Politically, gratitude for liberation from Japanese forces ensured tremendous loyalty to the United States, but many Chamorros resented the resumption of authoritarian naval government following the defeat of Japan. They took particular issue with the continued land condemnations after the war was over, discriminatory wage structures, and the continued denial of political rights. Chamorro leaders nevertheless maintained their faith in America and resumed the pre-war struggle for American citizenship and self-government. With citizenship, Chamorros believed that the United States would treat them as equals to other Americans and that the United States would no longer arbitrarily condemn their land.²⁴² They faced stiff opposition from the United States Navy, which preferred to have total control to do what it wanted on the island. As noted in a 1942 Office of Strategic Services Report (OSS) to the U.S. President, “Post-liberation rewards to the Guamanians should be limited to honorary functions and colorful statements, for greater political authority might lead to radical policies and threats to America’s strategic position in the western Pacific.”²⁴³

Chamorros had no military capability to pose any threat to the United States, but they did have the power to expose the hypocrisy and embarrass the nation for holding on to colonies at the same time that it supported self-determination internationally.

Chamorro leaders in the advisory body called the Guam Congress overcame the navy’s

²⁴¹ Katherine Aguon, “The Guam Dilemma” *Amerasia Journal*.6:2,(1979) 83.

²⁴² The argument that land was a major issue in the development of the citizenship struggle is made by Anne Perez Hattori, “Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Land Appropriation on Guam,” in *Farms, Firms and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. L. Eve Armentrout (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001), 186-202.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 193.

resistance through an ingenious strategy of staging a walkout in protest of the arbitrary manner of navy rule. Details of the walk-out were leaked to the national media, embarrassing the United States for its clear colonial policies in the midst of its global promotion of self-determination.²⁴⁴ The fruit of this struggle was the 1950 passage of the Organic Act of Guam by the United States Congress. Chamorros had no say in its drafting and it did not fundamentally transform the relationship between the United States and the island of Guam, which remains a colony, but it did fundamentally change the relationship between Chamorros and the United States. Problems with the Organic Act became apparent over time but in 1950, Chamorros celebrated its passage as a major political victory and as the beginning of an era of greater rights and opportunities as Americans.

The act transferred jurisdiction over the civilian population from the Navy to the Department of the Interior, granted American citizenship to Chamorros and created the civilian Government of Guam. Chamorros were given hiring preference in the new government, and with the establishment of the Guam Legislature, Chamorro leaders gained power over local lawmaking and the island's tax revenues. The new elected positions and new powers created introduced local level democracy and political parties that came to a head every two years for spirited election campaigns. Initially, the president of the United States appointed stateside civilians to govern the island, but in 1960 President Eisenhower appointed Chamorro businessman Joseph Flores to the post. With sustained pressure from Guam leaders, the United States Congress passed the

²⁴⁴ See Anne Perez Hattori. "Righting Civil Wrongs: The Guam Congress Walk-Out of 1949" *Hale-ta: Kinalamten Pulitikat: Sinenten i Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective*, (Hagatna: PSECC, 1996), 57-69.

Elected Governorship Act in 1968, setting up the first gubernatorial election in Guam's history in 1970.²⁴⁵

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s Chamorro political leaders professed unwavering support for the United States. They largely defined the island as a patriotic American community that was not only loyal to the colonial state, but had also adopted an American national identity. Continuing a strategy established during the pre and post-war citizenship movement, negotiations with the federal government Chamorro leaders emphasized that Chamorros were culturally American. For example, in his struggle for greater federal recognition of Guam interests, Antonio Won Pat, who served as unofficial representative to the United States Congress during these years, told congressmen, "we have adopted your language and assimilated your ideals and way of life."²⁴⁶ This faith in America constituted an official discourse which Guam leaders supported in numerous public pronouncements. Manuel Guerrero, Guam's second appointed Chamorro governor, gave a sense of this outlook in his 1963 inaugural speech.

I humbly ask God to grant us strength as we move forward together as Americans, fully determined to produce a community in which our children will flower and prosper under the wonderful traditions of the greatest system of government on earth.²⁴⁷

GUAMANIAN SOCIETY

During the twenty-five years after World War II, the shift to a cash economy, limited self-government, settler colonialism and the greatly expanded influence of secular American popular culture all combined to establish new cultural norms that in various ways conflicted with *kustumbren Chamorro*. American citizenship in 1950 was in many

²⁴⁵ For a good discussion of the push for elected governorship see Carlos Taitano, "Guam: The Struggle for Civil and Political Rights" *Micronesian Politics vol. 3*, (Suva: USP, 1988)147-163.

²⁴⁶ Robert Underwood, "American Education," 10.

²⁴⁷ Beardsley, Charles *Guam Past and Present*. (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1964), 258.

ways the most significant shift. Under Spain, Chamorros had been lower ranking subjects of a foreign king, while in the early American era, they had been stateless wards of a naval government. Citizenship implied that they were now full members of the American nation-state, and during the cold war, being American meant assimilating to American cultural.²⁴⁸

According to Robert Rogers, the term “Guamanian” was first used during the war by military personnel and the American media to differentiate between Chamorros from Guam and those from the Northern Marianas.²⁴⁹ Around 1946, Chamorros on Guam chose the term themselves after a series of informal polls and school contests.²⁵⁰ Initially, the term was synonymous with “Chamorro,” since there was no significant non-Chamorro “Guamanian” population, but being Guamanian held fundamentally different implications from being Chamorro. “Chamorro” emerged in the Spanish colonial era as a marker of ethnicity, defined by the indigenous language, culture and racial lineage. This identity was by definition subaltern, because it was the identity of a subordinate class within the imperial power structure. Chamorros chose the term “Guamanian” in part because it symbolized a break from this heritage.²⁵¹ As non-Chamorro settlers established themselves and played a growing role in the development of post-war Guam

²⁴⁸ The cold war is a vast topic in American history that extends from the end of World War II until 1991. The above reference however, refers to the period of the 1950s and early 1960s, when American baby boomers were children. This era was characterized by an emphasis on political and cultural conformity fueled by fears that communism and potential nuclear holocaust threatened America’s post-World War II security and prosperity. See Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (1991) for an overview of the American political and cultural landscape. Elaine Tyler May *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*.(1999) examines how this culture permeated American home life. Margot Henriksen, *Dr. Strangelove’s America* (1997) examines how popular culture at the time was shaped by fear of nuclear annihilation.

²⁴⁹ Robert Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 200.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 208.

²⁵¹ The “-anian” was thought to sound more western. Guam Chamorros rejected “Guamese” because it sounded Asian. Chamorros in the northern Marianas, who had been under the Japanese for twenty-five years were known as Saipanese, Tinianese and Rotanese.

society, they often adopted the term “Guamanian” as a marker of their connection to the island as “locals” even if they often had only a tangential connection to Chamorro culture.²⁵² As a result, the ethnic implications of the term became ambiguous at the same time that Chamorro parents encouraged their children to assimilate to American cultural norms.

Amidst the massive military development, Chamorros raised as subsistence farmers before the war were unprepared to take advantage of much of the work that was available. Beginning in 1947, military contractors including Brown Pacific Maxon (B.P.M.), Luzon Stevedoring Corporation (Luzdelco), and Marianas Stevedoring Corporation (Masdelco) began bringing workers in from the Philippines. Recruited on one-year labor contracts, and always under threat of deportation, these laborers worked at exploitive wages that were unacceptable to Chamorros.²⁵³ As laborers they led a largely segregated existence from Chamorros but a significant number ended up attaining permanent resident status and later American citizenship after their contracts ended. By the 1960s, permanent Filipino populations developed in the villages of Dededo and Agat that did not fully integrate into Chamorro society. B.P.M. also brought in stateside hires

²⁵² The idea of “local” culture on Guam has received very little scholarly attention. For a snapshot of the formation of Guam’s multicultural local community see Vicente Diaz “Fight Boys to the Last” in Paul Spickard, J. Rondilla, and D. Wright eds., *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002). “Local” culture on Guam is a relatively novel concept although I use it in a way very similar to its use in Hawaii, which has a much deeper history of settler colonialism and where non-Hawaiians have identified as “locals” for several generations. For an excellent overview of this identity in Hawaii, and contestation over the term see Candace Fujikane and Jonathon Okamura, eds. *Asian Settler Colonialism, From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008). The idea of “local” identity will remain contested as long as the Chamorro quest for political self-determination remains unfulfilled. Nevertheless, there is a “local” popular culture on Guam and when trying to understand the process of cultural change in post-war Guam, it is important to distinguish between aspects of island life that define the local public sphere from aspects of island life that define Chamorros as distinct from the broader culture.

²⁵³ Large labor camps like Camp Roxas in Agat held 7,000 workers at one time. B.P.M. employed 17,000 men at its peak in the mid-1950s. For more on laborers see Bruce Campbell, “The Filipino Community of Guam 1945-1975” M.A. Thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1987.

with specialized skills in construction related fields. Most of these men came from the company's home base in Texas. Chamorros, almost none of whom had college degrees, were also unprepared for the professional occupations that became available. The military, and after 1950 the Government of Guam as well, recruited hundreds of mainland Americans. By 1950, one-third of Guam teachers were contract hires and by 1965, there were over 500 contract teachers in the school system.²⁵⁴ Teachers, as well as many other Americans, often settled permanently and took advantage of opportunities in business, media, and other areas of the growing private sector. An under-examined aspect of the mostly male military and civil service labor recruitment was an extremely unbalanced gender ratio. In 1950 there were 212 men to every 100 women on Guam and in 1960 there were 141 men to every 100 women.²⁵⁵

Change accelerated as a result of several developments in the early 1960s. In 1962, the Restrictive Naval Security Clearance requirement, which had limited possibilities for outside investment in Guam, was lifted, allowing local and outside entrepreneurs to begin thinking about tourism and other economic opportunities. Also that year, Typhoon Karen struck the island, leveling most of the post-war reconstruction, and many of the Quonset huts from the World War II era. A flood of federal aid led to a second rebuilding of the island, and another influx of mostly Filipino laborers. Rebuilding coincided with a steady increase in military and civil service population related to the growing American role in Vietnam. With each new group of transient

²⁵⁴ Katherine Aguon, "The Guam Dilemma" in *Amerasia Journal* 6:2, 1979, 83.

²⁵⁵ It was not until 1980 that a much more balanced ratio of 109 men to 100 women was reached. Larry Kasperbaur, "New Ethnicity of Guam and the Dynamics of Population Change" Talk given at the University of Guam, 27 November 1985, video recording, Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam"

workers came some who settled permanently, and the non-Chamorro population was by the 1960s large enough that new housing subdivisions were built to accommodate them.

MODERNIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF THE CHAMORRO LANGUAGE

Despite the fact that United States transformed the island to meet its own needs, with little thought given to the fate of Chamorros in the process, many Chamorros embraced the changes. The old practice of daily commutes to the ranch became difficult and for many impossible since so much of the former farmland was under military control, but those who had grown up living in thatch roof houses and toiling in the soil were not necessarily deeply attached to that way of life. Elites had always had better houses and more exposure to western conveniences.

The post-war era offered expanded opportunities for social and economic mobility for non-elites. Cash was now needed for cars, house payments, indoor plumbing, radio, television, refrigeration, imported food and many other consumer items. Chamorros took notice of the rapid development of a private sector service industry. Retail shops, restaurants, nightclubs and other entertainment options sprung up as a result of the massive presence of transient military and civil service personnel with disposable incomes, and it fueled a desire to participate in the new way of life.

Amidst this prosperity, however, many Chamorros found themselves struggling. Outside of the small group of educated island elites who owned and established new businesses, and those non-elites lucky enough to get the higher paying jobs in the new government, most Chamorros ended up working in unskilled occupations for low wages on military bases and in the new public and private sectors. Many had large families, with eight, ten or twelve children being very common, but children who were assets in the

subsistence economy were now expensive. Men working as gardeners or in maintenance or women working as maids in military households struggled to get by and they could see that their old way of life had not prepared them for the new system. The shift to full-time wage labor and k-12 education conflicted with numerous obligations that had historically bound Chamorro extended families together. Whereas a life centered on agricultural subsistence had allowed people to organize work around the elaborate calendar of religious rituals and the ever occurring nine day “*nubenas*” that came about without warning upon the death of a close or extended-family member, new work schedules were less flexible. For those who still needed to supplement income with subsistence activities such as farming, fishing or hunting, the extra work taxed children who struggled to keep up with school work.

The greatly expanded role of American popular culture that came with the development of the mass media, consumer society, and interactions with non-Chamorro settlers all shaped peoples’ understandings of themselves and the world and took emphasis away from the centrality of *kustumbren Chamorro*. The establishment of local media outlets including the *Guam Daily News* in 1950, *KUAM* radio in 1954 and *KUAM* television in 1956, were particularly influential in shaping this new reality. The *GDN* for example acquired most of its information from the same newswire the *Navy News* had used. Television programming presented idyllic images of American suburbia, consumer excess, and harmonious nuclear families that presented a stark contrast to the large extended family system that regulated daily life for Chamorros.²⁵⁶ The combined impact

²⁵⁶ Stephanie Coontz notes that the ideal American family of the 1950s portrayed in shows like *Leave It to Beaver* was not an accurate portrayal of American suburbia and that such portrayals were in part propaganda aimed at the “communist threat” (28). Aspects of utopic image of American suburbia that did have grounding in reality were far from the norm in American history, but instead the result of the unique

of such images was to present *kustumbren Chamorro* as abnormal. Robert Underwood suggests that Chamorros learned to be “homesick for places they had never been.”²⁵⁷

The most significant shift in the post-war era, in terms of Chamorro cultural continuity was undoubtedly the decision of many Chamorro parents to stop speaking to their children in Chamorro. Robert Underwood explained that,

For the first time in the island’s history, most of the people were wage earners and the vast majority of available positions were in government (both local and federal-military) service. All of these positions were advertised and offered in a civil service system which had as the first qualification a knowledge of English.²⁵⁸

This new practical reality was compounded by a common belief that Chamorro was inferior to western languages with standard orthographies and formal institutional support in government and commerce. Donald Topping, a contract teacher who came to Guam in the 1950s, recalled that when he asked Chamorros to teach him the Chamorro language, he was told that “it wasn’t really a language, only a dialect.”²⁵⁹ This perception reflects a deeply entrenched hierarchy of knowledge that elevated written standardized knowledge over indigenous oral knowledge. When the Navy turned the public school system over to the newly established Government of Guam in 1950, Chamorro administrators chose to maintain the English-only policies. As before the war, children who spoke Chamorro in school were punished with both fines and corporal punishment.

set of circumstances that created American prosperity in the wake of World War II. In addition, she notes that one of the primary roles of television was to market products, and that television shows, far from being accurate markers of real life, were viewed by television producers as “wrappers’ for the products they were selling. Stephanie Coontz: *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 174.

²⁵⁷ Robert Underwood, “The Role of Media in Small Pacific Island Communities.” Text from a presentation, *Pacific Islands Communications Journal*, 1981,13.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁵⁹ Kathy Coulehan, *Portraits of Guam: The Life and Death of a Language*, videocassette, Coulehan and Co., 1994.

School administrators also established “English-speaking clubs” and encouraged parents to speak English to their children at home.²⁶⁰

In such an environment, the view that the future lie with the embrace of American culture resulted not just in an elevation of English, but also in a growing negative view of the Chamorro language. Prominent Guam educator Katherine Aguon notes that as before the war, “families who viewed themselves as members of the elite adopted English as their home language.”²⁶¹ Language decline did not happen overnight, but, while Chamorros who grew up in the 1950s and early 1960s all generally learned the language, a stigma was attached to it. Aguon noted that during these years “references to Chamorro identity and culture were in the nature of an embarrassed admission of a primitive past.”²⁶²

Chamorros did not uniformly embrace new ideas. Some people were quick to seize new opportunities while others resisted in various ways. In 2011, it is apparent that some aspects of Chamorro culture, most notably, the perpetuation of indigenous systems of reciprocity, are still maintained by a considerable segment of the Chamorro population. The early post-war era was a time when the idea of progress was celebrated uncritically. Adopting modern ways, once negotiated cautiously, now almost came to seem like a duty of citizenship. Indigenous cultural practices were not rejected wholesale, but the linear idea of progress was understood as inevitable and good.

²⁶⁰ Robert Underwood, “English and Chamorro on Guam,” *World Englishes* vol. 8, no.1, 1989,79.

²⁶¹ Katherine Aguon, “The Guam Dilemma,”84.

²⁶² Ibid. This is by no means unique to Guam but is very common in colonial societies. Hawaiian scholar George Kanahale who was born in 1930 recalled that “as a kid, no local boy would be caught dead dancing the hula for fear of being called a sissy” and that “we had almost no interest in studying Hawaiian. My parents used it as a code language.” George Kanahale. “The Hawaiian Renaissance I” (Project WAIHAHA., Honolulu, 1982),6. In Guam, the stigma attached to the language in the 1950s led to rapid language decline and by the 1970s Chamorro parents were using Chamorro as a code language.

As shown in the previous chapter, earlier colonial eras had already established a class division between the “high” and the “low” people and a subtle ethnic difference between the city folk and the rural areas. The linear trajectory of progress that liberal ideas implied suggested a different dynamic. The idea of being either “high” or “low,” while not completely erased, shifted to a concept of being either “modern” or “backward.” People who did not move forward were considered “backward.” The shift, while detrimental to cultural continuity, did point to a degree of social mobility that did not exist in earlier eras. It was therefore okay for older people to maintain their old ways, but it made no sense for younger people to do so. Those who did were sometimes referred to as *taotao tatte* (equivalent of hillbilly).

The clearest division between modern and backward elements was the regional division between the people of Hagatña now scattered across northern Guam, and the largely intact village communities of southern Guam. Speaking about her experiences growing up in northern Guam in the 1950s and explaining why her parents only spoke to her in English, one woman explained that “My parents wanted to make sure that we could meld in, because we were supposed to be Americans.” As far as they were concerned, “the only thing we had to do was study and get good grades because we had to move on and get educated in the mainland.”²⁶³ For youths in southern villages the process of Americanization had taken place more slowly, and the rupture with pre-war life was not as severe. *Kustumbren Chamorro* practices, and most notably, the Chamorro language were perpetuated well into the 1970s.

Their different way of life was acutely felt when they ventured to northern Guam. Flora Baza, who spent her early years in the southern village of Malessso and then

²⁶³ Rose Franquez Brown interview.

moved up to Sinajana while still in elementary school, remembers that when youths from the southern villages of Malesso and Umatac came up to Sinajana for basketball tournaments, “trash talk” typically brought out class and regional stereotypes.²⁶⁴ When a northern team would beat the Malesso team, they would take a bag full of crabs and pour it out on the court, as way of mocking the southern village’s lingering attachment to subsistence by implying that a bag of crabs was sufficient payment for people of their “backward” upbringing.²⁶⁵ Youth from Umatac, historically the most isolated Chamorro village, were often teased on the basis of their “singsong” accent. Often all that was needed to instigate a fight was for a northerner to ask “*Kao malago’ hao kumanta* “Evening Shadow?” (Do you want to sing “Evening Shadows?”), a popular song from the time. The joke was not really in the song, but in the intonation in which the question was asked.

The idea that Chamorro culture was inferior was rooted in a long history of colonial policies and discourses that had devalued indigenous knowledge, but in earlier eras this hierarchy of knowledge meant little to non-elite Chamorros. It did not matter how colonial authorities defined their culture since Chamorro cultural practices provided for their survival and allowed them to ignore colonial authorities. In the post-war era, the value of maintaining this subaltern, autonomous identity was less clear. Gratitude for liberation and new pride as citizens of the American nation-state seemed to call for a more complete embrace of American culture.

²⁶⁴ Flora Baza pointed out that the villagers of Umatac (and also the island of Rota) had a “sing song” intonation in their voice while it was less common in Malesso. Children in the north were generally unaware of the distinction and applied the joke to both groups. These two locations were for much of their colonial history the most isolated parts communities in the Marianas. It is very likely that their dialects of Chamorro are closer to older ways of speaking the language than parts of the island that were more heavily influenced by Hispanic and American culture.

²⁶⁵ Flora Baza interview.

Such a shift is traumatic in any scenario, but Chamorros faced these changes at a time when American society was particularly dismissive of the value of indigenous knowledge. Scholars in diverse fields who played an important role in shaping American economic and foreign policy at the time championed a system of thought known as “modernization theory.” As noted by David Hanlon, “modernization involved a phased, homogenizing, irreversible, and lengthy process based on European notions of progress.”²⁶⁶ This school of thought began with an assumption that the United States and leading western European nations represented an advanced stage in human development defined by economic, political and cultural modernity that stemmed from core liberal ideas of progress, individualism and political and economic freedom. These ideas directly conflicted with core *kustumbren Chamorro* values and traditions that shunned individualism in favor of communal identity.

Many of the ideas promoted by modernization theorists were intended to improve lives but they implied that Chamorro culture and values were part of a pre-modern, less advanced stage of human development. For Chamorros to fully embrace such ideas would in fact be to relinquish their claim as an identifiable people. This outcome was good for the prospect of American military control of the island and it was good for outsiders and island elites with advanced educations and business acumen who could benefit from the hegemony of modern ideas, but to paraphrase a particularly astute Trust Territory official who saw similar dynamics in modernization plans for Micronesia.

“What’s good for [Guam] is not necessarily good for [Chamorros].”²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ David Hanlon. *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses Over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1998), 99.

²⁶⁷ Peter Hill, quoted in David Hanlon, (1998). This was a reference to the Nathan Plan’s dismissive view of indigenous cultural dynamics. Hill quote was “What’s good for Micronesia, is not necessarily good for

In the post-war era, the shift to a cash based economy and the increased demand for consumer goods required full integration into the global capitalist economy. Chamorros were generally unprepared to compete in the emergent private sector and this was recognized by federal officials who insured hiring preference for Chamorros in the newly created Government of Guam. The government bureaucracy was largely a creation of the United States Navy, which turned it over to local leaders in parts beginning in 1950. In some ways this new employment opportunity became a sanctuary for Chamorro cultural continuities, since Chamorros could continue to make accommodations for employees who needed to honor various cultural obligations.

With the development of local politics in the 1950s, and the appointments of Chamorro governors beginning in 1960, a system of political patronage developed which began to align political allegiances with alliances of extended families and unions between elites and the emergent “working class.”²⁶⁸ This system constituted a type of resistance in that Chamorros brought the *familia* system into an institution designed to function through a strict system of individual merit. It did not provide the same type of autonomy provided by agricultural subsistence. It was an imported institution that required the acquisition of western knowledge and the English language. The shift away from agriculture entailed a reliance on imported foods and other consumer items that had not been necessary in earlier times.

Employment in the government of Guam was not an option for all Chamorros. As noted by Dames, “For those who do not complete high school, go on to college or

Micronesians.” Chamorros had a much deeper history with America and western ideas, but the implications of post-war modernization were nonetheless significant.

²⁶⁸ For insight into the dynamics of Guam’s political culture see the chapter “Of Roosters and Politics” in Ronald Stade. *Pacific Passages: World Cultures and Local Politics in Guam*. (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1998), 175-214.

have the family or political connections to secure a good job, the military remains the most viable option for obtaining training and a livelihood.”²⁶⁹ For many young men the best option was to join the military. While a military career was potentially dangerous, it offered adventure and unprecedented opportunities for upward mobility for men with limited educations. Some only enlisted for short periods of time, but many others chose the military as a full time career. A big part of the Chamorro experience in post-World War II Guam consisted life on military bases across the globe. Children who grew up in these families often never got to know life on their home island. As Chamorros retired, many settled in the United States mainland and a Chamorro diaspora developed in the suburbs of military installations across the United States.

MUSIC IN POST-WAR GUAM

The radical changes that took place in decades after World War II resulted in an expansion of opportunities for musicians, an influx of new musical influences, and significant shift in the dynamics of the relationship between music and Chamorro cultural identity. Chamorros continued to compose songs in the Chamorro language, but for the most part, the profile of Chamorro language songs declined rapidly in the new society. Attention shifted to new music from other places. Young people were being influenced by all corners of the new society to speak English and embrace American music.

As noted in the previous chapter, Chamorro language music in pre-war Guam had been part of all Chamorros’ lives, but had largely been performed among intimate groups of Chamorros at family gatherings such as weddings and fiestas, or other types of communal gatherings such as roof thatching parties. As those traditions declined or died

²⁶⁹ Vivian Dames. “Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam” (University of Michigan, unpublished doctoral dissertation, 2000), 224.

out after the war, as Chamorro society shifted away from agricultural subsistence and communal village life, occasions for the songs also declined. *Kantan chamorrta* was an art form that disappeared almost instantly in northern Guam when Hagatña residents were resettled into new villages after the war. In the rural more traditional villages of southern Guam, *chamorrta* was perpetuated longer, but even in Inarajan, the southern village most associated with *chamorrta* before the war, modernity eroded the tradition. Judy Flores, who grew up in the village, remembered that in the late 1950s women could always be heard throwing verses to each other but when television arrived the old diversion gave way to soap operas.

Keeping in mind that Chamorro songs never completely disappeared during the early post-war years, there is a remarkable continuity from the pre-war era in the almost total lack of official documentation that it existed. In this sense it remained tied to the subaltern Chamorro identity, perpetuated in the institution of the extended family at a time when Chamorros were embracing life as American citizens and defining the island's public sphere along the American-oriented assimilationist model implied in the term "Guamanian."

COUNTRY WESTERN MUSIC

Even before Chamorros left the refugee camps, the new influences of American music were coming to the island through Armed Forces Radio. The United States military established AFR in 1942 for the purpose of delivering important information to American servicemen stationed abroad served an important role in keeping morale up by giving American soldiers a taste of home. For civilians across the globe, it was a powerful symbol of America. On Guam, the Armed Forces Radio Station WXLI GUAM began

broadcasting in October 1944 and would be the only radio broadcast on the island from 1944 to 1954.²⁷⁰ Like other introductions that came with the military, Armed Forces Radio existed solely for the morale of the soldiers, seamen, and airmen who craved a taste of home, but Chamorros also had radios and the music of the military became the music of Chamorros.

Through Armed Forces Radio, Chamorros listened to the likes of the Glenn Miller Orchestra, Frank Sinatra, Perry Como, Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters, along with every other kind of music that was nationally popular in the United States. No music had a bigger impact on Chamorros than country and western. Country music, particularly the “cowboy tunes” featured in western films, were already popular before the war. World War II was a period when the country music recording industry expanded rapidly as Armed Forces Radio, U.S.O. shows, and “Camel Caravans” spread it across the globe.²⁷¹ Now, with more cash and access to radios, Chamorros fell in love with the songs of artists like Kitty Wells, Patti Page, Hank Snow, Gene Autry, Tex Ritter, Eddy Arnold, Ernest Tubbs, and Hank Williams.

When locally owned KUAM took over the Armed Forces Radio station in 1954 it introduced a wide variety of programming targeting the local audience but nothing was more popular than “Hill Billy Hit Corral,” a show that featured country music. Reflecting on the early years of the station, a 1965 article observed that “It was no accident that the lunch hour of many businesses coincided with Hill Billy Hit Corral.”²⁷² Prominent island musician Del Damian confirmed that in the 1950s and 1960s, Chamorros would drive

²⁷⁰ Rogers, 209. Rogers notes that the call sign was changed to WVTG GUAM in 1947.

²⁷¹ Camel Caravans were touring musical troupes whose appearances at military bases were sponsored by Camel cigarettes. Bill Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin: Country Music and the Southern Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002), 40.

²⁷² Ibid.

home from work at Naval Station, Guam to eat lunch and listen to country western on the radio each day.²⁷³

During the first decade of KUAM many people did not have electricity yet and neighbors would ask those who did to turn up their radios to full volume when the show came on.²⁷⁴ This may be why a tradition began in southern villages in which certain individuals broadcast country music on loudspeakers every day so that everyone in the village could hear.²⁷⁵ Whatever the case, the tradition lasted long after electrification became widespread. Musicians from the rural villages of southern Guam developed a particularly significant devotion to country music and emulated country artists in various ways. Inarajan singer Manuel Mendiola went by the name “Marty Robbins” because he loved to sing Marty Robbins songs. Talofoto singer Eloy Reyes, who became a recording artist in the 1970s, was known as “Ricky Nelson.”²⁷⁶ Another group from Inarajan went by the name “Hillbillies” while one woman noted that her husband’s style of singing was “Merle Haggard.”²⁷⁷

Part of the appeal of country music may have been rooted in patriotism. In the spirit of the Cold War culture of conformity, country music was marketed on an assimilationist conception of American culture. During the early Cold War, record executives began to define the diverse rural American folk traditions that were actually rooted in “old world” music as a distinctly American genre. According to country music historian Richard Peterson, the record industry backed away from the all encompassing

²⁷³ Del Damian, Interview with the author. Santa Rita, Guam.

²⁷⁴ Nancy Caton, “KUAM” in *Pacific Profile*. November, 1965. 33. The Chamorro programming consisted mostly of American country western but the host spoke in the Chamorro language and announced community events.

²⁷⁵ These stories were shared by villagers from Talofoto, Umatac and Malessos.

²⁷⁶ Garrido and Reyes interviews.

²⁷⁷ Garrido interview.

term “folk” when Senator Joseph McCarthy accused folk singer Pete Seeger of communist subversion in the mid-1950s.²⁷⁸ Chamorros were grateful for liberation and American identity so country music’s patriotic associations were undoubtedly appealing..

More significant than patriotism, however, was that in country music, Chamorros found songs that truly spoke to their life experiences. This was no coincidence. Just as the militarization of the island following the return of American forces in World War II had transformed Guam and disconnected Chamorros from their agrarian heritage, the Great Depression and World War II had transformed the economy of the southern United States and spread diverse country music traditions out of their southern enclaves. Bill Malone writes that,

The war delivered the coup de gras to the tottering tenant system...The sons and daughters of tenant farmers, mill workers and other blue collar workers moved by the thousands into the military or, along with their parents, went to work in shipyards and defense plants in the South, Midwest and the West Coast. Country music had already moved to southern California with the Okies. With the huge influx of defense plant and military émigrés in the 1940s it became ...the language of a subculture.²⁷⁹

Young southerners, many of whom had scarcely been more than a few miles from the place they were born, marched off to training centers carrying their musical tastes with them. Barrack rooms reverberated with the sounds of guitars, lonesome rural voices, and the current hillbilly songs...Ultimately, the music was carried all around the world.²⁸⁰

Working class Chamorros, raised as farmers before the war, found much in common with the struggles documented by country musicians because they were going through the same types of experiences. Pre-war life on Guam for non-elite Chamorros

²⁷⁸ Richard A. Peterson. *Creating Country Music: Fabricating Authenticity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1997.

²⁷⁹ Bill Malone. *Don't Get above Your Raisin: Country Music and the Southern Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2002), 40. Also see, Bill Malone. *Country Music U.S.A. Second Revised Edition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 177-8.

²⁸⁰ Bill Malone. *Country Music U.S.A. Second Revised Edition* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002),181.

had hardly been easy nor had life of the poor farmer in the Spanish era. *Kustumbren Chamorro* traditions of singing, and celebrations that affirmed ties among extended family, had made the difficult existence enjoyable. The more comfortable, although still marginal, lifestyle that came with wage labor and consumer society disconnected Chamorros from their cultural identity. In this sense there are parallels to the experiences of tenant farming and sharecropping in the American south which Malone characterizes as a way of life that had “imprisoned and impoverished many plain people.” However,

Its collapse wrought terrific psychic and moral havoc on the lives of those who were displaced. This hard but familiar existence held no mysteries for tenants, but the survival skills honed in this environment were not readily transferable or adaptable to an urban workforce.²⁸¹

[Depression era] working class southerners struggled to survive, first in a hard and marginal rural economy and then in the [post-war] blue collar environment of an unfamiliar urban society, they learned that tradition and modernity could not easily be reconciled. Music proved to be an invaluable resource though, in the transition from rural to urban life, serving as the source of sustenance and identity and as a medium of self-expression.²⁸²

Malone’s description of the trauma faced by rural Americans is striking in that he is speaking of Americans adapting to a way of life that already had a deep history in their country. For Chamorros, many of whom were still mastering English in the early post-war era and had seen their homeland transformed beyond recognition, the trauma was undoubtedly even more severe. At the same time, it is important to note that the displacement and the diasporic experience described by Malone and the displacement felt by Chamorros whose homeland was transformed by outsiders have much in common. When Malone writes that American country western songwriters “spoke nostalgically and

²⁸¹ Ibid. 39.

²⁸² Ibid. 14-15.

reverentially of the rural life” and “documented the new society,” it is clear that Chamorros on Guam were listening and understood what they meant.²⁸³

AMERICAN MUSIC AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Many Chamorro musicians took advantage of the jobs that became available in the new nightclub scene. Local groups such as the James Band, the Damian Family Band, the Gumabon Family Band, the Pepero Band, and the Santa Rita Band ended up playing on either on the military bases or off-base venues that catered to military personnel. The presence of a large population of young men with money not only provided opportunities for musicians, but for local entrepreneurs as well, who opened up bars and nightclubs strategically located near military installations. In the second half of the 1940s, the naval government maintained tight restrictions on travel around the island in an attempt to prevent military personnel, civil service employees, and Filipino laborers from disturbing the Chamorro communities.²⁸⁴ For sailors stationed at Naval Station Guam, it was difficult to travel north of Hagatña, so local businesses began to sprout up along Marine Drive just south of Hagatña in the village of Asan. Among the first local businesses to take advantage of this market was Joe and Florence Gutierrez’s “Joe and Flo’s” restaurant which opened in 1948. The village was also the home of the Asan Point Civil Service Center from 1946 until 1968.²⁸⁵ In northern Guam, between Anderson Air Force Base and the village of Dededo, similar businesses set up shop. With the signing of the Organic Act of Guam in 1950, restrictions on off-base travel were lifted, allowing

²⁸³ Malone, “*Don’t Get above Your Raisin*,” 9.

²⁸⁴ Such efforts were only moderately successful. For example, Francine Martinez Clement recalled how her grandfather, Jose Bello, an Ilocano laborer, told her stories of how he was restricted from fraternizing with the local population but still managed to get the attention of his future wife, Dolores Guerrero Benavente (*familian Bo’bo*). The couple would go on to establish numerous businesses including the selling of surplus military lumber and running a nightclub in the village of Dededo that catered to Air Force personnel.

²⁸⁵ Franklin Gutierrez, interview with author.

military personnel, civil service personnel and contract workers to seek out entertainment throughout the island. Military personnel and other transients continued to provide the largest market for the service oriented private sector and as the population became more diverse, businesses did what they could to attract clientele. Music played a considerable role in such efforts. Chamorro musician Forest Harris remembered that around 1952, he was playing at on-base venues including several different officer's clubs, enlisted men's clubs, a chief petty officer's club and off base venues like the Talk o' the Town, the Breakers Club, the Office, Jim's Island House, and numerous mom and pop bars.²⁸⁶

All businesses included juke boxes, which provided a continual stream of the latest popular music. For teens, mom and pop stores and pool halls that had juke boxes became popular hangout spots. Businesses also featured live bands. The Surf Club, a restaurant just down the street from Joe and Flo's, featured live Hawaiian music and catered to stateside civil service employees. Kinney's Café, located near Anderson Air Force Base, was another early restaurant that catered to military and locals alike, providing music by local bands such as the Franquez Trio.²⁸⁷ The market provided by the considerable transient population meant that there were always opportunities for local musicians but there was still a musician shortage and businesses had to bring in outside acts from the United States and the Philippines to satisfy demand.

Guam nightlife emerged in the context of the already mentioned distorted gender ratio. According to local musician Louie Gombar, women came to the island from Hawaii "in flocks...because they heard that there were so many construction workers here and not enough women." Many of these women were hired as "taxi dancers," a term

²⁸⁶ Miko and Stevie Scott, *Jazz on Guam: An Oral History*, (Hagatña: Guam Humanities Council, n.d.), 22.

²⁸⁷ Franklin Gutierrez, interview by the author. Agana Heights, Guam, 20 March 2008.

for women who worked out agreements with club owners who allowed them to dance with patrons for payment. Customers would buy tickets which were worth one dance and then the women would dance with the next.²⁸⁸ According to one source, venues that featured taxi dancers were also “fronts for prostitution” although it is not clear how common it was for taxi dancers to also work as prostitutes.²⁸⁹ The prevalence of such establishments became a major political issue for the Second and Third Guam Legislatures and for the appointed Governor Ford Q. Elvidge (1953 to 1956).²⁹⁰

Elvidge and the Catholic Church were strong opponents of the establishments on moral grounds. Within the local business community, however, there was reluctance to challenge the practice because it contributed to the local economy. In the Guam Legislature, for example, strong support came from Guam senator and businessman Paul Palting who owned land leased by a taxi dancing establishment.²⁹¹ The controversy and the implications of the presence of such businesses on what was still a deeply conservative Catholic society point to the way the island economy’s new dependence on military and military-related spending represented yet another strain on *kustumbren Chamorro*. From that point on, prostitution and other forms of male entertainment such as strip clubs and massage parlors geared to both the transient and local population would be a permanent fixture of Guam society.

²⁸⁸ Louie Gombar, a popular local vibes player remembers that the demand for musicians was so strong that he ended up playing in nightclubs where taxi dancers performed when he was only twelve years old, and that the other band members would have to hide him whenever the police came around. He also recalled that dancers would often signal the band to cut songs short so that they could move on to the next customer. *Jazz on Guam*, 78.

²⁸⁹ Michael Ham “A History of Guam’s Elected Legislature: Part One: 1950-1962” Lee Carter, *Guam History Perspectives Volume One*” University of Guam: Mangilao, 1997), 296.

²⁹⁰ The Guam Legislature, established in 1950 with the Organic Act served for two year terms.

²⁹¹ Michael Ham “A History of Guam’s Elected Legislature,” 296.

While controversial, the clubs provided employment for many local musicians and also attracted many Filipino bands. These bands helped popularize various types of Latin music, introducing what became a “Latin dance craze” that continued to shape the local music scene through the 1950s and 1960s.²⁹² One Chamorro dance instructor believes these bands may have introduced locals to the *cha-cha* although there are numerous ways that the dance could have been introduced.²⁹³ The *cha-cha* became so popular on Guam that many Chamorros who grew up in the 1970s just assumed it had always been part of the culture.²⁹⁴

In most cases, civilians were restricted from military installations, so military nightclubs were not generally frequented by Chamorro men unless they were in the Armed Forces themselves or were working as musicians. Chamorro women however, were often sponsored on base by suitors. Jimmy Ferante, an American businessmen who ended up on Guam in the early post-war era, recalled that,

Back in '47, we would have dances out on the military base on Friday and Saturday nights, while the jazz bands played. Ken Jones and I were both “jitterbug kings.” We would send armed guards to the villages to pick up the young ladies for the dances.²⁹⁵

Chamorro society in the early post-war era was still very conservative but chaperoned fraternization was apparently one way that Chamorros demonstrated support for the Armed Forces. Rose Franquez Brown recalled that in the late 1940s her aunt, the prominent Chamorro educator Agueda Johnston, “would organize the young women, to

²⁹² Del Damian. Interview with author, Santa Rita, Guam, 28 February 2008.

²⁹³ Juan Benavente, interview with the author. Dededo, Guam, 27 May 2008.

²⁹⁴ The cha-cha was actually invented in Cuba in the late 1940s.

²⁹⁵ Jimmy Ferante, in *Jazz on Guam*, 6. Ken Jones, who is mentioned above as a “jitterbug king” arrived on the island as a member of the naval construction battalion (Seabeas) in 1944 and ended up establishing one of Guam’s largest commercial empires, marrying a Chamorro woman, and bringing in family members to help him run his businesses. *Time*, “Micronesian Millionaire” Dec. 15, 1967 (accessed 29 June, 2011) <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,837629,00.html#ixzz1QdI68VDS>

take them to the Officers' Clubs, to the NCO clubs on base so that the guys could dance with the girls.”²⁹⁶ As noted in Chapter Two, the issue of Chamorro women being exploited by American sailors who impregnated them and then abandoned them was the subject of the pre-war song “*Humalom Enfetmera*.” Cynthia Enloe has pointed to similar social issues that arise in American military communities throughout the world and such abuses inevitably continued on Guam in post-war era.²⁹⁷ On Guam, the clear cultural differences between the military and locals became increasingly blurred with the continued Americanization and militarization of Chamorro society. Most fraternization was by mutual consent and led to many marriages.

The most significant aspect of the prevalence of such unions on Guam in the post-war era probably has less to do with the domination of foreign men over Chamorro women than the insights it provides into the shifting dynamics between Chamorro men and Chamorro women. In light of the above mentioned extremely distorted gender ratios that existed in the early post-war years, it is clear that Chamorro women had many options. Working-class Chamorro men on the other hand were at an extremely disadvantageous position, having to compete with statesiders who could offer women financial stability.²⁹⁸ In post-war Guam, constant tension between young Chamorro men

²⁹⁶ Rose Franquez Brown. Interview with the author. Mangilao, 19 December 2007. Augeda Johnston's had been married to American Navy Lt. William Johnston. He died during World War II in a Japanese P.O.W. camp where he had been sent with other American citizens living on Guam.

²⁹⁷ In *Bananas, Beaches & Bases, Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989) and *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) Cynthia Enloe examines numerous topics that are applicable to Guam. Of particular interest are her discussions of base life and military families. Given that there are few nuclear families that do not include one or more individuals who spend their working lives living in foreign and domestic military installations, the impact of these experiences on modern Chamorro identity are worthy of further inquiry.

²⁹⁸ While such tensions remain a common feature of life on Guam today, a humorous experience alerted me to this dynamic in the past. While at K-Mart one day, I was looking for an item while my wife was already at the check-out line. An elderly Chamorro man began to flirt with her and told her that all the beautiful

and Americans from the mainland would often erupt in fights at nightclubs and bars. Unions between Chamorro women stateside men also had implications in the dynamics of cultural change. Whereas in the past Chamorro women had generally acculturated foreign husbands to Chamorro society, the new orientation towards American national identity seemingly negated this dynamic and generally insured that such households would be exclusively English speaking zones.

It also seems that Chamorro women were at times more enthusiastic about embracing the comforts of modernity than Chamorro men. This may in fact have always been the case, since in pre-war Guam women had generally spent their lives in the village while men had traditionally spent most of their time at their ranch or gathering resources from the jungle and the sea. Men's roles shifted much more radically in the new society which may explain their continued attachment to long established traditions and amusements such as cockfighting, hunting, and fishing. At post-war gatherings such as fiestas and other cultural events, where non-Chamorro guests sometimes attended, women generally stayed in the front and socialized, in English if there were non-Chamorro speakers present. Chamorro men tended to stay in the back of the house, drank beer or *tuba*, and spoke Chamorro amongst themselves.

In light of the similarities between the experiences of Chamorros and the southern American working class, a quote from country music historian Bill Malone about his own family in Texas may provide insight into this dynamic.

I'm sure my father was merely jesting when he occasionally declared his intentions to buy a team of mules and move back down on the farm, but the remark did suggest the dissatisfaction that sometimes stole his thoughts. My mother's response was equally revealing: "If you do, you'll go without me."

women in his home village of Merizo had married American men. I then joined my wife in line and she started laughing as she introduced me to the Malesso man and told me his sad tale.

Town life to her meant greater ease and comfort, access to regular church participation, and an escape from the deadening isolation of the farm.”²⁹⁹

ROCK AND ROLL AND CHAMORRO YOUTH CULTURE

As was the case in a lot of places, the birth of rock and roll had dramatic impact on the development of Chamorro youth culture. When Chamorro youths heard the new music and saw people like Buddy Holly, Elvis and the Beatles on television, many went out and bought guitars. Eric Zolov writes that:

In virtually every urban center around the globe that was large enough to proffer access to a record player and electronic amplification, local rock n’ roll imitators sprang up. In a kind of universal pattern, musical expression began with ‘cover’ renditions of U.S. pop hits that not only replicated the instrumental arrangements of Elvis Presley, Bill Haley and others but also, at least initially, mimicked the guttural sounds of English language lyrics. In short, the baby boomer, rock n’ roll generation that in the United States we have come to associate as the precursor of our 1960s cultural explosion was, in fact, a global phenomenon. Local articulations of this phenomenon were exceedingly diverse yet showed important consistencies across cultural and geographical divides.³⁰⁰

In Zolov’s work on Mexico, he found that there was considerable apprehension among some in the country about the impact of this new music on the nation’s identity. He argues that “Rock music established itself as a crucial reference point in Mexican society, a signifier of cosmopolitan values and a bearer of disorder and wanton individualism.”³⁰¹ Chamorros, with their shared roots in a Catholic Hispanic heritage, had some reservations about the new music, as well as the broader challenge to traditional values suggested by the rock and roll culture. Writing of the arrival of Rock and Roll on island radio stations, Caton gives a sense of this apprehension.

²⁹⁹ Bill Malone, *Don’t Get above Your Raisin: Country Music and the Southern Working Class*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 9.

³⁰⁰ Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 9-10.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Vaguely shocked by the music's lyrics and restless mood, some young girls were forbidden to listen to the radio. One young girl, while running errands for her mother found it necessary to sneak into a parked car and listen to the radio.³⁰²

Guam radio deejays promoted the music and the rebellious culture nonetheless.

Reflecting the liberal values of the rock and roll culture, deejays began accepting dedications to sweethearts. Conservative parents protested the practice because it conflicted with the long established practice of chaperonage, and school girls began to hide their radios during the request hour so that their parents would not hear the dedications.³⁰³ In response, disc jockeys began substituting names with numbers so that dedications could be announced anonymously.³⁰⁴ Controversy about adopting more liberal values was much more muted on Guam than in Mexico, a sovereign state with government support for a well defined set of cultural traditions. Chamorro culture, on the other hand, had always been negotiated outside of official circles within families. In the post-war era a general association between "progress" and all things American had a tremendous influence on the way society was developing and the defense of Chamorro culture had yet to become an issue tackled by Chamorros in government.

Chamorro boys in every village formed bands and tried to emulate the look and sound of American rock and roll idols. These young musicians performed at school dances, birthday parties, fiestas and family events. Among the most popular local bands of the time was the Kaskells, who played instrumental music in the style of the Vandals

³⁰² Nancy Caton. "KUAM" in *Pacific Profile*. November, 1965.

³⁰³ Recording artist Connie Fejeran Garrido explained that as a teenager in Inarajan during the 1950s, she and her fiancé could not even make eye-contact while working in a church group together for fear that someone would tell her mother. She explained that if that had happened, her mother would have beaten her in the middle of the village so that everyone would know that her mother did not condone the behavior. Her description reflected the value of *mamahlaho* or "knowing one's place." To be *taimamahlaho* (shameless) was to embarrass the entire family.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

and enjoyed success in numerous “battle of the bands.”³⁰⁵ Joe Perez, a member of the Kaskells, remembered that there was a great desire at the time to be up to date with the newest music coming from the States. He would often buy records as soon as they came in the store so that he could learn them and play them at the next gig.³⁰⁶ Other teen groups that gained island wide recognition during these years included the Vel Tones, the Glo-lites, the Down Beats and the Shamrocks. While country music was still popular throughout the island during these years, these younger groups were shifting more towards the Beatles and other popular rock groups. More than any other single performer, Elvis Presley made a big impact on Chamorro musicians who grew up during those years and who even more than imitating his music tried to imitate his entire image.

Nevertheless youth culture on Guam during the 1950s and 1960s was hardly radical compared with the social upheaval that played out in the American music scene of the 1960s. Youth culture on Guam was very much centered on the village community and parents played a big role in encouraging children to embrace the new music. Before television really caught on, 4-H clubs, church parishes and village level secular organizations, such as the Civic Improvement Club, played a big role in organizing entertainment in the villages. Future Chamorro music star Flora Baza started singing publicly all over the island as a member of the 4-H club in the mid-1950s, although at the time such performances were strictly in English. Her father was an active member of the village of Sinajana’s Civic Improvement Club in the 1950s which used talent shows to raise money for sports facilities and programs such as Head Start. Baza remembers that as a child she sang in these events with a village group called the Judettes (named after

³⁰⁵ Joe Perez interview.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

her village patron saint St. Jude), as well as in solo competitions. Songs from the late 1950s and early 1960s that she sang often included Skeeter Davis' "End of the World" and Connie Francis' "Where the Boys Are" and "Lipstick on Your Collar."³⁰⁷

Ignacio "Ike" Charfauros and his cousin Victor Cruz also got their start in elementary school during the 1950s after their uncle "Jose na Hagat" Cruz (Jose of Agat) taught them how to play guitar and ukulele. By the mid-1950s they were playing in talent shows and school and church related functions. Ike Charfauros' early memories included the duo performing songs like Pat Boone's "Love Letters in the Sand" and "Beneath Hawaiian Palms" at PTA meetings and other school events. Jose Cruz organized Ike and other young kids from the village into a group called the Agat Kiddies and he would take them around the island to perform

JOHNNY SABLAN

Out of the thriving youth music scene of the late 1950s emerged a young Chamorro boy from the village of Agat named Johnny Sablan. Sablan's music career began in 1958 when his uncle Ton "Lightning" Sablan recruited him and his cousin to entertain patients at the Guam Memorial Hospital. According to an article about the occasion, Sablan was auditioned by singing along to an Elvis Presley song playing on the juke box in front of the Sablan Store, a small mom and pop store which his parents owned.³⁰⁸ From that point on, he began to entertain at parties and talent shows. He also began to sing with a group called the Starlighters, made up of classmates from Cathedral

³⁰⁷ Baza interview.

³⁰⁸ Hale-ta, 371. The Hale-ta article states that Sablan sang to Elvis Presley's "I Want to be Free" playing from the jukebox on a Sunday Morning in March of 1957. (Hale-ta) However, "I Want to be Free" was first released as part of the "Jailhouse Rock" soundtrack in November of 1957. After that, it may have been released as a single but I have seen no record of that occurring. It may also be that the song "I Want to be Free" was chosen by the raconteur because it fits with the narrative of a boy breaking free of small town constraints and making it in the wider world. Johnny Sablan explained to me that it probably happened in 1958, but he was not sure since much time has passed since the event.

Grade School. His talent gave him the opportunity as an eleven year old to join a group of high school students known as the Agat Serenaders, with whom he performed all over the island. At the time, their focus was on American popular music and he remembers performing a lot of Elvis, as well as “songs like ‘Rockin Robin’ and a lot of slow songs and songs with *cha-cha* beats.”³⁰⁹

In 1960, Sablan’s father decided to pursue a college degree in California and he brought his family along with him. In Los Angeles Sablan entered a local talent show and won second place. This caught the attention of Columbia Records’ talent scouts who soon contacted his father and offered Sablan a record deal under Ben Weisman’s Skylark Records.³¹⁰ At the time, Skylark was developing talents in the Los Angeles area and offered to record three 45 rpm records. The contract also obligated Sablan to perform at a variety of venues in the Los Angeles regions of San Bernadino and Long Beach. He toured with a group of slightly older teenagers. Among these acts was Kathy Wells, who was about two years older than Sablan and was gaining popularity with the hit “A Thousand Stars in the Sky.” They also toured with The Penguins, who were still well known for their 1956 hit “Earth Angel.” Many of the songs Sablan sang at the time were covers of popular American hits. He remembered that “Diana” was a big hit with the crowd, as well as other Paul Anka songs. According to Sablan, “I looked like Paul Anka and I sang Paul Anka songs.”³¹¹

In 1961 and 1962 he recorded three 45 rpm records. Five of the songs were written in a doo wop style by professional songwriters who worked for his label. “Big Fat

³⁰⁹ Sablan interview.

³¹⁰ Billboard Magazine, 16 January, 1961, 4 Weisman was a well-known music producer and songwriter known for writing fifty-seven songs for Elvis Presley that all went either gold or platinum.

³¹¹ Sablan interview.

Lie” with the B side “Will She Agree to Go Steady with Me” was followed by “Imitation Heart” with the B side “I Know.” “Imitation Heart” would be his biggest hit of that era, reportedly cracking the Billboard’s Top 100. The third 45 Sablan recorded was, “I Don’t Want to Miss You.” On the B side, he was allowed to record “Agat Town” an English language song about his home village that he had learned while performing with the Serenaders on Guam in the late 1950s. In 1964, Sablan returned to Guam to finish high school and he entered the local music scene once again. During these early years of his career, Sablan was the epitome of a successful young “Americanized” Chamorro in that he had followed the lead of American stars, absorbed the culture, learned English well, and achieved success in the United States.

GUAMANIAN SONGS

As Chamorros increasingly adopted the new “Guamanian” identity shared with non-Chamorro members of the community, musicians began to compose English language songs about the island. Like other aspects of the emergent Guamanian identity, the songs de-emphasized Chamorro specific elements of island life in favor of geographical orientations, south sea stereotypes and general statements about island life that were inclusive of all residents. One of the most popular Chamorro artists of the late 1950s and early 1960s was Bill James, who became known for music that reflected this new Guamanian identity. Among his more popular hits was his version of Dr. Ramon Sablan’s “In Guam Paradise Calls You.”³¹²

While glancing through my book of songs,

³¹² Dr. Ramon Sablan was also the author of the Territorial anthem known as the “Guam Hymn.” Also known by its first line “Stand Ye Guamanians.” The song was song in English. In 1974, it was translated by Lagrimas Untalan as “Fanohge Chamorro” (Stand up Chamorros). The Chamorro version is now more common reflecting the new emphasis on indigenous identity that had been obscured along with the term “Guamanian.”

as I turn them one by one
Some of sweethearts true and of skies of blue,
some of paradise and of love
I paused as I thought of the paradise,
out here in the golden rays

So come on along to the island of Guam
Here you'll find your happiness
Just a pretty little island, that God left here for us
Just a paradise you read about, built for love and for happiness

Where the palm trees sway in their graceful way
Beneath the beautiful skies of blue
It's the prettiest spot in the whole wide world
Here in Guam, paradise, calls you

While arguably “Chamorro” since it was written by a Chamorro, it does not contain any references that distinguish a distinct Chamorro experience. Instead, it is a song that could be applied to any tropical island.

Johnny Sablan's “Agat Town,” is another song that falls into this category of “Guamanian songs.” This English language song, written in Agat during the 1950s, but recorded in Los Angeles in 1962, was the first song written about Guam that was recorded on a commercial record and it got heavy airplay on island juke boxes.³¹³ Like other “Guamanian” songs, the lyrics are in English and do not have any clear reference to Chamorro culture. It is a song about longing for home. In this case, home is the village of Agat, but there is little about the song that describes the village of Agat. Instead, the descriptions are largely geographical. Home is described as “up on the rocks of the hill” where a “sweetheart” is waiting. The song also describes “roses blooming” by a “rancho door.” While the village of “Agat” plays an important role in the song and the word “rancho” is used, the geographic references are obscure and don't seem to describe the

³¹³ John Perez interview.

village of Agat, or a typical ranch.³¹⁴ Instead, the song presents an image of a tranquil setting, conforming to the idea of a rural paradise, but not necessarily an actual place one might find in the village of Agat.

In 1962 a group of Guam residents got together to write “a new song for Guam” called “Moon over Agana.” The song was printed in a pamphlet that was written for customers of Guam businessman Earl Kloppenburg’s restaurant, Earl’s Hut. It is an interesting pamphlet because it describes everybody who was involved in the project. It notes that it was arranged by popular Filipino band leader Nick Abelardo, performed at the Universal Theater by Bill Muna’s band, and emceed by radio deejay Felix Crisostomo.³¹⁵ It noted that:

Moon over Agana, like all songs has come about as a result of the efforts of many folks---folks who live on our beautiful island, folks who love the charm and the tropical splendor reflected in the night scene and in the moon over Agana...³¹⁶

The song has little specific reference to Chamorro culture except the mention of “soft cathedral bells” and the geographical reference “dancing in the moonlight of Agana” with a women that the narrator happened to find “standing upon a shaded knell [knoll?].” The pamphlet also includes a Chamorro translation of the song and notes that “For those who can sing the Guamanian language version there is a special opportunity—the number of syllables is almost double and the song takes on a lilt with an entirely different mood.”³¹⁷

The song was apparently never recorded but the pamphlet nevertheless gave a sense of

³¹⁴ Lyrics in appendix

³¹⁵ Nick Abelardo was a Filipino music teachers and band leader who came to Guam around 1950. He came to be known as “Mister Music” and had instructed Chamorro musicians including Johnny Sablan, Jimmy Dee Flores, and Bill James. The Delgado Brothers, *Para Si Juan*(1975) liner notes. Abelardo was the son of Nicanor Abelardo from Bulacan in the Phillipines. Nicanor was recognized by Billboard Magazine as one of the Philippines’ finest composers. *Billboard*. July 27, 1963, 48.

³¹⁶ Don Mayo “A New Song for Guam” pamphlet advertising Earl’s Hut in Tamuning 1962

³¹⁷ Ibid.

the growing public sphere in the early 1960s, in which *kustumbren Chamorro* had no clear place.

A song recorded soon after Sablan recorded “Agat Town” was Bill James’ “Hafa Adai.”³¹⁸ It is probably the first song recorded that used the Chamorro language, although not as the primary language. In the spirit of the American “melting pot” the island’s three major ethnic groups are represented in the first verse, but the song is clearly directed at English speakers.

In America we say “How are you?”
In the Philippines, “Kumusta kayo?”
But back in Guam we simply say
hafa adai, hafa adai

The third verse is notable for its geographical orientation.

From Anderson, to Nimitz Hill
Way down Umatac Bay
Everyone, will surely say,
Hafa, hafa, hafa adai

The references to “Anderson Air Force Base” and “Nimitz Hill” which at the time was housing for the island’s highest ranking naval officers, as sites where “everyone will surely say hafa adai” is interesting because an uninformed listener might get the impression that Chamorro was spoken by military personnel stationed on Guam. In reality, if “hafa adai” was used by such individuals it was as a token greeting used much in the same way that a tourist to Hawaii might learn the word “aloha” but be completely unable to express him or herself in the Hawaiian language. Chamorro language is not central to the song except as a symbolic gesture. The song is an example of how the post-war “Guamanian” identity was beginning to replace *kustumbren Chamorro*.

³¹⁸ Johnny Sablan interview.

“Umatac Bay,” on the other hand, is a reference to a completely different type of society from the military housing communities. Umatac, a small isolated southern village with less than a thousand residents, was a place where virtually everyone was still fluent in Chamorro. For military personnel stationed at Anderson and Nimitz Hill, the bay was primarily known as a picturesque spot featured in guidebooks, and many would take the opportunity at least once during their stay to drive down and take picture of the “real” Guam.³¹⁹ The song is very much a tourist oriented song but it was written before Guam was a tourist destination. The intended audience was therefore the military and “Americanized” residents of northern Guam who appreciated the nostalgia for simpler times that Umatac Bay represented.³²⁰

Guamanian songs reflect what Keith Camacho has argued is a discourse of ‘militourism’ that has been pervasive in the way Guam has been presented in outsiders’ accounts of the island.³²¹ His review of the writings of military personnel and dependants in the early twentieth century reveals a consistent pattern in these outsiders’ descriptions in that they remained oblivious to the presence of Chamorro people or of *kustumbren Chamorro*. The emphasis instead is on the landscape, and aspects of the island which conform to expectations of a typical island stereotype.

Camacho demonstrated how such authors spoke from a position of power as representatives of the colonial military force, present on Guam not for the benefit of Chamorros, but because the island was strategic real estate. The social acceptability

³¹⁹ Umatac, while less isolated today, was the end of the road in southern Guam until a dirt road was cut by the Seabees (Naval construction battalion) in 1946 connecting it with Agat. This portion of what became a circle island road was not paved until 1961. (Rogers, 236). *In Guam Paradise Calls You “Hafa Adai”* 45 rpm record, Mariana Records, 1147 Iris Pl. Hayward California 94544) no date.

³²¹ Keith Camacho “Enframing Taotao Tano: Colonialism, Militarism and Tourism in Twentieth Century Guam” M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii at Manoa. 1998.

evident in the above popular “Guamanian songs” of the early 1960s reflects the degree to which Chamorros themselves, in the process of “Americanization,” began to view the island through an outsider’s perspective which erased the indigenous elements of their own society. Land and sea are viewed for their aesthetic properties rather than their productive capacity. The white sand of a beach for example becomes a valued quality whereas a mangrove swamp or a rocky coast, perhaps more abundant in food resources, becomes less valuable.

The emergence of Chamorro songwriters who adopted this view of the island suggests a profound cultural change. On the one hand, this can be understood as positive, and many did understand the changes to be positive. Whereas before going to the beach meant fishing and other strenuous work, a shift away from such life patterns towards imported foods meant that beaches could become places to simply lounge around, cool off or have a barbecue. Nevertheless, the long term implications of such a change suggest a developing pattern of dependence on resources that come from off island, whereas once there had been self-sufficiency. It was also a shift away from the cultural outlook that had defined Chamorros as a people for millennia.

CHAMORRO LANGUAGE SONGS IN POST-WAR GUAM

By the beginning of the 1960s it appeared that singing Chamorro language songs was a tradition that would fall victim to the march of progress but its decline in the public sphere belied the fact that it was still part of most Chamorro lives in some way or another. While youth might be singing Elvis at a talent show or doing the twist at the school dance, they were still participating in the various cultural obligations of *kustumbren Chamorro* where Chamorro music might still be heard. At *nobenas* for the

dead and for village patron saints, they would still sing in Chamorro. Also, event specific songs such as “*Nobia Kahulo*,” which was part of the *komplimento* in the traditional wedding ceremony, was still a part of some weddings. Whether or not a particular nuclear family spoke the language or carried on such traditions, the interconnected webs of reciprocal obligations meant that Chamorros were related to people all over the island in some way. Another occasion where Chamorro songs could be heard was during the Christmas season. Continuing the tradition established by Pale Roman de Vera in the 1920s, groups of singers would be part of the faithful who would bring the *niño* (a statue of baby Jesus) from door to door in village communities.

Judy Selk Flores, a statesider who moved to Guam as a young girl in the 1950s, grew up in the southern village of Inarajan and experienced *kustumbren Chamorro* traditions that were not radically different from what they were before the war. Almost everyone else in the village was Chamorro, so for her, “fitting in” as an adolescent, meant learning to speak Chamorro and she soon became a fluent speaker.³²² Flores recalled that *chamorritas* could often be heard in the streets, as people still spent much of their time outside their houses and used *chamorritas* to pass the time. Flora Baza recalled that as a young girl in Malessso during the 1950s, some people still thatched their roofs with coconut or *nipa* leaves, and so continued the tradition of roof thatching parties and its associated *chamorrита* singing.³²³

As in northern Guam, village life in the south included community events such as talent shows, plays, and sporting events. However, in southern villages, Chamorro language, and a greater familiarity with older traditions, gave such events a more

³²² Judy Flores, Interview with author.

³²³ Flora Baza interview

Chamorro feel. One individual who played a major role in carrying on older traditions was Inarajan songwriter Romeo Mantanona. Before the war, he had participated in putting plays together for the village's annual San Jose Fiesta and he started the practice up again after the war. One play that he was known for during the 1950s was a re-enactment of a traditional Chamorro wedding that included the *Amaga* chant.³²⁴ Connie Fejeran Garrido, who grew up in the 1950s, participated in many of these plays and recalled that the songs were in Chamorro.³²⁵ Malesso villager Peter Champaco explained that similar plays were put together by his uncle Juan Flores in his village of Malesso (Merizo).³²⁶ Flores' most well known play was one based on the 1952 Ernest Tubb hit "Missing in Action." The song was sung in Chamorro, and the kids acted out the story of a soldier captured by enemy forces.

Despite the perpetuation of older traditions in southern Guam, the twenty years after the war were times when older traditions eroded everywhere. In the south, as noted above, American country and western music remained more popular than in other parts of Guam, but this reflected Americanization just as much as the popularity of doo-wop, rock and roll and soul music did. Judy Flores, who grew up amidst this transition, distinctly recalled that with the arrival of television, the sound of women "throwing" *chamorritas* to their neighbors disappeared as women directed their attention toward soap operas instead.³²⁷ As old ways were displaced, the perpetuation of Chamorro music and language increasingly required a conscious decision to resist change.

³²⁴ Connie Garrido interview.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Peter Champaco, interview with the author. Malesso, Guam, 24 March 2008. "Malesso" is the official name for the village formerly known as "Merizo." The two terms are used interchangeably in English speech, and so is used by some interviewees in this dissertation. "Malesso" has always been more common in Chamorro speech.

³²⁷ Judy Flores. Interview with the author. Inarajan, Guam, 3 March, 2008.

While youth culture reflected a variation in tastes between northern and southern Guam, an equally important division in tastes was found between youth culture and older generations. Plenty of older Chamorros appreciated hearing Chamorro songs, but this reality was obscured in the public culture of the island. If people hired a band, they generally wanted something new and modern, so Chamorro musicians who hoped to make a living through music played American music. Joe Perez, who was mentioned earlier as a member of the popular 1960s teen group The Kaskells, recalled that while he never saw any point in singing Chamorro songs himself, his father Josephat Perez loved Chamorro songs. His father was an accomplished double bass player who began playing music before the war and continued to do so in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, playing jazz standards and popular dance music for local and military clubs.³²⁸ Requests for Chamorro songs were rare in his day job, but Joe Perez remembered that when his father was home in the evenings relaxing and drinking with his band mates and other friends, he would often begin to sing old Chamorro songs.³²⁹ Chamorro songs could be heard at parties as well, but usually at the end of parties when most of the guests were gone, and only family remained. At that point, usually after a considerable amount of alcohol, someone would start playing a guitar or ukulele and begin to sing.

Perhaps no phrase sums up the marginalization of Chamorro songs as well as the term “*kantan bulacho*” or drinking songs. The association between Chamorro songs and drinking was made repeatedly by interviewees in descriptions of the music of the 1950s and 1960s. During one interview, Jesus Charfauros started singing parts of pre-war favorites “*I Puti'on*” and “*Nobia Yangin para un Hanao*” and his brother Thomas

³²⁸ Jazz history of Guam.

³²⁹ Joe Perez interview.

remarked “oh yeah, in those days everybody knows those songs” and then Jesus chimed in “But they won’t sing it until they’re all drunk.”³³⁰ Alexandro Sablan, a popular recording artist from Saipan who grew up in the 1960s, remembered that while young people loved American music, Chamorro music was associated with “drunk old men who sang out of tune.”³³¹ Such singing included *chamorritas*, but as in pre-war Guam, people would make up words to go with any tune.

As in the pre-war era, the practice of basing new Chamorro songs on foreign melodies was common. Some maintained similar lyrics but adapted them to local experiences. Don Ho’s “Tiny Bubbles” [in the wine] became “*Lamlam Bo’an*” (shiny bubbles [in the *tuba*]). More common was the practice, also continued from before the war, of discarding the original lyrics entirely. In the case of “Baba na Tiempo” (Bad Times) someone made a Chamorro drinking song out of the classic American drinking song “Little Brown Jug.”³³² The Chamorro version, likely written in the 1960s, includes lyrics such as “out of milk, out of SPAM” and the plea “Where is the Red Cross and welfare?” The basic theme of the song is that father has become lazy, only drinks at the ranch, and cannot provide for his family. The lyrics suggest Chamorros were aware that the post-war lifestyle changes and the shift from economic autonomy to dependency had the society heading in the wrong direction. Most drinking songs went unrecorded and never got out of the backyard or outside kitchen, while other songs became part of the identities of particular villages. One such song was *Chatpago na Agat* (Ugly Person of Agat) a humorous song written by Agat villager Victor Charfauros-Cruz. While not everyone in the village of Agat appreciated the song, it can be understood as a way Cruz

³³⁰ Jesus and Tommy Charfauros interviews.

³³¹ Alexandro Sablan interview.

³³² Song is in the appendix.

was able to make fun of the way people in other parts of the island characterized his “backward” southern village.

Both pre-war and post-war songs could reflect suffering but a difference in the post-war period was the emergence of songs that reflected suffering caused specifically by the marginalization of *kustumbren Chamorro*. Many songs praised traditional mothers who struggled to support large families with meager resources. In addition to raising children, mothers usually kept track of finances as well as obligations of *chenchule* and *ika*, and the organization of large extended family events. Pre-war songs had honored mothers and reflected a great love for mothers, but they did not reflect hardship as they would after the war. Such songs included “*Si Nanan-Mami Magahet*” (Our Mother, Honestly), “*Si Nana Gi Familia*” (Mother of the Family), and “*Malango, si Nana*” (Mother is Sick). The most well-known of such songs, largely because it was later recorded by popular singer J.D. Crutch in the 1980s, is *Si Nanan Mami Magahet*. It includes the lines,

I gima’- mami dikiki,	Our house was small
Sa’t ti nahong salape	Because we didn’t have much money
Lao manomlat ham todú ni mañelu	But all of us siblings fit
Nanan-mami, gi hilo’ tano’	Our mother, on this earth
Si Yu’os Ma’ase’ put todú i bida-mu	Thank you for everything you did ³³³

“*Si Nana Gi Familia*,” (Mother of the Family) added insight that mothers, raised in the pre-war culture were somewhat out of place in the new world and did not conform to the image of motherhood that came through American television.

Ti bunita si nana-hu	My mother was not pretty
Ti u ma’ayek para la raina	They would not select her as a beauty queen
Lao bunita-ña si nana-hu	But my mother is more beautiful
Ki un blandi na Amerikana	Than an American blond

³³³ Gould *Chamorro Songbook*, 44.

Ti hachagi si nana-hu
I “latest styles” siha gi tenda
Lao listo i mudan mami
Masea pinat man malimenda

My mother never tried
The latest styles at the store
But we were always clothed
Even though our clothes were hand-me-
downs³³⁴

The prevalence of these types of songs in post-war Guam likely stemmed from a similar dynamic, and may in fact have been directly influenced by the proliferation of “mother praise” songs in the country music of the late 1940s and 1950s. Such songs “reaffirmed the system of values that defined the older rural society and virtually deified the woman who had been the moral cornerstone of that vanishing world.”³³⁵

Several songwriters stand out from this era who would have a significant impact on the development of the Chamorro music recording industry. Clotilde Gould had grown up on Guam during the 1930s and 1940s and did well enough in school to earn a scholarship to Barrett College of the Sacred Hearts in Lake Forest, Illinois.³³⁶ Returning to the island with a Bachelors degree in 1954, she began a career as a teacher. At twenty-four years of age, she married Ed Gould, a statesider who had been working on Guam.³³⁷ She left the island with her husband in 1958 for the United States where she resided for fifteen years before returning to Guam. While living in Kansas City and then later in Riverside and Hayward, California, she initially enjoyed the excitement of life in the United States but soon began to miss home. In California she became very active in the Chamorro community but found that she was,

³³⁴ Ibid. 12.

³³⁵ Bill Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin*, 75.

³³⁶ Laura Souder. *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam*, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1992), 136.

³³⁷ Ibid, 139.

Lonely in the States for myself and because my husband did not speak Chamorro and my daughter did not speak Chamorro. I had to find something to fill the gap, and one of those things is music. So I wrote a lot of Chamorro music.³³⁸

The songs Gould wrote often reflected a cultural consciousness that she had developed through her experience living away from Guam. More so perhaps than the many “drunk old men” who sang amongst friends, Gould wrote not just for the satisfaction of herself and her peers, but out of a desire to pass down Chamorro music to younger generations. Her love of *kustumbren Chamorro* is clear in her song “*Mambiha na Tiempo*” (The Old Ladies’ Time). The song reflected the daily activities of women who had grown up in the early twentieth century and older generations before them. The lyrics describe how older Chamorro women love to chew *betelnut* with lime, leaves, and tobacco, and how one should not criticize them because young people will be old one day and will want to be respected as well.³³⁹

Another Gould song is “*Ai na Pinikara*” (Oh She’s Such a Rascal), which is semi-autobiographical. As Gould explained to Laura Souder in *Daughters of the Island*, she had been like many young girls her age, active in the church because “it was the only legitimate locus of involvement for young unmarried girls.”³⁴⁰ She was president of the Sodality of Mary and active in the church choir but she noted that the song implies that it was not necessarily out of religious devotion. The song provides a unique perspective on the tensions between the strict *kustumbren Chamorro* courting practices and an increasingly liberal worldview.

One of the only groups of young Chamorros that came to be known for Chamorro songs was the Delgado Brothers, from the village of Agana Heights. Gus Delgado, the

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ Clotilde Gould. *Chamorro Songbook*, 52.

³⁴⁰ Laura Souder. *Daughters of the Island*, 137.

band's leader in the 1960s, was born right before World War II but his older brothers established the band in 1946.³⁴¹ For them it was natural to sing traditional Chamorro songs and they developed their own sound rooted not in country and western music but in the Spanish-influenced melodies and the *batsu* (waltz) beat that their parents had loved before the war.

Though they did not consider themselves a professional band during the 1950s, they stood out as one of the only younger groups to perform traditional Chamorro songs. In the 1960s, they began to play publicly at clubs like The Blue Lagoon in Tamuning. They did not play exclusively Chamorro language music but they were very familiar with the older styles because it had always been part of their repertoire. They were active both in singing for the church and in various events, such as weddings and village fiestas. They are a reminder that the marginalization of Chamorro music was a general trend, and not an all encompassing reality. For the Delgado Brothers, like many older musicians, their performances reflected a conservative view that saw value in maintaining a connection to the past but they did not consider themselves cultural activists.³⁴²

In the late 1950s, recording technology became available that allowed these older musicians to record songs on reel to reel tape. Joe Perez remembered that his father would often record their drinking/singing sessions for fun. Others like John Afjelle, Al San Agustin, and Wayne Benavente produced "garage recordings" which, despite the poor quality and the cumbersome reel to reel format, were loaned to friends and family and sometimes sent to relatives in the mainland United States.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Augusto Delgado, Interview by the author, Agana Heights, Guam, 28 February 2008.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Affordable reel to reel tape recorders became available on Guam in the late 1950s.

ROQUE MANTANONA AND CHAMORROS IN THE MILITARY

The story of Roque Mantanona, a Chamorro songwriter descended from a long line of singers and songwriters from Inarajan, provides tremendous insight into the experience of the generation of working-class Chamorros who found success through entering the United States military but always maintained rootedness in their cultural identity. Born in 1932, Mantanona was receiving his First Holy Communion on 8 December 1941 when Japanese planes attacked Guam. Like everyone in his generation, he experienced life hiding in the jungles from Japanese and life in American refugee camps. Mantanona fondly remembered that he and several of his friends got their first jobs at the Marine camp in Yona in 1944 washing clothes in exchange for C-rations.³⁴⁴ Like other Chamorros he wore military surplus boots and clothing. Later they would build homes with surplus lumber and drive surplus jeeps.

Many of Mantanona's role models were military men, from the Marines at the camp to his uncles who had joined the Navy before the war as mess attendants. The American G.I.s made an impression on young men during the war, whereas in other parts of the world, they reflected considerably more compassion than the anonymous high level military planners who made decisions about condemning lands and opposing the citizenship movement.³⁴⁵ Such relationships were understood by the United States military to be positive for their long term interests in the region.

The United States reported to the United Nations in 1947 that "the impact of war and the presence of thousands of American troops and civilians has had the effect of

³⁴⁴ Roque Mantanona interview.

³⁴⁵ Career Army man and Chamorro activist John Benavente fondly recalled that one of the first English phrases he learned as a refugee in 1944 was "hey G.I. you got chewing gum." Later in Vietnam, he would find the tables reversed and he was giving candy to Vietnamese children." (John Benavente, presentation in Michael Clement History of Guam class 1 April 2011)

more thoroughly Americanizing the population.”³⁴⁶ Mantanona was not privy to such information at the time, but it is unlikely that it would have changed his mind, after the brutality of Japanese rule. Describing his experience as an 18 year old still in high school because of the delay caused by the war, he explained that “About three weeks after President Harry Truman signed for U.S. citizenship for Guam, they told us we can join the Army. We just went right up to MARBO [Marianas-Bonins Command] base and joined.”³⁴⁷ While many Chamorros were drafted for the war, he recalls that MARBO was “crowded with young Chamorros that wanted to join.” His opinion was that,

We did it because we wanted to help. Because, I figure that those people came to Guam to help us. They didn't have to come. I'm not going to wait to be asked. If they need help, I'm going to help.³⁴⁸

While it is unlikely that he had any illusion that the United States was absolutely benevolent, he expressed a genuine appreciation for liberation, and it was clear that when he spoke of “they,” he was speaking not just of America’s projected image but of American soldiers whom he had personal connections to during the war. For Mantanona joining the military was a life changing adventure that he did not regret. He and his fellow recruits stopped by Hawaii on their way to basic training in California and, although he did not give details, he gave the sense that it was liberating: “Just imagine turning loose 83 young Chamorros that have never been out before.”³⁴⁹

Chamorros who fought in Korea maintained a special bond forged by their shared experiences under Japanese occupation at home as well as in the new battlefield. As

³⁴⁶ United States Navy Report to the United Nations on Guam and American Samoa, Washington D.C. Department of the Navy, 1947, 3. Cited in Robert Underwood, “American Education the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam” D, Ed. Dissertation. University of Southern California, 1987. 96.

³⁴⁷ Roque Mantanona interview. 9 Feb 2010

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

soldiers these Chamorro men excelled despite the discrimination faced by all non-white soldiers in the newly desegregated armed forces. Chamorros who went to Korea were accustomed to the discrimination under American and Japanese rule and they were also very familiar with war, having grown up in one. *Kustumbren Chamorro* also emphasized respect for authority figures and defined roles that came with age and class. Mantanona had little trouble adjusting to the Army. He quickly made corporal and became an anti-aircraft artillery squad leader in Korea. He then moved on to new duty stations in Washington and Japan.³⁵⁰ His fondest memories were from his participation on the Army boxing team, where he excelled and got the nickname “Rocky” Mantanona. He and fellow Korean War veterans Pete “Ping-pong Terlaje” and Jesse “the atomic Guam” Aguon took their experience back home where they helped develop the sport.

Mantanona came from a rural southern family of farmers and he never completed high school but the military experience eased the transition to adult life in post-war Guam. In addition to specific technical and leadership skills he acquired in the Army, he had a leg up in the civil service system which honored military service towards retirement and gave veterans hiring preference in numerous Government of Guam and on-base jobs. For Mantanona, being hired as a boiler man at Naval Hospital, a truck driver for the Air Force, and later at the Guam Department of Agriculture and the Department of Corrections was made easier because of the military service on his resume.

At the same time, Mantanona was not born an American citizen and he grew up rooted in the values of *kustumbren Chamorro*. As noted by scholars such as Robert Underwood, Chamorros who lived through World War II understood the experience as a

³⁵⁰ Aguon went the farthest becoming the Army flyweight champion. Boxing is one of several competitive sports in post-war Guam where military and civilians socialized.

Chamorro one. They were the ones who survived the experience, by relying on each other. As Chamorros had for generations, they were grounded in an identity that was autonomous from the colonizer.³⁵¹ Just as Mantanona was getting out of the Army in 1954, he wrote the song “*Bai Hanao Pai Gera*” (I am Going to War) commemorating the experience of Chamorros in Korea. While Mantanona’s loyalty to the United States is unquestioned, the song, like many Chamorros songs about war, suggests Chamorros understood the war as a “Chamorro experience.” The lyrics clearly praise Chamorro soldiers who went off to fight for “their land” (*tano’-niha*) but there is no direct reference to the United States.

Saluda Chamoru eyu i mansuette ni manmatto Saluda ya ta hahasso siha I manmatai guihi para u fanlibre Sa manmatai put i tano-niha	Salute the Chamorros that are lucky to return Salute and remember those Who died there to make you free because they died for their land
I Chamorron Guam giya Korea I Chamorron Guam giya Korea	the Chamorros from Guam in Korea the Chamorros from Guam in Korea ³⁵²

Like songs of departure from earlier eras, the emphasis is on the hardship, the fear, and the sense of loss experienced by people who are unsure if they will ever see their loved ones again.³⁵³ For Chamorros like Mantanona, who grew up in the traditions of pre-war Guam, music was part of everyday life, and singing in Chamorro came naturally. In Korea, when he had the chance, he met up with other Chamorros from Guam to play music and sing. Many Chamorros who joined the military found similar pleasure in singing songs from home when they were away from home. While Mantanona

³⁵¹ See Robert Underwood, “Red Whitewash and Blue: Painting over the Chamorro Experience,” in *Islander*, 7 July 1977, 6-8.

³⁵² Ed Taimanglo Ed Taimanglo. *Ai Yu’us*. Stel Star Productions, n.d.

³⁵³ Song is included in the appendix.

returned home to a career on Guam, large numbers of Chamorros signed on for careers in the military that would keep them away from home for much of their adult lives, if they returned at all. But Chamorro music would continue to be a link to home.

Although Mantanona was a veteran of Korea, the war that played the largest role in shaping the lives of his generation would always be World War II. One song he learned from his uncle Romeo Mantanona, “*Estorian Gera*,” described Japanese brutality at Alaguac.³⁵⁴ For Mantanona, World War II would never cease to be at the center of his thoughts when he sat down to write songs that drew from life experiences. In 1984, for example he wrote the song “*Tiempon Gera*” about 8 December 1941, when he and family members ran out the church into the jungle when the bombs started dropping on Guam.³⁵⁵ The song describes how he and his family grabbed breadfruit and yams and ran for their lives and then goes on to describe suffering under Japanese rule and the return of the Americans.³⁵⁶

THE CHARFAUROS BROTHERS AND SUBALTERN PROTEST

While the credit for truly bridging the gap between Chamorro music and the popular music of the island should be reserved for Johnny Sablan and his late 1960s albums, it is arguable that the ideological underpinnings of Chamorro music as it came to exist in the 1970s were laid out by the Charfauros Brothers beginning in the early 1960s. While the practice of men singing songs about heartbreak around a beer cooler had ambiguous cultural implications, the Charfauros brothers had a very clear purpose. The band was made up of Ignacio “Ike” Charfauros, Thomas “Tommy” Charfauros, and

³⁵⁴ Roque Manatanona. Interview with the author. Mangilao, Guam. 9 February, 2010.

³⁵⁵ At the time, the Catholic Church only offered First Holy Communion on December 8, which is the feast of the island’s patron saint, Our Lady of Camalin, so Mantanona’s experience was shared with many of his peers born in the early 1930s.

³⁵⁶ Eric Palacios, www.guampdn.com/guampublishing/special-sections/liberation/pg.4.asp.

Victor Charfauros Cruz, while the “heart and soul” of the band was undoubtedly Jesus, their older brother who wrote their songs.³⁵⁷ According to Victor Cruz, the purpose of the Charfauros Brothers from the outset was “to preserve the Chamorro language and culture.”

As mentioned earlier, Ike and Victor had already developed a reputation for singing tight harmonies as elementary school students in the Agat Kiddies. In 1959, Tommy joined them and formed the Charfauros Brothers. Their family roots in Chamorro music were deep and included a grandmother who was known island wide and in the northern Marianas as an expert *chamorrita* singer.³⁵⁸ As noted in Chapter Two, Jesus Charfauros had developed a strong connection to Chamorro music during the war that came from listening to his parents and other older relatives sing *chamorritas* and other old songs as they farmed in the hills above Agat where they moved in order to get as far away from the Japanese as possible.

Although he began school before the war, the war interrupted his education and he entered the post-war school system with limited English language proficiency. He preferred to speak Chamorro and he was often fined by the school as a result. His mother only spoke Chamorro but she did not appreciate the bills so he received so many beatings following the repeated fines. His outlook on life was also shaped by experiencing discrimination from American military police who patrolled Agat after the war and restricted him and his friends from their favorite swimming and fishing beaches.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ Victor Charfauros Cruz is technically a “double first cousin” of the rest of the group, but they were all raised in the same household and identified as brothers.

³⁵⁸ Victor Cruz, interview by the author. Agat, Guam, 6 July, 2011.

³⁵⁹ Jesus Charfauros, interview by the author. Chalan Pago, Guam, 12 September, 2007.

While many Chamorros looked past similar offenses, Jesus channeled his feelings of injustice into a pride in his language and culture, which he would cultivate in the younger members of his family. It was not too difficult since they all had similar experiences. Going to school in the 1950s, Ike remembers signs outside of the administration building that said “ALL TRANSACTIONS MUST BE IN ENGLISH.” Ironically, Ike recalled that “they even wrote it in Chamorro so people would understand.” He also had a run-in with an American school teacher, who like many others had been recruited from the U.S. mainland in the 1950s and was very clear about the inherent value of her own world view.

I had a stateside teacher, this lady. She said things like ‘Oh back in the states we do this, back in the states this, that, everything’ and you know I got tired of this and I stood my ground and I said ‘Why don’t we start something that’s here? This back in the states is getting on my nerves.’ You know it’s just an instinct in me, just an automatic feeling that came out. They took me to the principal. They called my parents in. I got whacked. I was tired of speaking Chamorro and then going in to school and having this Chamorro person yelling ‘SPEAK ENGLISH.’ You know, *laña*, I hated that. I hated it when I was a kid growing up and even up to now every time I think about it, it’s just like an old wound that bleeds again.³⁶⁰

The boys had started singing Chamorro songs in the 1950s, but as they got older, their mother discouraged them. Music in general was not seen as a promising career, but Chamorro music in particular was frowned upon because of its association with drunkenness. For youth to be involved in Chamorro music was essentially deviant behavior because it went against the norms of society of the time. But the Charfauros Brothers were passionate and they were talented. When Jesus returned to Guam in 1960 from three years of Army service at Schofield Barracks in Hawaii he convinced his mother that his brothers had real talent and began to write songs for them in the

³⁶⁰ Ignacio Charfauros, interview by the author, Chalan Pago. 12 September 2007.

Chamorro language. Some of the early songs were translations of American hits, most were originals. Ike was tasked with writing most of the music and developed a unique sound characterized by ballads with tight harmonies along with upbeat cha-cha, rock and roll, and sounds from earlier generations. They tended to stay away from country and western which was at the time the most popular music on the island. The sound they developed was more popular among older generations than it was among their peers.

The band's first performance, at a 1960 fiesta in a northern village, was a bit rocky. Going up after two other bands that were playing Elvis songs, the audience was not in the mood to hear traditional songs and they received many boos. The rejection was generally from kids their age, who could not fathom why their peers would want to sing in the Chamorro language. These types of receptions continued in their early performances, but there were also plenty of people who appreciated what the Charfauros Brothers were doing and they soon found a niche as the "go to" band for people who wanted to have Chamorro music. The Charfauros Brothers would often be hired to sing at *komplimentos*, for people who still wanted traditional wedding ceremonies, and they soon became major attraction at events such as the Merizo Water Festival and at fiestas throughout the island.³⁶¹ Johnny Sablan recalled that in the 1960s "when you want Chamorro music, that's who you call. If you want to listen to modern music, you listen to younger bands like us."³⁶²

One venue in particular where the Charfauros Brothers really established island wide recognition was at political rallies.³⁶³ Chamorros had only been participating in

³⁶¹ Thomas Charfauros Interview, interview by the author. Chalan Pago, Guam, 28 May 2008.

³⁶² Johnny Sablan, interview by the author. Asan, Guam, 17 June 2010.

³⁶³ Even before the formation of the "Charfauros Brothers" Ike and Victor performed as a duet at rallies in the late 1950s.

democracy since 1950 and in the 1960s were still not voting for governor, but the twenty-one legislative seats were heavily contested.³⁶⁴ This was particularly true after 1956 with the formation of the Territorial Party which challenged the Popular Party for the first time.³⁶⁵ Rallies, called “mass meetings” could last from six in the evening until six in the morning and would draw thousands of people. Food and entertainment was provided to insure that attendees would stay as long as possible and while most entertainment would be provided by the popular English language bands, the Charfauros Brothers soon became commonplace at such events.

Politics then as today was an adults’ game, and during the 1960s most people over thirty years old were more comfortable speaking Chamorro than English. Jesus Charfauros explained that “Back then [the language] was strictly Chamorro, about 99 percent of the people understood and spoke the Chamorro language so it’s useless to go up on stage and start preaching in English. Many people would not catch it. So it was strictly a Chamorro language thing at political meetings.”³⁶⁶ One contrast between generations is that while Chamorro teachers scolded and fined students for speaking Chamorro at school and encouraged them to join “English speaking clubs,” debates in the Guam Legislature between 1950 and 1962 still took place in the Chamorro language.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁴ The Organic Act established the Government of Guam in 1950. This established the Guam Legislature but the governor remained appointed. The Elected Governor Act was passed in 1968 and the first gubernatorial election took place in 1970.

³⁶⁵ The Popular Party dominated politics on Guam in the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1960, it became affiliated with the Democratic Party in the United States and changed its name. Democrats on Guam have always advertised themselves as the party the grassroots/working class. However, political affiliations on Guam would come to be based less on key issues than on securing the support of large extended families that would vote in blocks. These alliances could divide families and lead to divorces and the defeat of one’s’ candidate led some people to leave the island. The extended family system meant that the same pool of resources that was accessed for large events such as fiestas could also be used to secure votes and put together large campaign rallies that came to be known as “mass meetings”.

³⁶⁶ Jesus Charfauros interview.

³⁶⁷ Notes from Robert Underwood, History of Guam course, Spring 2008.

During these years the Charfauros Brothers association with the Popular Party and later the Democratic Party led Jesus to write campaign songs which the band would perform. The most popular one was a standard that listed the party's slate of candidates, changing each election with new rhymes added. During an interview Thomas sang what he could remember from the 1962 version. "*Si candidato Won Pat senores, chinitu, Ben Bamba, ni u Flores, gi botu-mu, bota democrats, bota talo si Torres, bota si Ramirez, yan Bamba kantanes para u kabales.*" During the 1960s, other Chamorro singers who were generally older than the Charfauros Brothers began to participate in mass meeting performances as well. One of the most remembered campaign songs of the era was Larry Saralu's version of Elvis Presley's "Teddy Bear" for Manuel's 1970 gubernatorial campaign. The song was used because he shared a physical resemblance to the popular stuffed toy.

The Charfauros Brothers throughout the 1960s would make a career out of playing for audiences that were generally much older than themselves, but their growing exposure, which dovetailed with other changes that were happening on Guam and in the world, began to legitimize the idea of playing Chamorro music in public. By the middle of the 1960s, there were a few others who would join them but all remember that it was a struggle. Connie Garrido, from Inarajan, had mostly sung English as a young teen unless performing in a play for her uncle Romeo Mantanona. She liked to sing in Chamorro, though, and would join the Charfauros Brothers at political rallies and other events where they performed. She remembered that older people were impressed with her singing but

when she sang for younger crowds in the north, she felt “It’s like, they don’t care...they look at you like ‘Why do you want to sing Chamorro songs?’”³⁶⁸

In light of the marginalization of Chamorro language that was apparent in post-war Guam society, Jesus Charfauros wrote the song “*Munga yo’ Ma Fino Englesi*” (Don’t Speak to Me in English) in the mid 1960s. The song stated explicitly what Jesus saw as the core message behind the practice of singing songs in the Chamorro language. In the process he arguably established Chamorro music as a format for “protest,” defined by Hempenstall and Rutherford as “positive action to bring about change in a system.”³⁶⁹ At the same time, like all Chamorro songs, it was not directed at the colonial government who could not understand the lyrics. It was therefore a subaltern form of protest, directed at Chamorro language speakers. The song outlined many themes that would remain central to Chamorro language music for decades. Most notably, the survival of the language and the *kustumbren Chamorro* heritage went hand in hand, and the loss of language was already leading to a social breakdown.

Munga Yo’ Mafino’ Englesi

Chorus

Munga yo’ ma fino’ Englesi
Ke lao hafa hinasso-mu?
Malago’ hao umotro klasi
Lao Chamorro i rasa-mu

Don’t speak to me in English
So what are you thinking?
You want to be something else
But your race is Chamorro

Si nana-mu sen Chamorro
Si tata-mu tuma’lo
Hafa na para nu Amerikanu
Kao o’son hao nu hagu

Your mother is very Chamorro
Your father is too
Why are you going to be American?
Are you tired of who you are?

I palabra an un pronunsia

The way you pronounce words

³⁶⁸ Connie Fejeran Garrido, interview by the author. Inarajan, Guam, 4 March 2009.

³⁶⁹ Peter Hempenstall and Noel Rutherford, *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific* (Apia: USP, 1984), 2.

Un usa i banida
Nisisita un ripara
Hayi un ke'ke' fa'baba

You are being a show-off
You need to realize
who are you trying to fool?

Chorus

I patgon-ta para u fino' Engles fine'nena
Yan u ma'pos siempre pa chatgi
Sa ti ha tungo i lenguiha-ña

Our child is going to speak English first
And when it is gone, he will be laughed at
Because he won't know his language

Ombre mismo fino' Chamorro
Guaha hit na ha eskarin
Hafa i fino' Amerikanu?
Muchumas ha' a'apleng

well even if our Chamorro is perfect
to some we are still a joke
So what about the English language?
Even more so, we don't speak it correctly

I tiningo' i antigu
Sigi tengnga u chatgi
Un fa'na'gue i patgon nuebu
Despues hao u embebeste

the knowledge of our ancestors
surely they will laugh at it
you teach the kids the modern ways
then they will talk back to you

Hagu nu i mumalago'
Na un ma "Americanize"
O halara ya un komprende
Na ti hagu apas nai

you are the one that wants
them to Americanize
oh how I wish that you would understand
that you are not the one that will pay for it

Chorus

Ginen un tiempo gi tano'-hu
I gualo' abundunsia
Annai nina'yi hao ni gago'-mu
Un lancho-mu un abandona

at one time on my island
the farms were productive
when you became lazy
you abandoned your ranch

Todu i para un ngnangas
Un inkatga ginen lagu
Kulan mohon ahe' ti hagas
Mambumuchachu i mañaina-mu

everything that you eat
you order from the states
it seems like it wasn't long ago
your parents were hard workers

Hagas hao ha' ga'fina'denne'
Hagas hao ha' ga' chotda'
Pa'go para un tinattiyi
Ya ensigidas dumespresiha

you always loved fina'denne'
you always loved banana
now you are following (the American ways)
and suddenly you despise (the Chamorro
ways)

Desde ki un falagui
I kustumbren i Englis

ever since you went to get
the American customs

Ai sa' taya' esta pugas
Basta esta I batatas

oh well, because there is already no rice
never mind already, we have potatoes³⁷⁰

The whole song establishes connections between Chamorro language and other aspects of *kustumbren Chamorro* such as respect for authority and agricultural subsistence, but, the fourth verse stands out for the frustration that Charfauros felt while writing the song. It explains that even while criticizing fellow Chamorros for abandoning the language, it is clear that the benefits of speaking Chamorro are unclear in the new society that was emerging. Pride in speaking Chamorro well did not get you ahead in life. At the same time, Chamorros were not speaking English as well as Americans who came from the mainland and they were becoming incompetent in both languages.

ALAN SEKT AND TALENT ON PARADE

Much of the energy surrounding the island's youth music scene was channeled by a car salesman named Alan Sekt who launched a television show called Talent on Parade in 1962, which was broadcast live on KUAM television throughout the 1960s.³⁷¹ On nights when there was filming, acts from throughout the island would be invited to come down and perform. Everyone was invited to show what they could do and among the diverse acts that made it on the show were comedians and even a ventriloquist, but most of the performers were musicians. All that was required was that you showed up and got in line. In most cases, people got the chance to sing one song per night so more performers could go up. Usually airing on Monday or Tuesday evenings, the show was a staple for Chamorro families who would gather around the television to watch the island's talented young musicians in between advertisements for Studebakers.

³⁷⁰ Johnny Sablan, *My Chamorrans*, Hafa Adai Records, 1970.

³⁷¹ The show went off the air for over a year after Typhoon Karen hit the island. At some point in the mid-1960s, the name was changed to the Alan Sekt Show.

The music heard on the Talent on Parade show, reflected the importance of music in the culture of the island, as well as the diversity of the island. While the show featured some complete bands, a usual act consisted of an individual singer or a small group in which someone played a guitar or ukulele. Chamorros came from every village but it was also a place where military dependants and Filipino laborers could also get up and show what they could do. Ike Charfauros remembers that one of the best acts was a vocal harmony group made up of two Filipino men from one of the labor camps who sang perfectly except for their accent. He noted that they were known for a song with a line that went “kissing, kissing, kissing you” but pronounced it “kitching” which in Chamorro slang means to have sexual intercourse, and this caused a lot of laughs for people watching in their homes.³⁷²

The Alan Sekt Show would also provide the first island-wide platform for Chamorro language music when it began to regularly feature the Charfauros Brothers. While they had not been particularly popular among the youth culture of the island, the audience for Alan Sekt Show included entire families and the Charfauros Brothers were clearly among the most popular acts. Alan Sekt’s assistant was an older Chamorro musician named Joe Taimanglo who was a fan of the Charfauros Brothers and would bump them to the front of the line whenever they showed up at the station. With the establishment of the Charfauros Brothers as a known musical act, other Chamorro artists would also perform on the show, which would briefly go off the air in 1963 and then return for the rest of the mid-1960s. Even in the mid-1960s however, the stigma associated with Chamorro music was not entirely erased. Several people remarked that they remembered that when Chamorro acts would come on television, they would laugh

³⁷² Ignacio Charfauros interview.

because the idea of singing in Chamorro still seemed out of place for the more Americanized youth. By putting the Charfauros Brothers on the air, however, the show gave a type of exposure to Chamorro songs that had not existed in the 1950s and in the process carved out a place for Chamorro songs in the island's popular culture.

Ike Charfauros distinctly remembered an incident while walking in the hallway of George Washington High School where he overheard a couple having a debate about the band. He remembered that a boy began to joke about how the Charfauros brothers sang in Chamorro, and then to Ike's surprise, the girl replied "Hey knock it off because those guys are good. I don't care how they do it but at least they're doing it in their own language. They're proud of being Chamorro."³⁷³ The exchange pointed to a shift in consciousness among Chamorros during the 1960s. While broad based support for Chamorro language and culture would not become evident until the 1970s, the Charfauros Brothers played an important role in these early years.

CONCLUSION

The period between the end of World War II and the mid 1960s was a time when *kustumbren Chamorro* still structured people's daily lives on Guam, but it was also a time when Chamorro culture was becoming increasingly marginalized in the larger society that was developing on Guam. Modernization along the American model looked to be the pathway to the future. The image of Guam as an American society and the popularity of American music obscured the reality that older generations perpetuated older musical traditions and continued to sing songs in the Chamorro language. By the middle of the 1960s, some Chamorros were beginning to question the way Americanization had been embraced at the expense of *kustumbren Chamorro*. Music

³⁷³ Ignacio Charfauros interview.

would play a significant role in this shifting sensibility. By the middle of the 1960s the Charfauros Brothers could be seen on television, at fiestas and at other festive events associated with *kustumbren Chamorro*. However, while they made a small impact on youth culture, their primary audience was still older Chamorros.

CHAPTER 4
JOHNNY SABLAN AND THE BIRTH OF
THE RECORDING INDUSTRY

Guam, like so many of the South Pacific Islands, has been losing its musical identity. Since the Americans routed the Japanese during the Second World War the heritage of generations, Chamorro music, has been slowly giving way to the music of the Beatles and American soul music. If I can restore this heritage and help it to continue to live then I will be the happiest Chamorro alive.

Johnny Sablan, *My Marianas* liner notes, 1969

By the middle of the 1960s, the Cold War culture of conformity which had dominated the United States in the early post-world war era had been challenged by the civil rights movement and the development of a counter-culture that would question all aspects of the long entrenched power structure. A central issue during the second half of the decade and the beginning of the 1970s was the Vietnam War. The questionable premise on which the United States became involved in the conflict; the brutality of war, which was televised for all to see; and the embarrassing inability of the United States to “win” the war became the focus of a national identity crisis. During these years the nation divided. On one side was a vocal liberal opposition that learned to use the media to get its message out. Many other Americans, who would later be categorized as the “silent majority,” were wary of the radical changes that were occurring,³⁷⁴ These individuals were less vocal but they largely supported of the conservative white power structure and upheld the belief that in the context of the Cold War, containment of communism justified American involvement in the war regardless of cost.

³⁷⁴ See David Farber. “The Silent Majority” *The Sixties: From History to Memory*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) 298.

Internationally, the post-World War II process of decolonization transformed the map of the world from one of imperial powers and colonies to one increasingly composed of independent nation-states. In 1962, Western Samoa became the first Pacific colony to gain independence and by the end of the decade, plans for the decolonization of the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands were beginning. The parallel processes of political decolonization and the domestic civil rights movement led to the elevation of numerous ethnic identities, as could be seen in the emergence of the Chicano “Brown Power” movement and the Hawaiian Renaissance at the beginning of the 1970s. In Guam, Chamorros were influenced by this global shift. They could see that as their language and culture eroded, numerous social problems emerged. Chamorros also realized that lax federal immigration policies, over which under the Organic Act they had no control, were making them a minority in their homeland.

The combined effect of these changes was that the stigma attached to indigenous identity gave way to an elevation of indigenous identity that became increasingly visible at the end of the 1960s. By the mid-1960s the policies restricting Chamorro language in schools were lifted, and in 1965 the Chamorro Language Commission was established with the goal of standardizing the language.³⁷⁵ In 1968, the first “Chamorro Week” was celebrated in a Guam public high school. The Catholic Church established the Chamorro Liturgical Commission to create the first Chamorro language mass.³⁷⁶ During the first

³⁷⁵ Despite the official support for language, the commission made little immediate impact. The Language Commission did not standardize Chamorro orthography until 1983 and was not able to complete a dictionary before being disbanded in 1999.(Gina E. Taitano, ' Kumision I Fino' Chamorro/Chamorro Language Commission', referenced June 27, 2011, © 2009 Guampedia™, URL: <http://guampedia.com/kumision-i-fino%e2%80%99-chamorrochamorro-language-commission/>)

³⁷⁶ This was made possible by the early 1960s Vatican II Ecumenical Council that encouraged the shift to vernacular languages in the Catholic Mass. However, at this point the church on Guam could have simply switched to English. That they didn't suggests Chamorro agency in the shift, as well as a recognition that the fate of the Catholic Church on Guam and *kustumbren Chamorro* went hand in hand. Thomas McGrath.,

years of the 1970s, federal funding for bilingual education allowed for the development of Chamorro language educational resources.³⁷⁷

Chamorro political leaders were beginning to express dissatisfaction over the direction of changes on Guam and were by re-examining Guam's relationship with the United States. In 1968, Guam Senator Richard Taitano initiated the first Guam Constitutional Convention. The convention did not produce a constitution but it brought island leaders together to discuss problems with the Organic Act and marked the beginning of a formal re-evaluation of the Guam's political status and governmental organization. Guam's first gubernatorial election in 1970 saw the issue of immigration raised publicly for the first time, by Joaquin Arriola, who campaigned against Filipino immigration.

Between 1969 and 1973, considerable controversy developed when Guam Senator Paul Bordallo led a coalition of local and stateside interests against Navy plans to acquire an additional three percent of the island's landmass for the construction of an ammunition wharf at Sella Bay on Guam's pristine southwest coast. The drawn out conflict became a platform for Bordallo and others to raise awareness of inequalities in the Guam/federal

"Conservation of Indigenous Cultural Heritage in Guam and Micronesia: A Partial Survey" in *Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology*, vol. 3no. 2, 1972, 189-196. For the perspective of Archbishop Anthony Apuron on the continued development of the Catholic Liturgical Commission in the mid-1970s see Most Rev. Anthony Sablan Apuron, OFM Cap., D.D., "The Role the Church Played in Helping to Preserve the Chamorro Language and Culture" (Talk given at the Marianas Ballroom, Hilton Hotel, Tumon, Guam, 1 April, 1996.) Apuron like many Chamorros had been punished as a child for speaking his language.

see Sister Joanne Poehlman "Cultural Change and Identity among Chamorro Women of Guam" M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota, 1979.

³⁷⁷ It is ironic that the bilingual education program became a vehicle for the perpetuation of Chamorro language through the development of school materials. The intent of the program was in fact to assimilate Chamorro speakers to English. Nevertheless, it did not do much to stem the decline of the Chamorro language. Underwood notes that the underlying logic of the program was its fatal flaw since it placed Chamorro language alongside other "minority" languages, instead of elevating it to a priority in the school system. See Robert Underwood "Education and Chamorro Identity in Guam," *Ethnies vol. 4*. Spring 1989, 36-40. Also see Vivian Dames' discussion in "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam, Ph.D. dissertation. The University of Michigan, 2000. 512.

relationship and brought the lingering issue of post-war land condemnations back into the public debate. As noted by Stade, the controversy also marked the introduction of “world cultural models” such as “indigeneity,” “self-determination,” and “environmentalism” into the local political discourse.³⁷⁸

For the most part this shift in public discourse and perception of the United States was overshadowed by the Vietnam War. In 1965, Anderson Air Force Base became home to the Third Air Division and B-52 squadrons began the first of thousands of bombing runs from Guam. In 1969, the Third Division was elevated to the Eighth Air Force in line with President Richard Nixon’s “Guam Doctrine,” which called for a decrease in American ground troops in Vietnam, yet expanded Guam’s role in the war. The increased troop presence and the ubiquitous “bomb trucks” that clogged Guam’s roadways caused considerable inconveniences but Chamorros remained supportive of the war effort.³⁷⁹ The only vocal, local opposition to the war was from a few stateside contract teachers. A former Navy captain recalled that this group tried to block a bomb truck and was accosted by young Chamorro men for being disrespectful to the military.³⁸⁰ Rose Franquez, a Chamorro woman who had a strong sense of the importance of the Chamorro language and culture, nevertheless recalled that her attitude did not translate into a desire to criticize the military.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ Ronald Stade, *Pacific Passages: World Culture and Local Politics in Guam*. (Stockholm: Gotab, 1998), 177. Also see, Michael Clement, “The Sella Bay Ammunition Wharf Controversy: Economic Development, Indigenous Rights and Colonialism in Guam, M.A. thesis, University of Guam, 2002.

³⁷⁹ Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 243. The most intense period of bombing for Guam was the “Christmas bombing” in December of 1972 when 162 B-52s stationed at Anderson took off around the clock for two weeks for a sustained attack on North Vietnam.

³⁸⁰ Richard Whittenbach-Santos, interview by the author, Mangilao, Guam, 2 February 2002.

³⁸¹ In 1966, *Guam Daily News* editor Joe Murphy wrote an article criticizing Chamorros who still spoke the Chamorro language to their children. Rose Franquez, at the time a 16 year old student at the elite all girls Catholic high school, Academy of Our Lady of Guam responded. Murphy’s letter infuriated her and she wrote a passionate rebuttal in defense of the Chamorro language. She stood out as the only person,

I do remember these protests, but we weren't supporting it. We just thought they were crazy haoles. 'Go back to the States, if you don't want Uncle Sam here.' You know? Go somewhere else and protest, not here.³⁸²

Partly, this reaction is based on the economic dependence of the local economy on the military. The Vietnam War meant increased tax revenues, more civil service positions for Chamorros on the bases, and a boost to the burgeoning tourist industry.³⁸³ Even more significant was the personal stake Chamorros had in the war. Chamorro men enlisted at the highest per capita rate of any state or territory. In 1971, 3,270 Chamorros were reported to be on active duty in the armed services.³⁸⁴ In total, seventy-two Guam residents were killed in Vietnam, nearly all of whom were Chamorro, despite the fact that Chamorros only accounted for fifty-six percent of Guam's 84,996 residents in 1970.³⁸⁵

The Chamorro community demonstrated support for both local and American military personnel. It was not uncommon for soldiers stationed in Guam to be invited to village fiestas, while some Chamorro families put on events specifically for American soldiers.³⁸⁶ Cecilia Bamba recalled that during the 1960s, her family put together "a Thanksgiving dinner event in the ball field and we invited the Vietnam wounded and the B-52 crews too. That's our way of showing them that we appreciated their going through

Chamorro or otherwise to rebut Murphy's article. See Joe Murpy "The Language Barrier on Guam is Serious" in *The Territorial Sun* 9 October 1966, 4. and Rose Franquez Brown "Chamorro Column Creates Controversy" *Guam Daily News* 12 October 1966, 5.

³⁸² Rose Franquez Brown, interview by the author. Mangilao, Guam, 19 December 2007.

³⁸³ Section 30 of the Organic Act of Guam requires that all Federal income tax paid by temporary residents of Guam goes to the Government of Guam. During the Vietnam Era, there were approximately 10,000 to 30,000 additional residents on the island depending on the year. (Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 248.

³⁸⁴ Leland Bettis. "Colonial Immigration in Guam" *Kinalamten Pulitikat: Sinenten I Chamorro*, (Hagatña: PSECC, 1996), 110.

³⁸⁵ Lee Carter, "The Demographic Modernization of Guam: 1950-1970"

³⁸⁶ Eloy Reyes, interview by the author, Talofoto, Guam, 3 April 2008.

hell to keep our country free.”³⁸⁷ Rose Franquez Brown remembered that in high school, “we used to go down as volunteers to help write letters...for the amputees.”³⁸⁸

As the world was decolonizing, Guam in the 1960s appeared to be the model of a patriotic American community that seemed to have more in common with the white conservative “silent majority” of America’s heartland than with the New Left. At the same time, although not reflected in public discourse, many Chamorros remained rooted in *kustumbren Chamorro* values that clashed with both liberal and conservative American values in various ways. The language was declining among the youth, and certain traditions were incompatible with modern realities, but Chamorros still organized their lives around church and extended family and the web of reciprocal obligations that bound them as a distinct community. They recognized that issues of language and culture were interconnected and that modernity was threatening the perpetuation of their identity as a distinct people. Understanding this reality however was much easier than finding the time, in their new busy lifestyle, to stem the decline of Chamorro language, traditions and values. It is in this context that Johnny Sablan embarked on a quest to find his identity through music, and in the process, established a modern musical identity for Guam.

DALAI NENE

Between 1968 and 1971, Johnny Sablan recorded four albums that fundamentally changed the role of Chamorro music in society. When looked at from the perspective of the mid-1960s, it becomes clear that the birth of the Chamorro music recording industry was anything but inevitable. As noted, the groundwork for the resurgent popularity of Chamorro music was laid by the Charfauros Brothers, the Delgado Brothers, and a few

³⁸⁷ Laura Souder. *Daughters of the Island*, 101.

³⁸⁸ Rose Franquez Brown, interview by the author, Mangilao Guam, 19 December 2007.

other acts through appearances on *The Alan Sekt Show* and at public events, but for the most part, these pioneers did little to change the overall perception of Chamorro music in the youth culture.

There was also little infrastructure to support the development of the music. Chamorro music, ironically both because it was Chamorro and because it was so clearly influenced by western music, was not considered an indigenous “art” that might be supported in the public school system or other government organizations. There was also little sense that young Chamorro musicians should pursue Chamorro music as a career because there was no clear connection between the music and economic opportunity. There were also no professional recording studios on the island or production facilities where commercial Chamorro records could be made and no clear commercial value in investing in a trip off island to make a record. Recorded Chamorro music that existed was in the form of poor quality reel-to-reel “garage” recordings that were shared among friends and family. In comparison to the heavily marketed, professionally produced American popular music of the time, Chamorro music retained a stigma of being associated with the past.

Sablan was, paradoxically, both one of the most unlikely people to lead the resurgence of Chamorro music and one of the few people in a position to do so. As noted in Chapter Three, he left the island in 1960 as a twelve year old and pursued a career as an American pop-star. He returned to Guam during his junior year in high school and fell right in with friends in the island’s thriving rock and roll scene. There he played with a band called the Continentals with John Sarmiento, and other friends from Agat’s neighboring village of Santa Rita. He also performed on *The Alan Sekt Show* during those

years but at the time, in 1964 and 1965, he was still playing English songs. If he had remained on Guam after high school, there is little reason to believe that he would have pursued Chamorro music because in the youth culture of the time, it simply was not cool.

Instead, he moved back to California to attend Monterey Junior College in the fall of 1965. While he was raised as most Chamorros at the time to emulate American culture, Monterey, California was a region of the country that was much more open to the shifting cultural sensibilities of the era. At Monterey, he began to identify more with his Chamorro heritage and he joined the school's international relations club. In the club he learned the songs and dances of Filipinos, Hawaiians, Greeks, and Mexicans.³⁸⁹ When classmates asked him to sing songs from his home he could not. For any Chamorro at the time, this perhaps would have led to some kind of raised self-awareness but for Sablan, the most successful Chamorro musician of his generation, the idea that he could not perform the music of his homeland affected him deeply.

In Guam, Chamorro cultural knowledge was not equated with success in the modern world, but outside of Guam, this attitude towards one's culture was becoming an anomaly. Sablan cites this experience as the moment that he began to experience a prolonged identity crisis which he resolved through connecting to his Chamorro heritage through music.³⁹⁰ California was an excellent place to begin this quest because there were already large Chamorro communities throughout the state and Sablan began working extensively with older relatives in California to document Chamorro songs. Since Sablan had spent most of his formative years in California speaking English, he did not have the linguistic depth to convey complex thoughts in the Chamorro language, so

³⁸⁹ Jayne Flores, "Kantan Chamoru: Preserving the Homegrown Jams" *Latte: The Essence of Guam*. 14 August 1996. 41.

³⁹⁰ Sablan interview.

this was the beginning of a process of learning as much about the language as he could.³⁹¹ His uncle Greg Guevara, who was also a songwriter, ended up serving as his mentor and his pronunciation coach.

His uncle took him to numerous events in the Chamorro community. Like Chamorros on Guam, Chamorros who settled in California continued to maintain connections among one another.³⁹² Despite being spread out over large distances, they would drive hours to visit relatives and friends for novenas, weddings, funerals and fiestas, and would also establish networks of reciprocal obligations as they would on Guam. These events were usually attended by older Chamorros, with a deep knowledge of the music of pre-war Guam however these events were not hotbeds of Chamorro music. In reality there really was not anywhere that was. In describing these events, Sablan noted, for example, “Of course then, nobody was singing Chamorro music. It was all contemporary, maybe you see the old folks come in and do the *batsu*, and then they just laugh about it.”³⁹³ He remembers that his uncle and aunt loved to sing country western songs as duets. Every once in a while they would sing Chamorro songs. Sablan’s uncle would say “hey John, this is how we used to sing in the old days.” By hearing them sing in Chamorro, Sablan felt, “I could tell they sang it with a lot of feeling, more so than the other songs.”³⁹⁴

Between semesters, in the summer of 1967, Sablan returned to Guam where he interviewed relatives in his home village of Agat. He also talked to Fred De la Cruz, a resident of Agat who was from Tinian, an island in the northern Marianas where older

³⁹¹ Sablan interview.

³⁹² This topic is studied by Faye Untalan Munoz “An Exploratory Study of Island Migration: Chamorros of Guam” Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1979.

³⁹³ Sablan interview 17 June 2010.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

Chamorro music traditions were still very strong. He was able to gather new material on older Chamorro songs and went back to California in September, now attending Cal State Hayward. That fall he met Chamorro folklorist and song writer Clotilde Castro Gould, who at the time was living in California and was very active in the Chamorro community there.³⁹⁵ Greg Guevara had met her at a party and explained what Sablan was doing. She then invited him to her home in Berkeley. According to Sablan, “she was very receptive that I was looking for Chamorro songs to record, and she brought out “*Ai na Pinikara*,” (Oh that Rascal Girl) and “*i Manbiha na Tiempo*”(The Old Ladies’ Time).³⁹⁶ Gould taught him how to sing the songs and he remembers that he stayed at her house for three or four hours so that he could work out the chords and memorize the melodies.³⁹⁷

At about this time, Sablan met producers Mike Stack and Art Benson. The men ran a small Los Angeles record label called Blue Dolphin Records and offered him a recording deal. His ability to make connections reflected an intense familiarity with the music business that was rare even for American youth in the mainland but was unheard of among Chamorros on Guam. All Sablan needed was the money to make the record. At the time, his mother saw education as a priority and was not very enthusiastic about him spending time recording Chamorro music when he was supposed to be in class. While his parents had been strong supporters of his earlier American music career, Chamorro music still carried the stigma of irrelevance and even deviance. In the beginning he was therefore basically on his own. This led him to take a dramatic step and sell several valuable possessions including his prized Austin Healey, which he had recently bought for eight hundred dollars, but which he now sold for half that amount.

³⁹⁵ Laura Souder, *Daughters of the Island*, 137.

³⁹⁶ Sablan, interview.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

He then secured the help of Jimmy Dee and the Silent Majority, a group of Chamorro musicians who were playing rock and roll in the Los Angeles club scene. The band included Chamorro musicians Gus Quichocho, Frankie Franquez, and James “Jimmy Dee” Flores. Sablan had a hard time convincing the trio to play on his album. One member even asked him, “What are you doing singing Chamorro?” Sablan answered “well, I just need a band, and I’m going to pay you for it.” With the money, and a new band, he recorded five songs that would appear on his album.³⁹⁸

He recorded another six songs with a band made up mostly of relatives who were also living in California which he called *Los Niños* on the album cover. This band was made up of his younger brothers James and Joe Sablan, Bill Dias and a harmonica player by the name of Felix Pangelinan. Sablan had auditioned several harmonica players who did not have the sound he was looking for when he found out about Pangelinan, who was working as a janitor in Long Beach.³⁹⁹ Pangelinan was much older and played harmonica in the style that was popular on Guam in the 1930s. In the first album, Sablan took considerable care to capture the sound of Chamorro music of his parents’ generation. He made a point to play most of the rhythm guitar tracks so that he could ensure that the feel of the album would reproduce the sound he remembered from *fandangos* and other parties he went to as a young child in Agat.⁴⁰⁰

The first recording put on vinyl was a 45 rpm single released in January 1968, which featured the song “*Dalai Nene*” (Goodness Sweetheart) on the “A” side and

³⁹⁸ Gus Quichocho and Jimmy Dee later established reputations as popular Chamorro musicians. Gus Quichocho also ended up marrying Sablan’s sister and formed the group Gus and Doll which was extremely popular in the 1980s.

³⁹⁹ Jan Furkawa, “Chamorro Music Jammin: An Evolution of Sound,” *Guahan Magazine* vol.,1 no.1, July 2003, 29.

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with Johnny Sablan.

“*Maloffan Hao*” (You Passed Me By) on the “B” side. This would be followed by two more 45s. As his records came out, they were released on Guam to KUAM’s “Chamorro Hour,” which was hosted by deejay George Sablan. Up to that point, “Chamorro Hour” had consisted of mostly country western music with deejay George Sablan speaking a few words in Chamorro between songs. With Sablan’s 1968 releases, Chamorro music began to establish its place on the airwaves of Guam and the songs were immediately popular. Since he was still living in California when the music was released, his mother Rita Sablan, who owned a small mom and pop store in Agat, became his distributor on island. Despite her earlier objections, he remembered that when he released “*Dalai Nene*,” she told him on the phone “Wow, they love it. Make some more.”⁴⁰¹ She became his biggest promoter both through her store and through delivering music to the radio station. Sablan released the full length LP *Dalai Nene* in the summer of 1968 and quickly sold out.

Dalai Nene was the first in a string of ground-breaking Sablan albums that helped define the genre of modern Chamorro music. Each album showcased a broad array of music, from traditional songs he had collected from others, to his own originals that mirrored popular styles of the day. There were songs that tried to recreate the feel of pre-war music and others that dealt with contemporary issues in Chamorro society. One of the interesting aspects of these early albums is that he did not do any country western songs even though there were many songs to choose from the many *kantan bulacho*. He was motivated by a quest to find his Chamorro identity and was interested in finding more clearly authentic sounds. At the time he did not know that songs like “*I Puti’on*”

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

(The Star) and “*Nihi Ta Fanhanao Ta Fanpiknik*”(Let’s Go Have a Picnic) were adaptations of pre-war American songs.⁴⁰²

The albums were also an act of historic preservation. The lyrics reflect the worldview of the people who wrote the songs and have both musical and historical value. Many of the songs describe experiences of people who lived in an earlier time when *kustumbren Chamorro* traditions and values constituted the norms of Guam society. By becoming an expert in the music of the past, Sablan was able to bring older musical sensibilities into his own compositions that described contemporary experiences. His knowledge of popular music allowed him to compose songs in modern styles that were accessible to younger audiences.

The first four albums, recorded between 1968 and 1971, cover a wide range of topics and musical styles that set broad parameters for what Chamorro music could be. They also set a standard of professionalism. The professional production and sleek album covers complete with liner notes were modeled on the popular American music albums. Sablan also used the album covers to explain the ideological underpinning guiding his revival of Chamorro music. On *Dalai Nene*, his letter to fans reflected a spirit of cultural nationalism and is translated here.

Hafa Adai,

For each song there is a history. For each land there is a record. This album I give to all of you to share together. This album was made for all Chamorros who are interested in the record of our land.

The instruments are not the same as past times. Only the words and the sounds of the old people. I made this album for all the Chamorros who have passed away

⁴⁰² Later on in the mid-1970s, he recognized the considerable demand for country western and did several albums that featured the genre heavily including *Chamorro Country-Western* (1975), *Falak Magi gi Lancho-ku/Come to My Ranch* (1976) and *Johnny Sablan Sings Johnny Sablan* (1977).

and those that are still living, the young and the old, because its purpose is to protect our land and the record of our land.⁴⁰³

Thank You,
Johnny Sablan

Dalai Nene (1968), with the exception of “*Hu Guaiya Hao*” (I Love You), a love song that Sablan wrote himself, was a mix of songs he collected from other people and then modified in various ways. Among the pre-war songs was “*I Puti'on*” (The Star)⁴⁰⁴ and “*Nobia*” (The Bride), a medley of traditional wedding songs. Also included were songs that may have been from before the war or from the early post-war period such as “*Papa Sombran Mapagahes*” (Under the Shade of the Clouds) and “*Esta Guiya Yo' Nene*” (Here I am Sweetheart). These songs, while on the surface simple love songs, offer insights in to the worldview of Chamorros of earlier eras.

“*Esta Guiya Yo' Nene*” stands out for the line “*Ti ya-mu yo' sa atilong*” (You don't like me because I am black).⁴⁰⁵ While dominant narratives in Guam history today de-emphasize internal conflicts within Chamorro society, this song brings old views to light. The original date of composition is unclear but whether the song was written in the 1920s or 1940s is less important than the fact that it reflects a sense of class hierarchy that is characteristic of life in pre-war and Spanish era Guam. It also points to the fact that the songs of pre-war Guam often presented a non-elite perspective. Even if they were in no position to challenge the system, they could at least bring up controversial topics in song.

⁴⁰³ *Dalai Nene*, back cover, 1968.

⁴⁰⁴ As noted in Chapter Two, *I Puti'on* is an adaptation of the song “Honolulu Moon.” It had by 1968 been part of the culture for at least three decades. Sablan however had simply collected the song from older relatives, and only learned of the song's origins later in life.

⁴⁰⁵ Although less common today, the sentiment still exists among some older Chamorros. As an example, the author's wife Francine Clement, who grew up in 1980s Guam, was often told by her older aunts that although she was beautiful, she was “*na'ma'ase*” (pitiful) because of her dark skin.

Post-war Chamorros readily rejected connections between beauty and skin color in the 1970s, but in 1968 when Sablan released the song, associations between race and beauty were still pervasive despite the impact of the American civil rights movement, the black power movement, and the emergent brown power movement. By recording the song in 1968, Sablan was bringing to light a relic of the past that demonstrated some flaws in the old system. But it was a song to which Chamorros, particularly darker skinned ones, could relate. It is not a wholesale rejection of *kustumbren Chamorro*, since it is a song in the Chamorro language and makes no assumption that speaking about class issues means adopting American liberal values wholesale.

THE NEXT THREE ALBUMS

Sablan's next three albums were *My Marianas* (1969), *My Chamorrans* (1970), and *Hafa Adai Todu Maolick How are You?* (1971).⁴⁰⁶ Each album shared the basic approach as *Dalai Nene* in that it mixed older songs collected by Sablan with his own traditional style and modern compositions. Each has a distinct feel, and Sablan recalled that this was because at the time, he was "trying to find out 'what is Chamorro?'" This led him to keep on searching out new songs and learn as much about the culture as he could. On the back cover of *My Marianas* he expressed this sentiment, writing under the title,

Oh my Marianas, I love the heritage you've given me.
Each time I sing my native songs
I seem to find identity.

An even more passionate statement, written in the same liner notes was "If I can restore this heritage, and help it continue to live, I will be the happiest Chamorro alive."⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ *Trans:* Hello, Everything's Good, How are you?

⁴⁰⁷ *My Marianas*, (1969) back cover.

The song “*Dia Cada Dia*” (Day after Day) is an example of a song on *My Marianas* that is arranged in a contemporary pop style and sheds light on an issue facing Chamorros in the 1960s. It is a story of Chamorros who left the island for California expecting paradise, but instead found the daily struggle of life away from home. The chorus is

<p>Dia kada dia Bula taotao dumingu tano-niha Sa’ mahungok na bonito iya America</p>	<p>Day after Day Many people leave their homeland Because they’ve heard America is beautiful</p>
<p>Dia kada dia California mahahasso Aye na piniti Sa’ ti matungo’ nai na chatsaga</p>	<p>Day after Day California is all they think about Oh such sadness, because they don’t know how hard it is.⁴⁰⁸</p>

These lines describe a very basic experience for many Chamorros who migrated to California. Chamorros had begun enlisting in the military in considerable numbers in the 1930s and enlistment increased dramatically in 1950. As Chamorros retired, many chose to settle permanently in the United States, often near military installations. As Chamorro communities developed, relatives followed, hoping to take advantage of opportunities they believed the United States held. Part of the appeal of California was the unrealistic image of the United States presented in television of model suburban communities and consumer excess.⁴⁰⁹ In reality, many wound up in menial jobs. Some Chamorros had been recruited to work as farm laborers. The common term to describe Chamorros who took these jobs was “apple picker,” although they worked in various

⁴⁰⁸ Sablan Folio.

⁴⁰⁹ See Robert Underwood, “Excursion into Inauthenticity” and “The Role of Media in Small Island Societies”

agricultural occupations.⁴¹⁰ While the song did not address the plight of these laborers specifically, it captures the feeling of day to day struggle that many Chamorros Sablan met in the states felt. Sablan recalled that:

I met a couple of them. Some of them were relatives of mine and I met them up in Vallejo. Trying to run away from picking fruits...It was hard work for them. They wished they were back on Guam, but they didn't have money to come back home.⁴¹¹

The two verses of “*Dia Cada Dia*” were closer to that of Sablan’s own life experiences in that they dealt with Chamorros who went to school in the United States.

Ai adai si Juan,	Oh that John
adingo tano-ña Guam,	he left his land of Guam
humanao pa’ U.S.A.	Went to the U.S.A.
pa’u eskuela giya kolehu	to attend college
i gapot-ulu dumoko’	His hair grew out
yan i batbas-ña u manaku	and his beard grew long
Ai adai taotao-ña,	oh his friends
Sa’ marijuana nai na’-niha	because marijuana is their only food ⁴¹²

The verse implies that in the 1960s, the experience of going to the United States could be transformative in a way that put youths out of step culturally with people back home. The reference to the long hair and drug culture which were part of the college experience of the late 1960s, while also part of youth culture in Guam during the late 1960s, points to the way such behavior was still not socially acceptable within the Chamorro community. Going to college in the United States mainland was not a common path for young Chamorro men in the late 1960s who were much more likely to

⁴¹⁰ The most comprehensive research into Chamorro communities in the United States has been conducted by Faye Untalan who began her research in California during the 1970s. She documented how Chamorros often struggle to adjust to the new communities, but she also found that Chamorros were doing what they could to maintain cultural traditions. In particular see Faye Untalan Munoz “An Exploratory Study of Island Migration: Chamorros of Guam” Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1979. Her more recent work has primarily documented the continued migrations of Chamorros into new states, and she has found that the welfare of Chamorros varies widely depending on location.

⁴¹¹ Sablan interview, 17 June 2010

⁴¹² Johnny Sablan *The Johnny Sablan Lyric Folio of Island Melodies*, 1969.

join the armed forces. It might also be concluded that the military was much better understood than the American counter-culture, and the televised images of protests on college campuses. Sablan, in this context, was not representative of the average Chamorro male, and the character's name "John" hints that the song may be partly autobiographical.

The second verse describes the Chamorro experience from a different perspective.

<p>Ai adai Maria, umeskuela Pa'u na'ma'estra, lao otro nai saga-ña, sa' hinilat ninguinaiya-ña Ai manao pa' san lago Ai sa' tatatte-ha' i nobio Ai na nina'ma'asi, Sa' esta po' fañagu</p>	<p>Oh that Maria, she went to college to become a teacher, but she stayed in another place because feelings of love overcame her when she left for the states Oh, because the child of her lover Oh, how pitiful because she is expecting to give birth⁴¹³</p>
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In this verse there are clear similarities with the sentiment expressed in the pre-war song "*Humalom Enfetmera*," discussed in Chapter Two. While in the pre-war era, the naval nursing program was associated with danger, this verse suggests the new "dangerous" frontier for Chamorro women was college education in the United States. In the increasingly Americanized society of late 1960s Guam, the long established gender roles were still understood as the norm by Chamorro parents even if their children were not necessarily adopting them as their own views.

My Chamorrans (1970) marked a shift toward a broader formulation of Chamorro identity that included a connection to the deeper, pre-colonial history of the Chamorro people. Part of this growing consciousness was shaped by Sablan's experiences in Saipan, where he had gone to perform and to collect songs on various occasions. In addition to Saipan's Chamorro population, the island had long been home to Carolinian

⁴¹³ Ibid.

communities who began settling the island from atolls to the south in the early nineteenth century. These islanders had much closer connections to their pre-European cultural heritage. Although they were also Christian, Carolinians still knew their pre-contact chants and some still wore traditional clothing and body ornaments such as the *mwar mwar* (a head band made of flowers.) Their presence alerted Sablan to the reality that Chamorros had become disconnected from an ancient heritage that pre-dated *kustumbren Chamorro* and he felt a need to connect to it.

My Chamorrans' album cover featured Sablan not in the stylish clothing he usually wore but instead shirtless and barefoot with black pants and a "traditional" looking beaded necklace. Significantly, he is pictured standing on top of a *latte* stone amidst a grove of coconut trees, two elements of ancient Chamorro material culture that undoubtedly pre-dated western contact. *Latte* stones, ancient stone house supports, were also burial sites since ancient Chamorros had buried their dead in front of these prominent houses. During the Spanish-Chamorro Wars of the late seventeenth century, Chamorros were forcibly removed from their traditional houses, which were toppled and burned, and the practice of *latte* construction disappeared.

In the twentieth century, *latte* ruins remained scattered throughout the jungles of Guam and were therefore the most visible legacy of the ancient way of life. However, this heritage had been almost entirely forgotten and most Chamorros simply knew *latte* stones as dangerous places that should be avoided because of their association with potentially malevolent spirits called *taotao mo'na* or *manganiti*.⁴¹⁴ The image of Sablan

⁴¹⁴ *Taotao mo'na* is a descriptive term meaning "people from before" while *manganiti* the plural of *aniti* is an ancient term for ancestral spirits. Communication with ancestors was central to ancient Chamorro religion. Not all *taotao mo'na* were considered malevolent, and certain individuals were believed to have *gatchong*, or friendly *taotao mo'na* that protected them or gave them strength. The above passage does not

actually standing on a *latte* stone was deeply symbolic because it demonstrated his embrace of this ancient past, which Catholicism had relegated to a time of darkness.⁴¹⁵ Sablan was not alone in this new orientation towards pre-contact culture and the *latte* would increasingly become a key symbol of Chamorro identity.⁴¹⁶

The first song on the album also made a statement. “*An Gumupu si Paluma*”(When Bird Flew) was Sablan’s first recognition of the significance of *chamorrta*, the ancient call and response singing which by that time had almost disappeared from northern Guam and was rapidly fading in southern Guam and the Northern Marianas Islands.

An Gumupu si Paluma	When Bird flew
An gumupu si paluma ya tumohge tronkon donne Ha sangani yo’ paluma, na bunita para bai konne	When Bird flew and stood on a pepper tree It told me bring me a something beautiful
An gumupu si paluma, ya tumohge tangantangan Hu hahasso I tano-hu, I tano-hu Guahan	When Bird flew and stood on a tangantangan tree I am thinking of my island, my island of Guam
An kumati si paluma, pues triste si nene Ai paluma manu guatu, ya bai toktok si nene	When Bird cried then the baby was sad Oh Bird where are you heading and I will hug baby
An kumanta si paluma, na lamlam I atdao Ya manflores halom tano ya manmagof taotao	When Bird sings the sun shines And the jungle blooms and the people are happy

therefore imply that all *taotao mo’na* were evil, only that, when someone walked through the forest, they could never be sure if they were passing through the territories of spirits that might do them harm. Latte sites were therefore avoided, and permission was requested when moving through the jungle.

⁴¹⁵ Jesus Charfauros interview.

⁴¹⁶ Early explorer and missionary accounts as well as the writings of early twentieth century anthropologists were first published in English in the *Guam Recorder* during the 1920s and 1930s. Ironically, American military dependents and Chamorro elites probably knew more about Guam’s ancient past than the average Chamorro did before the war.

An gumupu si paluma, When Bird flies
ya tumoghe tronkon chotda and stands on a banana tree
Ha tago yo bai espiha, He/she commands me to go look for
i Chamorro siha na paluma Chamorro birds

Ai paluma, na'i yo un papa, Oh Bird give me a wing
ya ta hihita gumupu and we will fly together
ya ta hihita kumanta and we will sing together⁴¹⁷

Sablan's adaptation of the *chamorrta* veers away from the traditional melody considerably, it is not a call and response song, and it includes modern instrumentation instead of the traditional acapella. Nevertheless, its rootedness in *chamorrta* was unmistakable to older Chamorros familiar with the *chamorrta* tradition. The stock phrase “*An gumupu si paluma, ya tumoghe tronkon (donne)*” (When bird flew and sat on a [pepper] tree) and the four line stanzas are preserved.⁴¹⁸ A major difference, though, is that while the *chamorrta* lyrics traditionally revolved around playful teasing, and the mention of “*paluma*” often had a sexual connotation, Sablan envisioned the role of *paluma* in a religious sense that may have been closer to its ancient significance.⁴¹⁹ When asked about the significance of the bird he explained,

I went to parochial school and I always knew that the bird was the Holy Spirit, and I sort of associated it with the Holy Spirit saying ‘John, you should save the language and culture. I was already in that stage where this seemed to be the purpose in my life, so I wrote that into the song, it says ‘oh Paluma, na'i yo' un papa, give me wings, and I will fly and tell everybody to wake up, keep your culture alive.’⁴²⁰

Sablan transformed what he understood to be religious symbolism to reflect a growing sense of cultural nationalism that was not part of the *chamorrta* tradition in

⁴¹⁷ *My Chamorrans*.

⁴¹⁸ *Chamorrta* was not always sung acapella. In the early twentieth century it was sometime accompanied by a *belembautuyan*.

⁴¹⁹ See discussion of ‘*paluma*’ in Chapter Two.

⁴²⁰ Sablan interview.

earlier eras, when life revolved exclusively around *kustumbren Chamorro* and there was no threat of cultural extinction. In Sablan's version, the *paluma*, like *latte* stones, represents indigenous artifacts.⁴²¹ Given the struggle for identity that Sablan was going through at the time, the simple fact of its indigeneity gave it significance. As noted in the liner notes, "In this song, Johnny characterizes the *paluma* as the Chamorro bird of the islands---the bird tells him to go look for all the Chamorros and give them an identity."⁴²² The bird, which can speak like a human, is presumably singing in Chamorro and it appears that it is through song that the bird gives life to the forest, and makes people happy.

Another interesting line is the reference to a tangantangan tree. Tangantangan (*Leucena leucocephala*) is an invasive tree originating in tropical America that had not existed in Guam prior to World War II.⁴²³ After the war, the United States spread seeds all over the island to prevent erosion on the heavily bombed landscape. Large areas of northern Guam, cleared in the wartime and post-war military build-up, are today covered in thick *tangantangan* stands that greatly slow the re-establishment of native forest. The image of the bird standing on a tangantangan tree therefore represents not just the marginalization of the Chamorro people, but the impact of environmental imperialism on the island's landscape.⁴²⁴

Also on *My Chamorrans*, was "*Munga Yo' Ma Fino Englesi*" (Don't Speak to Me in English). As noted in Chapter Three, Jesus Charfauros wrote the song in the mid-1960s

⁴²¹ Sablan explained that in the re-release of *My Chamorrans*, which he titled *Chamorro Yo'* (I am Chamorro) he made this more clear by putting a picture of a dove on the cover.(Sablan interview)

⁴²² Liner notes, *My Chamorrans* (1969)

⁴²³ Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 205.

⁴²⁴ For an introduction to the history of environmental imperialism, see Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological Consequences of 1492*, (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 2003).

and it had often been performed by the Charfauros Brothers, but the Charfauros Brothers had only made a limited impact in Guam's public culture at that point. Their version of the song was somber and serious, and it did not captivate younger audiences. Sablan however brought new life to it, arranging it in a more upbeat manner, and adding humor to it. In a line warning Chamorros that the ancient knowledge will be laughed at if the language is lost, he includes a man laughing in the background. In another line warning that people are becoming reliant on imported food, a voice in the background sings "hamburgers." In this way, Sablan made the song his own, and help popularized it by taking a little bit of the edge off for people that might otherwise be offended.

The other songs on the album reflected a strong connection to the music of pre-war Guam, and included several songs that reflected older values. One song in particular, "*Si Nana gi Familia*" (Mother in the Family) discussed in Chapter Three, celebrated the struggle of a mother to support a large family with meager resources. Another song "*Si Sirena*" (Sirena) recounted a Spanish era legend about a girl who does not follow her mother's command and is turned into a mermaid. The song "*Buenas Noches Mariquita*" (Good Evening Mariquita) is another song, like "*Esta Guiya Yo' Nene*," Sablan collected is sung from the perspective of a dark Chamorro man who is trying to earn the love of a presumably lighter skinned woman who wants nothing to do with him.

Sablan's fourth album, *Hafa Adai, Todu Maolick, How are You?* (1971) pushed the boundaries of Chamorro music even farther but it also recognized the reality that Chamorro language fluency was declining rapidly and included four songs that used mostly English lyrics. From this point on, all of Sablan's albums would contain at least a few English tracks. The title song of this album, "*Hafa Adai Todu Maolick How Are*

You?” (Hello, everything is good. How are you?), “There’s a Place in Micronesia,” and “Guam,” all aimed at a broader island audience that was no longer primarily Chamorro and were also well suited for promoting the island as a tourist destination. These songs were very much in the same vein as the “Guamanian songs” mentioned in Chapter Three but the difference was that now tourism existed on Guam and there was a lucrative market in the island’s hotels. At the time Sablan had just moved back to Guam after six years in California and was working at a dinner show for a hotel. While performing on stage he realized that he needed something to welcome tourists at the beginning of the show and quickly came up with the song “Hafa Adai todu Maolick How are you?”

In the Pacific Island of the Marianas
You see and hear the natives say
As you come along, and visit us
A word “hello,” called “hafa adai”

With a happy smile on your face
Then you know you’re in a friendly place
Really meaning what they say,
its time you simply say
Hafa, hafa, hafa hafa adai

Hafa adai todu maolek how are you?
Hafa adai todu maolek thank you
Hafa adai, hafa adai, hafa hafa hafa adai⁴²⁵

“There’s a Place in Micronesia” targeted the broader island audience and gave a positive take on the multicultural society that was emerging on the island and also recognized the new developing identity of Guam as metropole for the surrounding islands of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

There’s a place in Micronesia
Filled with friendly people and smiling faces
Caucasians, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos
And the natives are called Chamorros⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ Johnny Sablan, *Hafa Adai Todu Maolick How are you?* (1971).

The popularity of such songs when they were released, and the longevity of the song “*Hafa Adai Todu Maolek*” which is still performed today by numerous acts reflects the reality that the image of Guam as an island paradise had become part of the local identity and was shared by many Chamorros. It represented a shift in the way more Americanized Chamorros understood their relationship to their homeland. The intended audience is not just Chamorros, but everyone on the island, and tourists as well. In this sense, it is not part of the subaltern narrative. Instead, it is a song that embraces modern Guam. Nevertheless, Sablan did not lose sight of his primary purpose, which was always tied to the revitalization of Chamorro language and culture.

The “B” side of *Hafa Adai Todu Maolick How are You?* has largely been forgotten but showcased some of Sablan’s most experimental work. It included another version of the *chamorrta* tune which he titled “*Chamorrta*.” This song was much truer to the traditional *chamorrta* melody than *An gumupu si Paluma*, and the lyrics were similar to the fishing *chamorrta* recorded by Laura Thompson before World War II. Sablan had not learned *chamorrta*s while growing up, but, his uncle Greg Guevara in Vallejo, California, sang one for him that happened to be about fishing. The song “*Chamorrta*” is an accurate representation of the melody, but it is out of the traditional context of a spirited debate in a social setting. Sablan’s version came across as slow and repetitive and it did not have commercial appeal. Later, other recording artists would try to replicate *chamorrta*s with similar results. The shift away from *chamorrta* therefore was not a rejection of the old practice, but a function of the changing role of Chamorro music in daily lives from participatory event to entertainment that fit into the reality of

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

modern day life. *Chamorrta* also declined as a result of language decline. As Chamorro ceased to be a primary means of communication, the fluency required to “pull words out of the air” and shared familiarity with older metaphors declined as well. People with the ability to sing *chamorrta* became less likely to find a partner to challenge, and guests participating at a party became less likely to understand what was going on. Another song on the album called “*Lelulelulelule*” was a traditional song that had a similar history of improvisation but proved to translate better into the recorded format. It would be re-released on a later album and can still be heard on Chamorro radio stations today.

The last song on the album was an eight minute funk jam called “*Taotao mo’na*” (People From Before) which celebrated the spirits of the ancient Chamorros, which many Chamorros still believe inhabit the jungles of the island. It was an interesting mix of a cutting edge American and Chamorro language music that was radically different than anything that Chamorro musicians had imaged before. In terms of style, it had virtually nothing in common with pre-war songs. It represented a type of musical experimentation that was very common in the American music scene of that era but never caught on in the Chamorro music scene.

JOHNNY SABLAN AND THE VIETNAM WAR

Sablan’s role in preserving Chamorro musical traditions would likely have secured his place as a Chamorro cultural icon, but his popularity cannot be understood outside the context of the Vietnam War. It is notable that while Sablan’s songs like “*An Gumupu si Paluma*” suggest a cultural nationalism that aligns with post-1960s indigenous Chamorro nationalism, his songs about Vietnam present a working-class soldiers’ perspective that has largely been left out of most writings about Guam’s past.

Sablan, who was born in 1947, was of draft age, and like all young men at the time, he could not help but think about possibility of ending up in Vietnam. Sablan recalled the day when the reality of the war was starting to weigh on him personally:

I believe it was 1966, the first casualties from Guam, and one of the first five was my cousin Tommy Rivera, who I used to sing with in the Agat Serenaders. And Tommy was dead. So there was already the experience of having some of my relatives, friends, and later on a couple more guys from Agat got shot.⁴²⁷

While attending Monterey Junior College in 1966, Sablan lived with his uncle, Colonel Joe Guevara, in Marina, California. Marina was a suburb of Fort Ord, an army base where many Chamorros went for basic training. As a result, he spent a lot of time with Chamorros who were stationed there.⁴²⁸ His uncle would invite Chamorro soldiers to the house for barbecues and the soldiers shared their stories with him. A lot of the soldiers were Sablan's peers from his home village of Agat and other villages in southern Guam so it was very easy to relate to them. It was in this context that he embarked on his revitalization of Chamorro music, and the war was never far from his mind.

Three of his first four albums had songs that addressed the Chamorro experience in Vietnam. "*Adios Kerida*" which was released on *Dalai Nene* (1968) was his first such song. The song had an interesting history in that it is a Gould song that is based on the pre-war songs "*Estorian Mumarino*" (Those Who Join the Navy), which had been recorded by anthropologist Laura Thompson in 1939, and "*Batkon Chauman*" (U.S.S. Chaumont) which was later documented by Carmen Iglesias Santos. However, Gould had

⁴²⁷ Sablan interview, January 16, 2010. The first Chamorro killed in action in Vietnam was Jose Rosa Mariano on 27 September 1965. Thomas Salas Rivera was the fourth Chamorro killed on 7 February 1966. <http://www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-lists/gu-alpha.pdf> (accessed 7/20/11)

⁴²⁸ The location of a military base next to Sablan's uncle house was not a coincidence. Robert Underwood has noted that since the Korean War, "the military connection . . . established the major U.S. points of entry" for Chamorros. In 1976, three fourths of Chamorros living outside of Guam were estimated to be currently or previously associated with the armed services. (Robert Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity" in *Mobility and Identity in the Island Pacific*. Honolulu: East-West Center, 1985, 167).

written the lyrics and only shared them with his uncle Greg Guevara. He and his wife came up with a melody and sang it for Sablan. With the song “*Adios Kerida*” this traditional theme was brought up to the modern day. Instead of leaving to join the Navy, the character is leaving for Vietnam. Gould added verses that describe the fears of Chamorro soldiers and the uncertainty of the couple’s future together.⁴²⁹ Although the lyrics are not clear, it appears that the enlistment was voluntary even though the soldier has second thoughts. In explaining that he has committed himself to President Johnson, there is no sense of resentment. It is simply a reality of life.⁴³⁰

Among the connections to older songs is the use of specific phrases that were recognizable to older Chamorros from pre-war songs. Gould, for example, uses the line, “*An ti matto yo’ gi un añu, pues assagua i che’lu-hu*” (If I don’t return in one year, then marry my brother), which was recorded by Thompson, in the songs “Those Who Join the Navy” (*Estorian Mumarino*).⁴³¹ The idea did not make sense in the modern reality, but, keeping it in the song, alerts modern listeners to an older set of values. In this case, it highlights how the importance of family relationships could outweigh ideas of individual personal relationships in the extended family system of pre-war Guam.⁴³² In the case of a family with children who lose a father, it was customary that the brother help take care of the family. The song’s roots in older songs point to the long history of Chamorro diaspora.

⁴²⁹ Carmen Iglesias Santos, “Guam’s Folklore.”

⁴³⁰ Author’s translation of “*Adios Kerida*” from Clotilde Goulde, *Chamorro Song Book* (no publishing information, 1970), 33. “*Adios Kerida*” appeared on Johnny Sablan, *Dalai Nene*. Blue Dolphin Records, 1968.

⁴³¹ Laura Thompson “Those Who Join the Navy” in *Guam and its People: A Unique Study of America’s Pacific Outpost Now Temporarily Lost to Japan*. (New York: American Council Institute of Political Relations, 1941) 286-289.

⁴³² In the past, it was common for a daughter in law (*yetna*) to live with her mother in law if the husband was off island.

On *My Marianas* (1969) Sablan included the song “*Madraft si Jose*” (Jose Got Drafted).⁴³³ Sablan explained that the inspiration came from his experiences living in California, and hanging out with Chamorro soldiers at his uncle’s house when they were preparing to go to Vietnam.⁴³⁴ “*Madraft si Jose*” was a product of these conversations. Although most of the people he talked to had actually volunteered, the song nevertheless recounts the stories he heard, and reflects what it was like to join the military for young Chamorro men. The basic verse is an adaptation of the pre-World War II Chamorro children’s rhyme “An Dangkolo yo’ Nana.” The original rhyme was sung from the perspective of a young child telling his mother that he will go to school, and when he gets older and becomes smart, he will raise the flag for her. The chorus is “hooray, hooray! Malate si Jose! (Hurray, hurray, Jose is smart), but any child’s name could be substituted and it was a song sung on school grounds.”⁴³⁵

Sablan’s version of the song is set to a military march and interspersed with the melody of the Guam Hymn and the Marine Hymn. It begins with the lines,

Dia kinse gi Oktubri	The fifteenth of October
Ma agang si Jose	Jose got called
Inagan ni tiu-ña	his Uncle [Sam] called him
Pa’u na libre	to liberate
Horay! Horay! Madraft si Jose!	Hurray, hurray, Jose got drafted
Horay! Horay! Madraft si Jose!	Hurray, hurray, Jose got drafted

The song goes on to chronicle Jose’s journey, which begins with a trip to Naval Station, Guam, to get his head shaved, then “kitchen patrol,” battle in Vietnam, and a shot in the foot, which gets him sent home to find his fiancé has married another man.

⁴³³ See Appendix for complete lyrics.

⁴³⁴ Sablan interview.

⁴³⁵ Gould, “Chamorro Song Book” 1972.

On the one hand, the character in the song, Jose, is made out to be somewhat of an unfortunate fool and Sablan recalls that “everybody was kind of laughing about that song,” but at the same time there was no doubt that the subject matter was very serious, because “these guys knew they might not be coming back.”⁴³⁶ Sablan explained that the song was a way to make light of the serious situation that Chamorros were experiencing at the time. On the other, hand, there is a clear sense of sarcasm in the song, especially in the line about Jose’s “uncle,” which is a not so veiled reference to Uncle Sam. The weaving of the Guam hymn and the Marine hymn into the melody of the old playground song give the song a chaotic feel as well as a humorous aspect. It is not really a pro-war song or an anti-war song. The focus of the song is on the plight of the soldier. Its popularity among Chamorros in the military does not reflect the “hyper-patriotism” promoted by the mass media of the time, nor does it reflect an anti-American sentiment. Instead it gives the perspective of soldiers who understand the weight of the situation and have an ability to take patriotic symbols for what they are.

By 1969, Sablan’s reputation as a Chamorro cultural icon was well established. The Chamorro language, which had been suppressed on Guam for a generation was now spoken with pride and Sablan’s music contributed to this process. While Sablan’s music was popular on Guam, for Chamorros stationed in Vietnam, on military installations in Europe and the Far East, and throughout the military-related diaspora on the U.S. mainland, the albums were even more special because they brought a taste of Guam to people who longed for home. His growing stature would result in an invitation by Guam’s governor, Carlos Garcia Camacho, to accompany him to Vietnam to visit Chamorro soldiers. One day the governor’s press secretary Eddie Duenas showed up at

⁴³⁶ Sablan interview.

his house in Long Beach, California, with the invitation, and he was soon on a plane for Guam and Vietnam.⁴³⁷

In planning for the trip, the governor invited family members of Chamorro soldiers to the governor's house where they collected care packages and recorded messages with tape recorders. In addition, the governor contributed miniature Guam flags, and medals depicting Guam's patron saint, Our Lady of Camalin. Sablan added over two hundred copies of his new hit records. The total amount of gifts brought to Vietnam ended up weighing 6,000 pounds. The trip began at Saigon and continued to six other bases in South Vietnam. Everywhere they went, Chamorro soldiers greeted them with warm receptions and "mini-fiestas" in the governor's honor. It was not just Chamorro soldiers who greeted Governor Camacho at each military installation he visited, but the military hierarchy as well.⁴³⁸ As the only governor of a U.S. state or territory to visit Vietnam in what by this time was a very unpopular war, he was given the red carpet treatment. At Da Nang, a Marine lieutenant general gave him a parade featuring a "Chamorro platoon" comprised of Chamorros in the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine units who were in the area. Across Vietnam, Chamorros were flown in from the field to meet the governor at the rear bases.

Sablan proved to be a major attraction. Everywhere he went, he brought his guitar and helped give these celebrations a more traditional Chamorro festive feeling.⁴³⁹ Among the soldiers were musicians who joined Sablan with their guitars in jam sessions, singing and playing the Chamorro music that was helping them get through the war. Even Governor Camacho joined in, singing pre-World War II favorites such as "*I Puti'on*" and

⁴³⁷ Johnny Sablan, interview with the author, Hagatña, Guam, 16 February 2010.

⁴³⁸ Pedro Sanchez, *Guaahan Guam: A History of Our Island* (Agana: Sanchez Publishing House, 1998), 352.

⁴³⁹ Sablan interview.

“*Nihi Ta Fan Hanao Ta Fan Piknik.*”⁴⁴⁰ While many of the soldiers had been raised with American music, these songs had deep meaning now that they were far away from home and not sure if they would ever return.

During and immediately after his first trip to Vietnam, Sablan wrote the song “Christmas Odyssey in Vietnam” and by the end of December 1969 it was performed as part of a television special about the trip. The song includes both English and Chamorro lyrics and recreates the feeling of the trip, telling the story of meetings between the governor and the soldiers and praising them both for their service to the island. Toward the end of the song, there is a break in which spoken greetings recreated the interactions between the governor and the troops. For people who remember the song when it was first being played on television and the radio, the sounds of young Chamorro men saying “thank you *lai*,” “*Maolek ha*” and exchanges of “Merry Christmas” struck a powerful chord among listeners who could be brought to tears by the voices of these young men, because it reminded them of their loved ones in harm’s way.⁴⁴¹

While the song is supportive of soldiers, and praised the governor, it, like the other Vietnam songs, presents the Chamorro soldiers as an autonomous community, with no mention of the United States or what the war was about. Like the other songs written about Vietnam, there is no mention of shooting Vietcong, or even firing a rifle. Like the Korean War song “Bai Hanao Pai Gera” and Sablan’s “Adios Kerida” and “Madraft Si Jose,” danger, fear and the hardship of being away from loved ones are emphasized.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ This description of Governor Camacho, given to me by Sablan, reinforces his image as a “man of the people” even though he was wealthy. Tommy Charfauros mentioned for example that “he’s a real down to earth guy. You can sit down and joke with him. Eat the Chamorro way with him” (meaning that there is a bowl in the middle of the table and everyone picks at it with their hands).

⁴⁴¹ Robert Underwood, personnel communication, April, 2008.

⁴⁴² Vietnam songs are all in the Appendix

Descriptions of the trips taken by Governor Camacho and Johnny Sablan also highlight the tremendous reception that Chamorro soldiers were able to put on for them as well as the respect given to Chamorro soldiers by their commanding officers. Chamorros by the end of 1969 had developed a reputation for being top notch soldiers and they also had a reputation for figuring out how to make the best of their situations. Interviews with veterans point to the tremendous camaraderie that Chamorro soldiers shared with each other. For those who spent most of their time in the forward areas, opportunities for meeting fellow Chamorros were limited and not all were able to make it to Sablan's shows. For those with jobs in the rear areas, however, Chamorros became known for their hospitality. Chris Reyes, who helped welcome Governor Camacho on a 1970 trip to Long Binh, explained that they put on a large fiesta for the governor.

He also stated that preparing Chamorro food at his base was an everyday occurrence. At Long Binh, much of the cooking was arranged by Tito Mantanona, a Korean War veteran who served as a cook and father figure for the younger Chamorro soldiers. Reyes explained that since meat could be bought cheaply at the commissary and all Guam vegetables grew in Vietnam, any type of Chamorro food was available if you knew where to go:

You go to Tito, the *kelaguen* is there, you go to this guy they're making *fatada*... Rice was also easy to come by because every time they capture that cache out there that belongs to the VC they haul those big sacks of rice. The sack of rice is over 100 pounds. We got a lot of rice. It's free for us Then we get lots of supplies from Guam, *chorizos Español*, the green can, the navy biscuit. We get those through the mail by the hundreds.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ Reyes interview. *Kelaguen* is dish made with raw meat marinated in lemon juice. *Fatada* are chitterlings cooked in blood. *Chorizos Español* is a popular Spanish sausage manufactured in the United States that comes in a big green can.

Later, Reyes ended up at Bien Hoa Air Base, where he was in charge of the recreation center and he got involved in hosting large barbecues for Chamorros who came in from the forward areas. Nearly every day, they cooked for twelve to thirty people and they became well known enough, that non-Chamorros looked forward to getting invited to these events. With access to instruments at the recreation center, soldiers and airmen like Chris Tedtaotao, Manuel Aquingoc, Roy Mantanona, and Vincent and Juan Rodriguez would sing Chamorro songs and play guitar at these events.⁴⁴⁴

These examples of camaraderie and hospitality shed light on the broader context of the celebrations that greeted Governor Camacho and Johnny Sablan on their trips to Vietnam. It is clear that Chamorros made the best of their time in Vietnam despite the difficulties they faced. More than just performing and bringing gifts, Governor Camacho and Sablan found themselves participating in a version of Chamorro culture that was maintained away from home, in the rear bases and forward areas of Vietnam.

For Governor Camacho the trips with Sablan are credited with helping him win the 1970 election, which made him the first elected governor in Guam's history.⁴⁴⁵ For Sablan, the trips cemented his legacy as a Chamorro cultural icon. The back cover of *My Chamorrans*, which was released soon after he returned from his first trip to Vietnam, included a letter from the governor.

Dear Johnny,

You are indeed a great credit to our island, and more so, to your generation of young men and women. I am sure that your ardent desire to promote and preserve the Chamorro heritage through music and song will go a long way towards fostering Guam's cultural identity. You have my best wishes and personal support in the endeavor.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Camacho's contribution has not been forgotten by the thousands of Chamorro veterans and their loved ones. During his son Felix's successful gubernatorial election campaign in 2002, the song "Christmas Odyssey" was often played at election rallies to remind the Vietnam generation of his father's contribution.

I am so impressed with your performance during the goodwill visit that I find it hard to describe with mere words. However, I wish to say with all sincerity; Si Yu'us Ma'ase [Thank you] and God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

Carlos G. Camacho⁴⁴⁶

Sablan's songs about Vietnam give insight into the complex position of Chamorros in the U.S. military. They highlight the support for the United States military and the sense that Chamorro soldiers maintained a degree of autonomy within the military. Like the Korean War song "Bai Hanao Pai Gera," willingness to give one's life in war is viewed as a duty, but there is also a degree of fatalism. It comes across as the plight of the working class Chamorro man, who might in fact prefer an easier path in life. The songs rightly present war as dangerous and scary. They also emphasize the separation from loved ones as a major hardship, reflecting the importance of family relationships over individualism in Chamorro culture, in the same way as earlier songs about departure. There are no anti-war songs and there are no pro-war songs and they do not question the motivations for American involvement in the war. In this, the United States is presented in its role as the "state" which governs Guam and to which Chamorros have a duty. The relationship between Chamorros and the American "nation," in the general sense of a community of people with a shared culture and history, is on the other hand ambiguous.

JOHNNY SABLAN RETURNS TO GUAM

In 1971, Sablan returned to Guam to live for the first time since he left for college in 1965. He had recently completed his second Christmas trip to Vietnam and had

⁴⁴⁶ Carlos Camacho, Johnny Sablan, *My Chamorrans*(1970) back cover

just gotten married. He was twenty-four years old and had already accomplished more than most people do in their entire lifetime, but he missed the island and had a passion to continue to promote the Chamorro culture. Soon after returning, he was hired on a short term contract by KUAM to do a five day a week, half-hour radio show called “The Johnny Sablan *Hafa Adai* Guam USA Show. The way KUAM worked was that Sablan bought blocks of time for a flat fee and then was responsible for securing sponsors. He could keep whatever money was left over. Sablan hosted the show in English and played a mix of music that included music from around the world and one or two of his own songs. Part of the show was the “Chamorro word for the day” and he also spent time talking about legends of the island and historic places. According to Sablan, many people appreciated the show, including statesiders who called in thanking him for sharing information about the island at a time when there was little information about the local culture available.⁴⁴⁷

About five minutes of the show was dedicated to a segment called “In Focus” in which he talked about issues that were important to him. In addition to Chamorro language and culture, he remembers that one issue he was particularly vocal about was beach access. Chamorros in the post-war era had long resented not having access to beaches that were under military control, but now new conflicts were arising with hotel development on Tumon Bay. While tourism was still in its infancy, some hotels were putting up no trespassing signs and the prospect of more of Guam’s coastline being restricted from fisherman and Chamorro beachgoers was particularly bothersome for Sablan. The conflict points to the reality that the struggles Chamorros were facing at the time were rooted not just in colonial military policies, but the broader issues of balancing

⁴⁴⁷ Sablan interview.

Chamorro cultural practices such as fishing with economic development. Sablan made money on the show by securing lucrative sponsors but the management of KUAM was not happy with the show's political bent. As a result the show only last a few months before the management informed Sablan that his contract would not be renewed.⁴⁴⁸

Outright political commentary may have been looked down upon, but marketing commercial Chamorro music and broadcasting Chamorros songs in the island's public sphere were socially acceptable ways of countering colonial policies that had suppressed Chamorro language and culture for decades. The music was not political in the sense that it advocated radical political change, but it was an extension of the long established practice by which Chamorros had maintained a degree of autonomy from colonial governments by perpetuating an identity rooted in their language and culture.

The presence of Chamorro music on the air steadily grew with the release of Sablan's music. "Chamorro Hour," which had been part of the KUAM radio line-up since the 1950s, had included some discussion of daily events on the island in the Chamorro language, but the music was for the most part in English. With Sablan's albums, Chamorro music was now available and it seemed to have sparked a demand for more. Chamorro music was no longer something that people just heard occasionally at parties. It could now be brought home or listened to in the car. One woman, who was just out of high school when the Sablan albums started coming out, remembers that she would purposely take the long way home from work at Naval Station so she could listen to Chamorro Hour on the radio.⁴⁴⁹ Another woman remembers that a Sablan album was the

⁴⁴⁸ Johnny Sablan interview.

⁴⁴⁹ Francisca Wright, interview by the author, Hagatña, Guam, 13 February 2009.

first gift that her future husband gave her.⁴⁵⁰ The thousands of Chamorros who were by that time living in the United States permanently or were stationed in domestic and overseas military installations were among the biggest fans of Chamorro music. Chamorros who were in the Navy, stationed on ships, would get together to listen to albums sent from home.⁴⁵¹

The impact of Sablan's music on the popular culture of Guam was immediate, but as with other aspects of cultural change on Guam, it was also received unevenly. Much of its significance would not be clear, until it became evident, after several years, that the albums would inspire many to follow his lead and make their own Chamorro albums. The music was received most enthusiastically by people who had never stopped enjoying Chamorro music, even when it was marginalized in the 1950s and 1960s. Older Chamorros, rural villages and Northern Marianas islanders saw the music as validation for the cultural practices they had maintained. Chamorros in the diaspora saw it as a link to home and helped drive albums sales.

The presence of the music on the airwaves and on vinyl however, gave it legitimacy in the eyes of the larger public and it soon became an important part of the island culture that all Chamorros began to embrace in some way. For Chamorro singers, who had in many cases performed on *The Alan Sekt Show*, or on one of the many other talent shows that was always taking place somewhere on the island, many would now be inspired to sing Chamorro songs.⁴⁵² In Saipan, where Chamorros had, as in Guam, embraced American music in the 1960s, hearing Sablan albums inspired numerous

⁴⁵⁰ Nededog interview.

⁴⁵¹ Perez interview.

⁴⁵² Eloy Reyes interview, Connie Garrido interview.

musicians, who through Sablan's example now recognized the opportunity to make music in their own language.

During these years, Chamorro culture was achieving a higher profile and Chamorro identity was taking on greater meaning for many people who could see that demographic trends pointed towards a rapid displacement of the Chamorro people as the dominant ethnic group on the island. Restaurants and dance clubs that catered specifically to Chamorro crowds were now beginning to pop up and became more alluring during these years since they were places out in the public sphere where Chamorro was freely spoken and understood. One of the earliest clubs to feature Chamorro language music was a place in Asan called Rickshaw. The music demanded by club goers was not usually the slow paced ballads that the Charfauros Brothers, Delgado Brothers or most Chamorro country and western bands played. Instead, people wanted dance music. The house band there was called the El Caminos and it was led by Joe Taimanglo, Jr., the son of the former *Alan Sekt Show* co-host Joe Taimanglo. The younger Taimanglo played Chamorro language versions of popular lounge music and country and western hits set to cha-cha beats and became very popular with club goers.

Down the street from Rickshaw was Joe and Flo's, a restaurant that had opened after the war to cater to the military audience but that was now a restaurant and dance club that catered to an adult Chamorro crowd. In the late 1960s, groups like the Bill Muna Band were hired by Joe and Flo's to play a wide variety of music. For the most part they played English language music that catered to an adult audience. In 1972, the manager of Joe and Flo's, Franklin Gutierrez, brought in Joe Taimanglo as his house

band, establishing Joe and Flo's as one of the most popular venues for Chamorro music.⁴⁵³

CASAMIENTO

Sablan opened Guamerica Studios in 1972, the island's first recording studio.⁴⁵⁴ The studio allowed him to work on numerous projects that promoted Chamorro language and culture, including work on the bilingual bicultural education program. The first album he produced at the new studio was *Chamorro Christmas*, a double album with a cover that featured a man in a Santa Claus outfit riding a carabao by the scenic Umatac Bay overlook. The songs on the album were all traditional Christmas songs, including Chamorro translations of western songs that had been popular since before the war such as "*Fanmatto Manhenggi*" (Oh Come all ye Faithful) and "*Puenggen Yu'us*" (Silent Night) as well as local songs with deeper roots like "*Dandan i Pandaretas*" (Play out the Trumpets). The album featured Mary Doris Cruz, Andrea Innocentes, Annie Susuico, Bernadita Tenorio, Teresita Tenorio and Sablan on vocals and a band that included talented Chamorro pianist/organist Patrick Palomo, Teotimo Advincula on clarinet and bells, Jane Carlson on Violin, and Ephraim Noblezada on banjo.

The Christmas album was the first of dozens of Christmas albums that Sablan and other artists would release over the years. It was a lucrative market that filled a new niche for Chamorro music since every year more Chamorro families on Guam and in the mainland would look forward to Chamorro Christmas music.⁴⁵⁵ At the time, Chamorros

⁴⁵³ Franklin Gutierrez interview.

⁴⁵⁴ The name "Guamerica Studios" seems odd today in the context of a much more developed concept of "Chamorro" identity in the island's public culture, but at the time, Chamorros still largely identified as "Guamanian Americans" and the blending of the terms "Guam" and "America" would not have turned any heads.

⁴⁵⁵ Some readers may be more familiar with his later Christmas albums with his novelty songs like "Jingle Bells Coconut Shells."

were rapidly abandoning the *kustumbren Chamorro Noche Buena* activities, and replacing them with American traditions like Santa Claus, Christmas trees and other traditions that had not played a major role in the lives of non-elite Chamorros before. Before the war, and in more traditional villages and families up through the 1960s, the *novena* (nine days of prayer) culminating in *Noche Buena* (Christmas Eve) were filled with activities that included singing Chamorro Christmas songs.⁴⁵⁶ These celebrations also included carolers who would go from house to house with a statue of baby Jesus or *Niño* and who would be given gifts of food and alcohol.⁴⁵⁷ With the decline of the Chamorro language and with the influx of American Christmas songs and ideas, Chamorros could enjoy Christmas songs that had always been part of *Noche Buena* but now in recorded form.

Sablan's next major project was 1973's *Casamiento*, an album that brought together some of the most talented Chamorro artists on the island, including the Charfauros Brothers, Mike Laguana, Flora Baza and Terry Rojas, all of whom are considered today pioneers of Chamorro music. The Charfauros Brothers as already noted, were well known for their performances around the island. Like the Christmas album, it came with an elaborate fold out record sleeve that featured song lyrics and photographs of the artists posing amongst the ruins of Hagatña's *Plaza de España*. In particular Baza, a successful beauty queen, and the also very beautiful Terry Rojas, were showcased much as American pop stars might be. As in his solo albums, the album cover presented Chamorro music as a professional enterprise of historic significance. The music on the

⁴⁵⁶ *Guam Recorder*, 1972.

⁴⁵⁷ John Perez a Chamorro Navy man who was home for Christmas in 1970 remembers that he participated in one such event in a southern village. By that time, the practice was rare in northern Guam. In his opinion, it was also breaking down in the south since he remembered that the overabundance of alcohol seemed to overshadow the religious function of the practice.

album, on the other hand, showcased a wide variety of personalities, and a set of songs that conveyed deep emotion and gave insight into a Chamorro community that was not completely content with the direction of cultural change. The contrast between the pop sensibilities of the albums' physical presentation, and the albums' content, which present themes of sadness, suffering, and social tension, are striking.

The Charfauros Brothers recorded three tracks for *Casamiento*, two of which, “*I Pepble*” (The Poor Man) and “*Fanhonge Fino Anghet*” (Believe the words of Angels), stand out for the tremendous depth of feeling they express and the tight harmonies of Ike, Tommy and Victor. “*I Pepble*” in particular is a stirring ballad that pays tribute to their father Faustino Laguana Charfauros.

I Pepble (The Poor Man) Jesus Charfauros (1973)

Atan ha' I dos kannai-hu Kayos yan amko' Sa' para i familia-ku hagas masapit yo'	Just look at my two hands callused and old because I have suffered long for my family
I salape' para' bai gaña naya bai masahalom I boka pan ya u guaha Sa' tenga ti nanahong	The money I earn I will sweat for so that there will be some bread to eat because there never seems to be enough
Yangin matto i taria-hu para ma sentensia Ai atan i dos kannai-hu Ya un konsidera	When it's my turn comes to be judged Oh, (Lord) look at my two hands And consider (how I have suffered)
munga yo' ma akompara Yan i bisinu-hu Sa' meggai ti hu na'siña Sigun gi planu-hu	Don't compare me With my neighbor Because there was much I wasn't able to do According to my plans
Yanggen isao este i pepble Yanggen isao ti rumiku Pues hunggan bai hu kumfotme Na meggai isao-hu	If it's a sin to be poor If it's a sin not to be rich Then, yes I will agree That I have a lot of sins
Yangin matto i taria-hu para ma-sentensia Ai atan i dos kannai-hu Ya un konsidera	When it's my turn comes to be judged Oh, (Lord) look at my two hands And consider

Ya un konsidera
Ya un konsidera

And consider
And consider⁴⁵⁸

Jesus Charfauros wrote this song in the late 1960s after watching his father struggling to make a cup of coffee. Jesus remembered that,

One morning, we were all in the kitchen having breakfast and then, I saw my father. He got up, went to the cupboard, got a coffee cup, lifted the kettle, and you know, I noticed that only about half the coffee was landing in the cup. And then the cream, same thing, the sugar, same thing. And I was thinking, “Here’s a guy who lived a very hard life. He had never been rich, he was never wealthy, and yet, we were never hungry, because this guy will work day and night just to support us. So I wrote the song “*I Pepble*” and everything there relates to what and who he was.”⁴⁵⁹

Faustino Charfauros had begun his life as a poor farmer, toiling in the soil of their ranch in Sumitaya’ before and during the war, only to see it condemned after the war for the construction of Naval Magazine. After the war, he worked for the naval government’s public works department as a sanitation truck driver. He was able to keep the job after it was turned over to the Government of Guam in 1950 but it never paid enough to support his large family. To supplement his income, he secured a small plot of land in Agat and continued to farm on the evenings and weekends until his body finally wore out.⁴⁶⁰

More than most, Jesus Charfauros identified with working class and poor Chamorros like his father who endured difficult lives, made harder by the transition to life in post-war Guam. As poor farmers from rural areas where English was rarely spoken before the war, and where people rarely attended school past the fourth grade, they were not prepared to excel in the new economy. Jesus Charfauros had grown up in the 1930s and 1940s hearing similar songs. He explained that

⁴⁵⁸ Jesus Charfauros, *Casamiento* (1972).

⁴⁵⁹ Jesus Charfauros Interview.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

Those songs are not restricted to any period of time. You see, most of the songs Chamorros come up with have to do with suffering, in one form or another. There are very few songs of joy, happy songs. We usually make songs based on personal experiences. So just listen to these guys sing and you can very well tell how bad it has been.⁴⁶¹

Another artist who became popular island wide as a result of the *Casamiento* album was Mike Laguana. Born in 1938, he was not old enough to remember the pre-war era, but he was old enough to have heard a lot of the old songs and he shared the sense of the humor and musical sensibilities of older generations. He stood out among virtually all other recording artists for his ability to sing *chamorritas* extemporaneously. He did not record a *chamorrита* with Sablan, but his roots in the music were clear in his approach to lyrics, timing, rhyming, and humor. *Chamorrита*, because it was generally performed without musical accompaniment, required little emphasis on timing, and musicians all recalled that Laguana was hard to work with. They had to follow him instead of simply laying down their own rhythm for him to follow. During live performances, he was known for singing extemporaneously about whatever was happening at the time or whatever might make the crowd laugh. Such songs could go on for as long as he wanted. Laguana's two contributions to *Casamiento*, "I Don't Like it *Sa Ti Mannge*" (I Don't Like it Because it Doesn't Taste Good) and "*Kanta Babui*" (The Pig Song) both display his talent for songs that combine humor with social commentary.

"I Don't Like it *Sa Ti Mannge*," incorporates the chorus of Hank Snow's 1952 hit "Married by the Bible, Divorced by the Law" into a song that critiques changes in modern day Guam. Snow's song, which was well known to anybody who grew up in Guam in the early post-war years, expressed discontent with the increasing instances of divorce and the concurrent breakdown of the traditional nuclear family. Snow's

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

chorus/title point to a conflict between the Bible and secular law, and Snow implies secular law is winning. Country music historian Bill Malone notes that such songs reflected southern white male anxieties about the shifting gender roles that came with the new urban economic and social base.

While country songs of the 1940s and early 1950s tried to reassure listeners that the old social patterns and relationships would remain intact in the city, lyrics increasingly warned of the situations those relationships faced. Songs summoned up women's traditional place in the household, either by recalling an older world where mother had been loving and nurturing, or by complaining about women who forsook their roles as mothers and homemakers.⁴⁶²

Laguana's use of the of the line "married by the bible, divorced by the law" alerts listeners to the Snow song, but he frames the issue as a more general critique of Americanization with the sarcastic line "Come let's follow the American customs, marry today, tomorrow divorce." Instead of staying on the topic of divorce, the song is mostly a criticism of a wife, who seems to be either a white American woman or a Chamorro woman who has adopted American customs and therefore doesn't cook Chamorro food.⁴⁶³

"*Kanta Babui*" (The pig song) is a humorous song best known for its English language chorus "You'll wonder where the yellow went, when you brush your teeth with Pepsodent." Although the chorus is based on the 1950s/1960s Pepsodent jingle, the melody of the verses is apparently original.⁴⁶⁴ In the song a guy rushes home to take care of his pig, not even taking the time to take off his work clothes. Most likely the man has a job in which his clothes do not get dirty, and the pig drags him into the mud. His friends

⁴⁶² Bill Malone. *Don't Get above Your Raisin*, 74.

⁴⁶³ Song is in the appendix.

⁴⁶⁴ Johnny Sablan, who produced the song, noted that local Pepsodent distributor threatened to launch a legal challenge but did not have sufficient grounds. He was also able to convince them that the song was great publicity for their product. (Sablan interview).

and even the pig laugh at him. It is a song that comes across as nonsense, but like many such songs, in this case, in the style of many *kantan bulacho* (drinking songs), there are aspects of the song to which that Chamorros of that generation could relate. In the 1960s and 1970s many Chamorros raised a few pigs which would be slaughtered for important events. The clear need to do so declined, the more successful a person was in the new cash based economy since people could now buy food in supermarkets. The song exemplifies the tension between the old and the new ways. Both the narrator and the pig find humor in the man's failure to realize his actions don't seem to fit the new reality.

Two other artists that appeared on *Casamiento* were relative newcomers to Chamorro music. Terry Rojas, a talented singer who had been performing at Joe and Flo's, was recruited by Sablan for the album. She was popular on the island music scene throughout the 1970s and recorded a full length album with the Saipanese group the Commonwealth in 1980. Also on the album was Flora Baza, who had been performing on the island since she was a child in the 1950s. When she began high school in 1965, she joined a band called the Hi-Tones which consisted of her cousins. They would play at parties, in military clubs, and would perform around the island in the mid-1960s. Around this time she had begun to sing a few Chamorro songs with the band. She remembers that it was in the mid-1960s that requests for Chamorro music were becoming more common and she learned the song "*I Puti'on*" around this time. However, she was still focused on singing American music during these years. Baza remembers that as student at the University of Guam beginning in 1969, she was singing songs like "Put a Little Love in Your Heart," "Aquarius," and songs from "Jesus Christ Superstar."⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁵ Flora Baza interview.

In 1970, Baza gained considerable exposure as a beauty queen, first winning the Miss Guam Pageant. Then, as Guam's representative, she won the Miss Asia Pacific contest in 1971, the only Chamorro woman ever to do so. As a beauty queen, she was now travelling around the world and began to see her role not just as a representative from Guam but of Chamorro culture. She had come from a traditional family with roots in the southern village of Malessso, so she knew Chamorro well and she would sing Chamorro songs as one of the talents she displayed as a pageant contestant.

Both Rojas and Baza would sing songs written for them through a collaboration between Roque Mantanona and Johnny Sablan. Sablan would come up with concepts and Mantanona, who had a deep knowledge of the Chamorro language, would come up with lyrics and then Sablan would arrange the music. The most well-known of these songs is "*Puti Tai Nobio*," which is the name of the island's territorial flower but means "it hurts to have no boyfriend." Baza, the beauty queen, filled the role perfectly of a woman so beautiful that she intimidates suitors and winds up alone. They built the songs around the story behind the flower.

Only one song on the album, Frankie Sanchez's "Do You Remember Guam?" was entirely in English. In a 1973 newspaper article discussing the album, Sanchez explained that

My song is sung in English. I've gotten some criticism on this. Some people think it should have been done in Chamorro, because a Guamanian likes to hear songs in Chamorro, since there aren't too many being done... This song doesn't apply to just the Chamorros, it applies to anybody who's lived on Guam... In order to have a culture that is accepted and spread, you can't have it just in Chamorro or nobody else will understand what you are trying to communicate.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁶ Judith Powell "Guam Goes on Record" *Pacific Daily News*, 27 October 1973, 35.

There were many people on Guam at the time who agreed with that sentiment but his view was at odds with those of a growing number of Chamorro language advocates who saw Chamorro music as a vehicle for the perpetuation of the language. From today's perspective, the song stands out as the only song on the *Casamiento* album to be left out of future re-releases and greatest hits compilations.

Almost simultaneously with the production of *Casamiento*, the Charfauros Brothers recorded their first full length album at Sablan's studio, *Typhoon Karen*.⁴⁶⁷ The title track, described the suffering of Chamorros during the 1962 storm.⁴⁶⁸ With the string of albums recorded by Johnny Sablan between 1968 and 1973, recorded Chamorro music had become a part of the island's culture, and many more artists would follow his lead. In 1973, Sablan closed down the studio and moved back to California with his wife and children. At age 26, he had already accomplished more than most people do in a lifetime.

CONCLUSION

While Chamorro music seemed to have been making a slight resurgence toward the end of the 1960s, it is unlikely that anyone else on the island had the combination of musical talent, experience in the industry, financial resources, eye for talent and drive that Johnny Sablan was able to provide in the critical period of 1967-1972. Like many others who participated in the cultural and political reawakening that occurred on Guam in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Sablan gained a perspective from moving back and forth between Guam and the U.S. mainland at a critical time in American history when people were starting to question the conservatism of early post-war America. Sablan's life in California, while living among family members in the Chamorro diaspora, and his

⁴⁶⁷ Stacy Lehrman, "Typhoon Karen is on the Way" *Dateline*, 17 September, 1973, 6.

⁴⁶⁸ Jesus Charfauros interview.

experience as a student away from home, gave him the ability to look at his culture from multiple perspectives and enabled him to see value in things others took for granted. His choice to embark on the revitalization of Chamorro music was remarkable for many reasons, but perhaps none more so, than that he had thought to do it at all. As a twenty year old living in California in 1967, he was living amidst a bewildering array of music options to choose from. He chose to spend time with Chamorro elders, and learn songs that almost no one his age was interested in.

The music Sablan produced during these years chronicled Chamorro experiences at the time and also preserved songs from earlier eras that otherwise would likely have been forgotten. Despite concurrent political developments on Guam and the surrounding region, the songs do not address politics. In tapping in to the traditions of working class Chamorros, and older Chamorros who had grown up under the authoritarian naval government, he brought to light a subaltern domain of Chamorro society. As subalterns Chamorros had not been in a position to transform the island's power structure so concerns largely turned inward towards addressing issues within the Chamorro community. Older songs celebrated traditions and reaffirmed values of *kustumbren Chamorro* that had grounded Chamorros for generations. Songs written specifically for Sablan and songs written by Sablan himself often expressed a feeling that the old cultural identity was threatened by the cultural changes that Chamorro society was undergoing as it Americanized, and as it expanded into a diasporic population. Songs about Vietnam reminded people of the plight of Chamorro soldiers, who risked their lives, in part because there were few other options for them in modern Guam.

At the same, time, his albums also targeted a wider audience with songs English language songs like “*Hafa Adai Todu Maolick, How are You?*” In doing so he was promoting a thoroughly modern musical identity that conformed to the expectations of the tourism industry, and to the multicultural community that was developing on Guam. By bringing artists like the Charfauros Brothers, Flora Baza, and Mike Laguana into the studio, to make the *Casamiento* album, he gave an opportunity to some of the island’s greatest talents to help bring old Chamorro songs into the modern world. Sablan showed that Chamorro language could be part of life in modern Guam, not just at *fiestas* or at church, but on the radio, when driving to work, or any of the many other contexts of modern Guam. During these years, the Chamorro attitude towards Chamorro music fundamentally changed, and it is unlikely that this would have occurred if Sablan had not taken the initiative and dedicated his talents to the revitalization of his culture.

CHAPTER 5 THE SOUND OF THE MARIANAS

Between 1973 and 2000, recorded Chamorro music made its biggest inroads into Guam's public culture. With the success of Sablan's recordings, Chamorro music was now appreciated by a broad swath of the population. Sablan, now 26 and married with children, shut down his studio and moved back to California. He continued to make albums throughout the 1970s, but largely stepped out of the limelight for the rest of the decade. The void left by Sablan's departure would be filled by Ike, Tommy and Jesus Charfauros, who helped further develop Chamorro music. Numerous other artists emerged as well, as the market for live and recorded music expanded rapidly.

The true boom years were the early 1980s when dozens of artists established themselves in the nightclub scene, and took advantage of the advent of cassette tapes to record albums cheaply in the Philippines. For the most part, it would be the artists who established themselves in the 1970s and 1980s who would drive the recording industry from that point on. These individuals were generally working class men and women, who had been born in the two decades after World War II. As before, Chamorro songwriting and singing was dominated by Chamorros from the rural areas of southern Guam, but during these years a growing pride in Chamorro identity led Chamorros from throughout the island to embrace Chamorro music. This era would also see the integration of the Guam music scene with the music scene in the northern Marianas, as artists from those islands made their way to Guam and injected new talent into the night clubs.

These were difficult years for Chamorros, however. Numerous social problems emerged, and the sense of community that had been maintained in village communities

gave way to crime and violence. Around 1973, the military presence declined with end of the Vietnam War, which compounded the impact of the global oil crisis. Tourism on the other hand became an increasingly important segment of the economy during the 1970s, growing from 4,284 tourists in 1967 to 345,805 by 1980.⁴⁶⁹ In the 1990s, the annual tourism numbers would regularly hit 1,000,000, and the Tumon Bay region began to resemble a mini-Waikiki. Economic growth, particularly in the late 1980s and early 1990s, was phenomenal, spurring development in the construction and service industry. It also increased land prices and drew in a new wave of foreign laborers. At the same time this service-oriented economy created few opportunities for professionals while inflation priced working-class Chamorros out of the home market and encouraged diaspora.⁴⁷⁰ In 1978, “Guam’s Comprehensive Development Plan” noted that,

The number of employable people continues to increase faster than the ability of Guam’s economy to create jobs. A large percentage of jobs are held by alien immigrant workers because they are less costly to employ. However employment will continue to rise and there will be more competition for those jobs that are available for the local people. Guam’s out-migration of educated residents and professionals to the U.S. mainland will also increase. There is also a fear that Chamorros may become, like the Hawaiians, a minority in their own homeland.⁴⁷¹

Cornelius Van der Poel, in his study “Guam in Search of its own Identity” had a similarly ominous outlook.

⁴⁶⁹ Robert Underwood, “American Education,” 103.

⁴⁷⁰ Housing inflation rose rapidly with tourism. A three bedroom house in the working class subdivision of Kaiser Dededo for example sold for \$18,000 in 1965. The same house sold for \$65,000 in 1986 and 110,000 in 1989. During these years, much of the best beach front properties in Tumon Bay were sold by Chamorros to foreign and stateside investors. Amy Gretsche, “Let’s Make a Deal” *Guam Business News*, August, 1989.16-17. This issue of *Guam Business News* featured a picture of an Asian investor on the cover holding a briefcase with cash spilling out. Chamorros who suddenly became “land rich” during these years, but had no secure income, often ended up selling land in Tumon for large profits, but ended up struggling in the long run. Because the magazine targets the business community, the article focused mostly on the incredible profits to be made, with little concern for the fate of working class Chamorros who were not in a position to prosper from the boom.

⁴⁷¹ Government of Guam: Comprehensive Development Plan, Bureau of Planning, 1978.

To the outside observer, looking at the enormously rapid transition that is taking place, Guam may seem as a youngster who is waking up from a long quiet dream. Personally, however, I am not sure if we should consider Guam as being in the process of waking up from a dream or of being in the grip of a frightening nightmare.⁴⁷²

Numerous social issues disproportionately affected the Chamorro community. The social cohesion once organized around *kustumbren Chamorro* gave way to a new era in which multiple articulations of Chamorro and American political and cultural identity came into tension with each other. There was also a breakdown of the village community and the extended family system, both in the competing cultural models offered by American culture and by the expansion of a culture of drugs and crime. Guam had not experienced the cultural revolution of the 1960s in the same way as the United States but the social acceptability of illicit drugs in American youth culture did make an impact.

Heroin was by far the worst problem because many Vietnam veterans became addicted to the drug in Vietnam and brought the habit home, leading to what would be a permanent drug and criminal culture. The “heroin days” of the 1970s and early 1980s evolved into the ice epidemic of the 1990s. Many Vietnam veterans suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, which combined with alcoholism and drug addiction to fuel domestic violence and a general breakdown of the family unit and created a dangerous cycle of intergenerational trauma.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷² Cornelius J. van der Poel “Guam, in Search of its own Identity: A Study of Mutual Interaction between Religious, Psychological, Cultural, and Economic/Technological Values among the Guamanians in a Period of Rapid Transition with Special Reference to the Difference between Adults and Youth. (Mangilao: Social Science Institute University of Guam, 1973) 2.

⁴⁷³ See Patricia Taimanglo Pier “An Exploratory Study of Community Trauma and Culturally Responsive Counseling with Chamorro Clients, Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1988 for a perspective on the intergenerational impact of Vietnam War era trauma. Pier’s study includes the Vietnam experience as part of a larger historical experience of multiple traumas that Chamorros have experienced under U.S. colonial rule. In the film “Doing it” (1978) Dan Baker documents the darker side of life on Guam in the late 1970s. It explains that heroin came to Guam with returning Vietnam veterans in the late 1960s, establishing pipelines with Southeast Asian suppliers and passing the habit down to younger

Youth in the 1970s and 1980s were therefore dealing not just with a confusing tension between Chamorro and American culture but also broken homes. In the multi-ethnic environment, many associated with village gangs. Filipino sons of laborers that came to Guam after World War II also formed gangs, and life for young people could become particularly violent. These problems combined with continued difficulties for Chamorro youths in the educational system. Chamorros who had grown up in households where parents had little familiarity with English, and had little opportunity to learn Chamorro outside the home, ended speaking a blend of the two called GDE (Guam Dialect English) and suffered in the school system as a result.⁴⁷⁴

These were also years of considerable momentum for political status change that stemmed from rising consciousness about the connection between American colonialism and the breakdown of Chamorro culture. Beginning in the Twelfth Guam Legislature in 1972, political status became a major issue, which culminated in the 1982 plebiscite that selected Commonwealth as the preferred status option and led to the drafting of the

generations. The heroin problem became an epidemic through a combination of easy access to the drug and the influence of American teen pop-culture which was also open to drug experimentation at that time. Made clear in the video is a generation gap, in which parents and grandparents who grew up in tight knit communities regulated by *kustumbren Chamorro* traditions that emphasized respect for elders are at loss for what to do with their kids who rob them in order to support their drug habits. The interviews with teenage addicts are also striking in that they seem disconnected from Chamorro culture. Their main reference points are their cars and going to clubs and they come across as confused kids who could be anywhere in the United States. (Dan Baker, *Doing It*, 1978) Dr. Patricia Taimanglo Pier, a psychologist who studied the effect of trauma on Vietnam Veterans, noted that “many Vietnam veterans were killed indirectly by the war because of drugs” and that “many soldiers used drugs in Vietnam to anesthetize themselves from the war experiences.”⁴⁷³ She describes a situation where PTSD and heroin combined to produce a terrifying pattern. PTSD leads to “marital discord, depression, anxiety disorders, violence and crime in the community.” “Some veterans didn’t know how to deal with their experiences, so a lot of them became substance abusers. Others dealt with their guilt and anger by being abusive to their children and their spouses.” (Patricia Taimanglo Pier, “An Exploratory Study of Community Trauma,” 156.)

⁴⁷⁴ See Monika Kehoe “Language and Politics in Guam and Micronesia” in *Oceania and Beyond: Essays on the Pacific since 1945*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997.) 34-42. For an extended discussion of language proficiency in Chamorro and English during the 1970s and attempts to address this issue through the Department of Education see in Robert Underwood, “American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam.” D. Ed. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1987.” 298-309

Commonwealth Act in 1987.⁴⁷⁵ Explaining the logic behind the need for the political changes outlined in the Commonwealth Act, editors Laura Souder and Robert

Underwood wrote in *I Derechon I Taotao* (1988),

There is a real fear that Chamorros will cease to exist as an identifiable group. There is a real fear that the current social and economic trends do not involve them and that Chamorros will become a permanent underclass in their homeland. There are already signs of this emerging reality in the demographics of educational underachievement, the nature of the prison population, and the rate of outmigration.⁴⁷⁶

Despite recognition that Chamorro language and culture were under threat, many Chamorro teenagers growing up in the 1970s had already reached a threshold in the process of cultural change that was hard to come back from. As noted by Monika Kehoe in 1976:

Their values and desires—for jeans, beauty contest laurels, motorbikes, and plug-in guitars—are shaped as much by Hollywood and network advertising as those of any youngster in Chicago or Des Moines. They are Westernized.... Their total behavior and their choice of life style reveal the much greater influence of their American-English language environment than of their Chamorro heritage. They are clearly detribalized, and their western perception of reality as well as their unconscious acceptance of American social and political institutions is facilitated by their cross cultural English language school and media experience.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ In 1977, the Chamorro activist rallied to form the group PARA, a pre-cursor of the Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPI-R), in protest of the *Pacific Daily News's* rejection of a Chamorro language advertisement because it violated their policy of not including an English translation. After meeting at Latte Park in Hagatña, several hundred protesters marched through the town singing Chamorro songs and then stopped in front of the *PDN* building. Several publicly burned their *PDN* subscriptions as part of the protest. The protest was successful and the newspaper changed its policy. It also led to the development of Chamorro language *Juan Malamanga* comic strip. While the editorial perspective in the *PDN* was generally inattentive to Chamorro cultural issues, the paper increasingly became a format for the expression of critical views. Robert Underwood in particular made a considerable contribution in this light through essays printed in the *Islander* section of the paper during these years. "The Quest for Commonwealth" *Hale-ta: Kinalamten Pulitikat: Siñienten I Chamorro*. (The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 2002), 152. And Hope Alvarez Cristobal (talk given in the Michael Clement's History of Guam class, University of Guam, 28 April, 2010.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, vii.

⁴⁷⁷ Monika Kehoe "Language and Politics," 36.

Nevertheless, there were many who found strength in their cultural heritage, their roots in the land, and in the extended family system that could only truly be perpetuated in their homeland, and Chamorro music had in the post-war era become a format in which attachment to this identity was still expressed in the Chamorro language. Within the Chamorro population, declining proficiency in the language meant that most youths were not in the position to create Chamorro music themselves, and many could not even understand the lyrics of songs.

THE EARLY SEVENTIES CHAMORRO MUSIC SCENE

Not all Chamorro youth who came of age during the 1970s and 1980s would embrace Chamorro cultural identity and even fewer would become fans of Chamorro music. The appeal of American popular culture was very strong; many would never learn the Chamorro language, and were oriented toward moving to the United States. Those who strove for success based on western standards of individual achievement in many cases simply chose to embrace life as an American and excel in business, the military or in a professional field, and were willing to relocate to achieve the best opportunities.

The music scene that emerged was therefore a result of two different dynamics. On the one hand, there were older Chamorros, youth from rural areas and more traditional families throughout Guam and the northern Marianas who embraced the music as part of the culture that had always been central to their identities. On the other hand, there was a more casual audience of the larger Chamorro community on Guam and in the Chamorro diaspora, and to a lesser extent the broader multi-cultural community of the island, that while not necessarily purchasing large amounts of music or attending

performances at nightclubs, nevertheless enjoyed the music for a wide variety of reasons, as it was performed at local events and broadcast on the radio.

Chamorro songs recorded during these years were in many ways similar to songs of earlier times. The picture that emerges from the songs is one in which working-class Chamorros, amidst seemingly positive economic and political development, feel increasingly marginalized and fearful for the future, and are very conscious of the breakdown of the old value system. The moral compass that grounds most of the songs is *kustumbren Chamorro*, and its emphasis on the land, as a homeland and as a source of sustenance, the maintenance of respect within the family, a general grounding in Catholic based rituals and the Chamorro system of reciprocity, an idealized picture of the traditional mother and wife, and the centrality of the Chamorro language to Chamorro identity. In light of the fact that *kustumbren Chamorro*, outside of the writings of anthropologists, had not been articulated as a formal culture, it is apparent that these artists had a significant role in defining it, and reminding the Chamorro public of its centrality to their lives. Also following the practices established by earlier generations, the styles that emerged reflected continual adaptation to the popular music that was part of the larger culture of Guam and the United States.

The void created by Sablan's departure was filled by numerous artists who began to perform Chamorro music at clubs like Joe and Flo's in Asan. Groups like Bill Muna's band, which had played American music in the 1960s, now responded to the new demands and regularly featured Chamorro songs in their sets. A particularly interesting and wildly popular group was the International Dolls, a trio of Korean women who were regularly featured at Joe and Flo's and were backed up by Joe Taimanglo, Jr.'s band the

Caminos.⁴⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the popularity of the Korean singers reveals that there was a shortage of young Chamorro women participating in the Chamorro music scene. During the early 1970s, amidst the growing demand for more recorded music, several artists produced music independently, at off-island studios. Joe Taimanglo, Jr., in his role as band leader at Joe and Flo's, helped define a new Chamorro music sound that would be extremely popular among an emerging contemporary adult audience. With help from the club owner Franklin Gutierrez, he recorded two albums in 1975 and 1976 in the Philippines that captured the sound made popular at Joe and Flo's.

The songs on the albums are a mix of laid back cha-cha and pre-war songs in the more traditional *batsu* style. Many of the songs had horn accompaniment and reflected a jazz influence. "*Hagu mas Ya-hu [guini gi Village]*" (You are the One I Love the Most here in the Village), an adaptation of "Mack the Knife," reflects a sense of how the feel of American lounge singing was combined with localized lyrics. Other songs, such as a Chamorro language version of "*La Cucaracha*," and a new arrangement of "*I Puti'on*," reflected a more upbeat cha-cha sound with electric guitar and organ accompaniment. This style would become hugely popular in the 1980s as numerous artists composed songs that targeted the demand for dance music at fiestas and other large celebrations. This sound is also found in Filipino pop music and it is likely that Filipino studio musicians may have influenced it. This cha-cha sound would become immensely popular at Chamorro festive events, and during the 1980s dozens of artists would include songs on their albums that targeted the disco/party crowd. However, whereas in the Philippines

⁴⁷⁸ After recording songs on *Casamiento* in 1972, Flora Baza left the island for the next ten years with her husband who was in the Air Force. (Robles, Gil "Baza Album a Tribute to Culture" *Guam Tribune* 17 December, 1982.,11.) The women were taught how to pronounce Chamorro words by Taimanglo. During that time, the International Dolls would come to be known for singing her songs at Joe and Flo's. (Franklin Gutierrez, interview with the author, Agana Heights).

one finds many different dance styles, Chamorros would come to see the cha-cha as the most important traditional music of festive events.⁴⁷⁹

Perhaps the best known of the 1970s icons of Chamorro the music scene was Jimmy Dee Flores. He was a veteran of numerous bands on Guam and in California during the 1960s and had played guitar on Johnny Sablan's *Dalai Nene* (1968) and *Hafa Adai Todu Maulick how are you?*(1971). He was still living in California in the early 1970s but after seeing Sablan's success he began to direct his attention to Chamorro music as well, recording his first of roughly thirty albums in 1972. His music tended to reflect the "Guamanian themes" that enforced romantic stereotypes of Pacific islanders and he featured English language songs heavily on his albums. Nevertheless, he usually recorded a few Chamorro language songs on each album and some of these songs have become island favorites. His Chamorro songs could often reflect an awareness of tensions in Chamorro culture as in his recording of "Baba i Tiempo" (Times are Bad) and the song "I was Chamorro when Chamorro wasn't Cool."⁴⁸⁰

Flores 'smooth voice and his knack for showmanship kept him at the center of the public perception of what Chamorro music was. He returned to the island in 1972 and began a Polynesian style dinner show on his family's beach property in the village of Tamuning. Flores quickly established himself as Guam's "Don Ho." The show included the *Chamorritas*, young female dancers who performed hula inspired dance movements

⁴⁷⁹ In her discussion of traditional Chamorro weddings practices in post-war Guam, sociologist Lili Perez Iyechad writes that "No Chamorro festivity was complete unless cha-cha music was played." Lili Perez Iyechad, *An Historical Perspective of Helping Practices Associated with Birth, Marriage and Death among Chamorros in Guam*, (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellon Press, 2001), 108.

⁴⁸⁰ The lyrics of "Baba i Tiempo" are in Chapter Three. "I was Chamorro when Chamorro wasn't cool, has similar lyrics, and expresses the same sentiment as the popular American country western song "I was country when country wasn't cool" although the Jimmy Dee song is arranged to a different melody.

to Flores' music, and young male dancers called the *matuas*.⁴⁸¹ He also began taking his show on the road, promoting Guam as a tourist destination in Japan. Early on, he recorded his albums in the United States and then in the Philippines, but he would later establish his own recording studio on Guam. Owning a recording studio and marketing to tourists at his dinner shows allowed him to sell well over one million records.⁴⁸²

The Delgado Brothers also gained prominence in the early 1970s. They were older than many of the other groups that made albums during these years and had long established themselves as popular Chamorro musicians with a traditional, Spanish inspired pre-war style. In 1974, they recorded three albums with KUAM station manager Laling Camacho, who was known for her KUAM radio show "Women's World" during the 1960s, but had also been instrumental in promoting Chamorro music in the late 1960s.

Under the direction of Nick Abelardo, they went to the Philippines in 1974 and recorded three albums with Filipino studio musicians at Sampaguita Studio in Quezon City. The first album was *Para Si Juan* (for Juan), which was dedicated to their older brother Juan, who had lived in the United States mainland for twenty years before becoming ill and passing away. The album was a mix of older traditional songs, like the World War II song "*Ramon San*," and originals such as "Juan Nangga un Ratu" (Juan, Wait a While), which was a plea to Juan to hold on to life a little longer. *Minachom Atdao* (The Sunset) was of a similar vein while the third album and *Felis Pascua* was a religious album.

⁴⁸¹ Barbara Jacala. "Guam Today, World Tomorrow" *The Guam Tribune*, 17 December, 1982, 11.

⁴⁸² Colleen San Nicolas-Perez, "Puti Tai Nobio and other Hits" in *Guam Business News*, January 2000, 14.

The Delgado Brothers' songs remained true to the style of older folk songs that told stories of everyday life. While the group had always been very active in their church choir and remain so to this day, one song on the album, "*Para si Juan*", stands out for reflecting the syncretic religious worldview that is part of the *kustumbren Chamorro* Catholicism. The song "*Taotao mo'na*," Gus explained, is a true story of an encounter with a spirit in the valley behind his house.⁴⁸³

THE CHARFAUROS BROTHERS

Without Sablan's studio, the development of the Chamorro music was hampered, but the demand for the music was significant. In 1973, KUAM radio station manager Laling Camacho approached Tommy Charfauros while he was at work in the Guam Legislature and offered him a job as the new host of "Chamorro Hour." In their discussions, it was decided that he would bring in his brother Ike as a sound engineer and produce a new kind of show. Chamorro Hour would be the first all Chamorro music show. The show began at 8:00 p.m., Monday through Friday and was initially an hour long. In the early years, Charfauros opened the show, with a recording of the pre-war song "*Dipotsi Kustumbre-ku*" (That's Just my Habit) while he announced to the audience that the purpose of the show was to "preserve our culture in music" and to "promote local talent."⁴⁸⁴ This introduction showcased a wry sense of humor in that the song described a man who must get drunk in order to build up courage to ask for his fiancé's parents for her hand in marriage.⁴⁸⁵ It was a reference to *kustumbren Chamorro* and drunkenness, set against the plea to preserve the culture.

⁴⁸³ Gus Delgado, interview by the author. Agana Heights, Guam, 28 February 2008.

⁴⁸⁴ Gloria Lujan, "Consistency Spells success for Tommy Charfauros" *Pacific Daily News*, 28 June, 1975., 35.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

Soon they were joined by older brother Jesus, who alternated days with Tommy as the host. While Tommy stuck to talking about music and the artists, Jesus would often talk about political issues. Much of his view was shaped by his knowledge of history and events that were happening in the region at the time. He was particularly disturbed by the fact that Micronesia was going through the process of decolonization but Guam was left out despite the fact that Guam had been with the United States much longer and had been loyal throughout World War II.⁴⁸⁶ For a Chamorro population tied closely to the military and hesitant about radical political change, his commentaries pushed the boundaries of what some were willing to accept. When asked about whether people complained about his brother Sus, Tommy explained “Oh *laña*, fucking truckloads of complaints, because some people get irritated.”⁴⁸⁷ In reality however, Sus had very nuanced views on the relationship between Guam and the United States. He envisioned an independent Guam, and publicly advocated independence. However, he also recognized that political independence was unlikely. He explained that “If we can’t have independence, then I want what the rest of Micronesia has.” He remembers that,

When people hear me talk about this they just branded me man. But you see in reality I recognize that the United States contributed a lot to the island of Guam and the people of Guam. It did a lot of good. But brother, at the same time, the United States made a lot of mistakes.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Jesus Charfauros. In a recently released study, it has come to light that the Ford administration was open to offering Guam a Commonwealth status similar to what the C.N.M.I. ended up having, but the Interior Department withheld this information from Guam leaders. While this information only became available decades later and so did not inform the local debate over political status, it points to the reality that the interests of the federal government do not necessarily align with desires of the Guam population and that competing interests in the federal government shape Guam’s possibilities in a top down manner. See Dirk Ballendorf and Howard P. Willens *The Secret Guam Study*, (Saipan: M.A.R.C. and N.M.I Division of Historic Preservation, 2004)

⁴⁸⁷ Tommy Charfauros Interview with author (*laña* is a slang expletive with a variety of meanings in Chamorro).

⁴⁸⁸ Interview with Jesus Charfauros.

It was Jesus who changed the name of the show to *Programma Chamorrta*. While the term *chamorrta* had previously referred to the pre-war call and response songs, the brothers helped redefine the term as any song in the Chamorro language.⁴⁸⁹ Like Chamorro Hours of the past, the show took request calls from listeners and the deejays would also take time to discuss local issues. In addition to his job as a deejay for *Programma Chamorrta*, in 1975, Jesus began the “Chamorro News,” a Chamorro language broadcast of the news every evening at 6:00 p.m. It was at this time that KUAM General Manager Frank Mullen suggested that he come up with a professional name and he picked the name “Sus Chamorro.”⁴⁹⁰ The 1980s and early 1990s brought the Chamorro language talk show format to television with *Programma Konbetsasion*, where Sus Chamorro served as a moderator and host, and in which he showcased a very independent mind that did not necessarily fall in line with any particular interest group.

In 1973, the only Chamorro music available was Johnny Sablan’s recordings and to fill up the time slot the brothers began to bring artists into the studio to record them and they also went out into the community with reel to reel tape recorders. The brothers were constantly searching out talent, going to fiestas and backyard barbecues or wherever they heard the talent was.⁴⁹¹ Among the first group of artists recorded were Maria Quintanilla Topasna, Jimmy Mafnas, Joaquin Bautista, Antonette Quitigua, John Benavente, George Cruz, the Lizama Brothers, the Delgado Brothers, the Imprimeras, Mike Laguana, and J.D. Crutch. Some of these artists were known island wide from their performances on *The Alan Sekt Show*, but had not previously been known for singing in the Chamorro language.

⁴⁸⁹ Cathy Coulehan, *Portraits of Guam: Chamorro Music*, video cassette, Coulehan and Co. 1994.

⁴⁹⁰ Jesus Charfauros Interview.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.

As a result of their exposure on the show, they gained an island-wide audience as Chamorro singers and many went on to record Chamorro albums. The music that was produced for the show was not for commercial sale. Instead, the reels were transferred to NAB cartridges⁴⁹² for the radio station. Over time, the tapes and carts would be re-used and most of this music would be lost. A few of the recordings were kept by the radio station and have since been digitized and put into the KUAM computers where they remain available to the station deejays.⁴⁹³

With the experience Ike Charfauros gained producing music for *Programma Chamorrita*, he decided to open his own recording studio, and in 1976, he established Charfauros Bros. Productions. A core group of musicians including Joe Taimanglo, Jr. on bass, Rick “Tuan” Camacho on drums, and Joe Cunningham, who served in a variety of roles, worked as studio musicians, while many other artists contributed to the albums that would be produced and the studio became a focal point of the Chamorro music scene in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Albums under the Charfauros Bros. Production *Plaka de Ladera* label were the Charfauros Brother’s *Sylvia* (1976), George Cruz’s *I Katta na Haane* (1977), J.D. Crutch’s *Guinaifen Manglo* (1977), the mix albums *Meskla Unu* (1978) and *Meskla Dos* (1979), and Tinian artist Eddie de la Cruz’s *Ayuda si Nana yan si Tata* (1977). Their final album on their *Plaka de Ladera* label was, Flora Baza’s *Queen of Chamorro Music* (1982). The studio also played a role in many of the other albums such as the Compadres’ *Eva* (1979), Marianas Homegrown (1980), Peter Champaco and the Fejeran Sisters’ (1983) *Put Fabot Nana-hu* and Tropicsette’s *Saipan* (1980).

⁴⁹² NAB Cartridges were a type of cassette tape used by radio stations. They were often simply called “carts”

⁴⁹³ J.T. Palomo interview, interview with the author. Dededo, Guam, 25 February 2008.

Following the lead of Johnny Sablan, the Charfauros brothers directed considerable attention to producing professional-looking album covers, with stories about the artists, and other liner notes that expressed the historic importance of recording Chamorro songs. While Ike Charfauros ran the studio and handled production and arrangements, Jesus was always at the center of things, just as in the Charfauros Brothers band. Jesus' worldview would be presented on album liner notes and in the songs he wrote for his brothers and for numerous other artists who recorded at the studio.

The first album produced by Charfauros Bros. Production was their album *Sylvia* (1976). The Charfauros Brothers remained rooted in a pre-war style not significantly different from their earlier recordings with Sablan. One song that stands out in particular on the album is “*Manhalom Chapanese*” (The Japanese Landed), which reflected Jesus' experience as a boy when the Japanese landed. Another song, in the tradition of “*Mungayo' Ma Fino Englesi*”, was “*Mangge i Fangualo'an?*” (Where are the Farms?), a commentary on the declining interest in agriculture among young Chamorros.

The second artist to make a record under Charfauros Bros. Production was the Chamorro country and western singer George Tajalle “The *carabao* riding cowboy” Cruz. Cruz, a villager of Asan, was of the same generation as Jesus and like him had come from a family with strong musical traditions and an attachment to the soil. In the liner notes of the album *I Katta Na Haane* (Letter of the Day) (1977), he explains that “many a song were created while tending his taro patch just as songs were perfected during many a corn harvest.”⁴⁹⁴ Like most Chamorros of his generation, Cruz was also

⁴⁹⁴ Jesus Charfauros *I Katta Na Haane* liner notes.

intensely loyal to the United States and he dedicated two songs on his album to his three oldest sons who were at the time serving in the United States Air Force.⁴⁹⁵

One of the songs “*Banderan Americano*” (The American Flag) is an adaptation of the World War II hit by Bob Miller and Shelby Dornell “There’s a Star Spangled Banner Waving Somewhere.” The other song he dedicated to his sons was, “*Adios Todos.*” This song, like “*Adios Kerida,*” is a song of farewell to loved ones as a man departs for military service. In a letter to George Cruz that appears in the liner notes, Jesus Charfauros congratulates him for his “major contribution to the culture of your people.”⁴⁹⁶ This is significant because it demonstrates that despite Charfauros’ critical views of the United States, he understood the views of Chamorros who were not as radical as himself and he recognized the importance of promoting Chamorro language and identity above all else.

The 1978 albums *Meskla Uno* and 1979 *Meskla Dos* were compilations of thirteen of the mid-late 1970s most talented Chamorro singers. Mike Laguana, the highest profile artist on the album, having established himself as a Chamorro music pioneer on Sablan’s *Casamiento* (1973) album, largely stuck to his own unique style. Laguana, who would later work in the 1980s and 1990s to help promote *chamorrita* singing, was well grounded in this older form of extemporaneous debate. He did not record a *chamorrita* for the album but his contribution “*Stera si Rai*” (Once Upon a Time) featured his unusual timing and his way of seemingly cramming long sentences into a short amount of space, partly for comedic effect, and partly to finish a thought. The approach shared

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

much in common with *chamorrta*, in which participants had to make their lines fit the structure of the songs on the spot.

“*Maulek-ña na Bai Mamatai*” (It’s Better that I Die) showcased the unique humor with which he dissected social issues. The song tells of the suffering of a man with *lytico-bodig*, a disease that has been described as “a sound brain imprisoned in a paralyzed body.”⁴⁹⁷ The disease is related to amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), also known as Lou Gehrig’s Disease. It is a rarity in most of the world but was extremely common among Chamorros born before World War II, particularly in the southern village of Umatac. In the song, Laguana describes the plight of a man who, suffering from total paralysis, is conscious of his surroundings and watches as his wife treats him as if he is blind. She gets dressed up to go to church and presumably flirts with other men.⁴⁹⁸ The line “*ai minakat pinadesi, i biudu na ’lalala*” (Oh it’s a heavy burden to be the widower to someone who is still alive) gives a sense of the suffering felt by victims of the disease, but is also a commentary on the shifting values of Laguana’s generation. The song is one of many examples of how Chamorro music was a format in which uncomfortable issues could be raised in a socially acceptable format.

Several of the acts on the *Meskla Uno* and *Meskla Dos* albums were younger artists who came from traditional families where young people were still speaking Chamorro at home in the mid-1970s. The Reyes Brothers stood as the only act featured on both albums. The brothers along with J.D. Crutch and Peter Champaco, led a generation of talented young Chamorros from the southern villages of Talofoyo, Inarajan, Umatac, and Merizo to bring Chamorro music into the early 1980s. Eloy Reyes, one half

⁴⁹⁷ Robert Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 224-5.

⁴⁹⁸ “*Maulegna na bai mamatai*” in *Meskla Uno*, Charfauros Bros. Productions, 1978. This song is in the Appendix.

of the Reyes Brothers, gave a sense of how, while in high school in the mid-1970s, he and other southern youths had grown up in a much different environment than Chamorros in the north. He explained that in Talofoto, “Everyone was speaking Chamorro...Down here, there were no theaters and shopping centers and all that...we were more or less fiestas and barbecues.” When they went up north, people

knew we were not from there. That we’re from down here. Because of the clothes we wore, you know, we all wore jeans and things like Hawaiian prints. But when you go up there it was all polyester and stuff like that. And when you look at it up there, the Chamorros and the Tagalogs kind of interact. And they become more modernized.⁴⁹⁹

While Eloy was a big fan of Elvis and country western music, he was always around Chamorro songs and grew up in a Chamorro-speaking household. His father Enrique Pablo Reyes was a talented songwriter who performed at political rallies in the 1960s and 1970s and had written a popular song about Japanese stragglers called “*Minigawa*” that he often sang at during the 1974 Ricardo Bordallo gubernatorial campaign.⁵⁰⁰

Peter Champaco, a Merizo villager who graduated from high school in 1974, had grown up singing in church. He also performed in the plays his uncle Francisco Flores developed each year for the fiesta of San Dimas, Malesso's patron saint.⁵⁰¹ Champaco had been oriented towards English language rock and roll, disco and country in his 1970s bands but he had always loved to sing old Chamorro songs. While Chamorros from the south had been called “*taotao tatte*’ (hillbilly), Champaco named one of his mid-1970s

⁴⁹⁹ Eloy Reyes interview.

⁵⁰⁰ The connection between political parties and Chamorro language music, especially during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s is a topic that was not explored fully during this project. However, the prominence of Chamorro music at such events during these years points to the mobilization of “grass roots” by political leaders. The last Japanese straggler to be caught was Shoichi Yokoi, who was captured in Talofoto in 1972 by Manuel De Gracia and Jesus Duenas, who was the father of singer J.D. Crutch. Bunjo Minigawa was caught in 1960. The chorus of the song is “Miniminiminigawa yan Ito San. Miniminiminigawa yan si Yokoi san. Mimiminiminigawa, todū i Chapanese manbachigo (all the Japanese have slanted eyes). The song described the story of De Gracia and Duenas chasing Yokoi through the jungle. (Reyes interview)

⁵⁰¹ Peter Champaco interview.

bands *Santatte* (from the back), as a show of pride in his southern, less Americanized upbringing.⁵⁰² During a 2008 interview, he reflected on the way the south had held on to its identity as a Chamorro place because it had predominately remained in the hands of Chamorros.

Right now, the southern part of the island, this village, is Guam. I consider this still Guam. Up north, the majority of the people are not from Guam, They're outrun by the [non-Chamorros]. They bought their lands and built hotels, apartments, stores. But we're Merizo. We're still Malesso.⁵⁰³

Champaco would not become deeply involved in the Chamorro music scene until after he completed a short stint in the Army during the late 1970s. For Eloy Reyes, the chance to record came in the brief window of his early adulthood, before he left the island for three decades. Eloy and his brother George recorded four songs for the *Meskla* albums. Two of the songs were adaptations of American songs that his father had written and often sung. "*Sanhaya Dandan*" (South of Dandan) was an adaptation of the 1939 Gene Autry hit, "South of the Border." The Gene Autry song was a love song, but Eloy's father's lyrics described the peacefulness and the fertility of the family ranch in Bubulao, Talofofu, which contrasted considerably with the urban environment that was developing in northern Guam.⁵⁰⁴ Another song Reyes learned from his father, "*Hinasso-ku na hu danche*" (I Thought that I was Right), was a more direct translation of the 1925 Brox Sisters' hit "Tie Me to Your Apron Strings Again." Reyes explained that

Those were old songs that my dad probably heard on record... So we never heard (the original recording). My dad turned (Apron Strings) into a Chamorro song and started singing it... and they loved it... we sang that over the years and we knew that by heart. So when Joe from Charfauros Brothers Studio [for the *Meskla*

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Peter Champaco, interview. In this sentence Champaco used both Malesso and Merizo to refer to his home village.

⁵⁰⁴ Bubulao is an isolated ranching area south of Talofofu village.

Unu and *Meskla Dos* albums] asked us to sing, two weeks before I had to leave the island, we recorded [those two songs].⁵⁰⁵

Two other songs the Reyes Brothers recorded for the *Meskla Unu* and *Meskla Dos* albums were written by Eloy himself and reflect the experiences of his generation of Chamorros. He wrote one song, “*Mangge si Tata*” (Where is Dad?) several years earlier when he was in middle school at the tail end of the Vietnam War. While his dad was around, many other kids his age had fathers who were abroad in the Armed Forces. He remembered that:

It was something that I thought of, you know? A lot of families not having dads. Because my dad was still there... You know what inspired me to write that? I was sitting there... thinking back when my dad and I were sitting on the porch counting B-52s. So dad and I would sing a couple of tunes and then he would say, ‘there goes another one, there goes another one, another one’s coming... So I was thinking of my dad being away, not being here... It just kind of prompted me to write a song about families that are feeling that.’⁵⁰⁶

Another Eloy Reyes original “*Nene*” (Babe) gives insight into the diasporic nature of the Chamorro community by this time. The song came about from an unplanned pregnancy with his girlfriend when he was seventeen and it describes the discussions that they had. Eloy, unsure if he would be able to support her, made the decision to join the Navy and told his girlfriend to meet him in California. He used a line in the song “If you don’t meet me in California, I’ll come get you in a year’s time” that was very similar to songs about departure from earlier eras. She agreed and their plan to meet in California worked out.

For Eloy, the decision to join the Navy meant that he would spend most of his life in the United States mainland and give up recording from that point on. As a result, he was not part of the vibrant live music scene of the 1970s and 1980s but the songs he

⁵⁰⁵ Eloy Reyes, interview with the author. Eloy recorded the songs for the *Meskla* albums in 1976, but the albums were not completed until 1978 and 1979.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. Eloy’s was probably remembering Operation Linebacker II “The Christmas bombing” of North Vietnam in December of the 1972.

recorded for the *Meskla* albums documented the perspective of a young teenager from southern Guam during these years.

J.D.CRUTCH

Joseph Castro Duenas was born in the southern village of Talofofu in 1955. He grew up poor, working on the farm and according to Duenas, he “never saw electricity at home until [he] was sixteen.”⁵⁰⁷ As a child he was crippled by polio, resulting in the nickname “Crutch.” His hard life nevertheless grounded him in experiences that were closer to the Chamorro experience of earlier generations. Except when at school, Duenas lived in a Chamorro speaking world and worked on the ranch with his ten brothers and sisters. Continuing traditions from earlier generations, his family used music to break up the monotony of the work, often “throwing” *chamorritas* back and forth. Without television, they would also set up bonfires in the evenings and sing Chamorro songs.⁵⁰⁸ While such a lifestyle in the 1960s was looked down upon, the stigma seemed to make Crutch stronger and proved to be an asset.

J.D. Crutch arrived on the music scene at the exact time when youths who had grown up disconnected from Chamorro culture were looking for an identity.⁵⁰⁹ During the early 1970s, when the songs of the Charfauros Brothers, Johnny Sablan and the Delgado Brothers played on the radio he noticed his peers would change the station.⁵¹⁰ He recalled “That kind of got me to start....I wondered if I just changed the way Chamorro songs are, maybe if they don’t understand the words, at least they can like the

⁵⁰⁷ Flores, “Born to be Wild”, in *Latte: The Essence of Guam*. August 1996, 50.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁹ This points to the further Americanization of the island. As noted in the previous chapter, Johnny Sablan’s search for identity was partly a result of growing up away from Guam. By the seventies, such feelings were increasingly felt by Chamorros who stayed on island.

⁵¹⁰ Jayne Flores “Kantan Chamorro: Preserving the Homegrown Jams,” 42.

music.”⁵¹¹ His motivation was matched by his clear, powerful voice, described as “a mystic blend of Rod Stewart raunch and the nasal sound of the Chamorro *techas*.”⁵¹²

People who remember Crutch often mention his love for singing in any situation whether he had a guitar with him or not, and for never being ashamed for singing in the Chamorro language. This was true whether he was sitting with friends in the school hallway, in the classroom, or at a movie theater.⁵¹³ Susan Aguon, a friend from their middle and high school years, believes that by proudly singing in Chamorro, he helped break down some of the stigma attached to Chamorro music among teenagers in the early 1970s.⁵¹⁴ While still in high school, in 1973, he was one of the first artists Ike Charfauros recorded for *Programma Chamorita*. It was at this time that Crutch began to collaborate with his uncle Roque Mantanona. Mantanona recalled that:

JD Crutch is my nephew, but I never thought he could sing. But one day [in 1973] I was listening to the radio and they announced his name...Joseph Duenas. That's how I know him, Jose Duenas. So I went to Talofoto and I saw his father and Joseph singing outside the ranch. And I said, 'you have a good voice, why don't you tag along with me and I'll write you some songs.'⁵¹⁵

By October 1974, he was well known in school and he put on a performance in the school gym as part of “Chamorro Week.” As soon as he started, the students erupted in applause. Robert Underwood was teaching at George Washington at the time and witnessed the event. He remembers turning to a fellow teacher, and with a mixture of

⁵¹¹ Ibid., 42.

⁵¹² Joe Cunningham “The Late Great J.D. Crutch, Artist, Outlaw” in Uncle Tote’s MySpace Blog” (accessed 21 July, 2010).

⁵¹³ Jesus Charfauros, *Guinaifen Manglo* (1977) liner notes.

⁵¹⁴ Susan Aguon, interview with author, Mangilao, Guam, 5 October 2009.

⁵¹⁵ Roque Mantanona, interview with author, Mangilao, Guam, 9 February 2010.

pride and disbelief, reflected on how such a response from high school students would have been unheard of when they were in high school a decade earlier.⁵¹⁶

In 1976 he began work on *Guinaifen Manglo* (The Wind Blew), the third and by far the most successful album recorded at the Charfauros Bros. studio. The songs on the album were a mix of original songs and Chamorro language covers and adaptations of American songs. Among the covers were “*Mandaña I Campana*” (The Bells are Ringing) which was an adaptation of the Hank Williams hit “Wedding Bells are Ringing in the Chapel” and “*Ti hu Talo Domingo*” (I Will Not Leave Again), which was Crutch’s translation of Cecilio and Kaponon’s hit song “Home.” The original songs on the album were collaborations between J.D. Crutch and Mantanona. Mantanona provided lyrics and Crutch came up with chords and melodies. Two songs that Crutch wrote by himself were “*Estorian Guinaiya-ku*” (The Story of my Love) and “*Ayuda un Keyao*” (Help a Crippled Man), which referenced his own handicap.

Recording for the album began in 1976 at the Charfauros’ studio, with studio musicians Rick “Tuan” Camacho on drums and Joe Taimanglo, Jr. playing guitar, bass and piano tracks. Also in the studio was Joe Cunningham, who worked for Ike Charfauros as an arranger and sound engineer, and who would play a large role in the album and in Crutch’s future career. Cunningham was a former United States Air Force disc jockey who got stationed on Guam in 1968, when he worked for Armed Forces Radio and Television (AFRTS) at Anderson Air Force Base.⁵¹⁷ Already an accomplished

⁵¹⁶ Robert Underwood. Interview with the author. Mangilao, Guam. 9 September, 2010. Robert Underwood was by this time a cultural advocate and was instrumental in organizing Chamorro Week at George Washington. He would later start Chamorro Week at the University of Guam.

⁵¹⁷ Joe Cunningham “Seven Minutes in Malesso” in *Estorian Kantan Chamorro: Songs and Stories of Marianas Homegrown & J.D. Crutch*. Video Recording, Patchwork Entertainment Industries Inc. 2010. In a 2007 conversation with the author, Cunningham described his role at AFRTS as “Guam’s Adrian Cronaur.”

flautist and all around musician, he ventured off base to look for places to jam, and he soon hooked up with a local jazz band, with whom he performed at various local clubs.⁵¹⁸ Cunningham enjoyed the island and the local music scene and made the decision to remain on the island as a civilian. Through working at Charfauros Bros. Studio he developed an interest in the Chamorro music scene. Seeing his interest, Jesus Charfauros took him under his wing and started to teach him Chamorro.

Cunningham was also part of Tugboat, a rock and roll group made up of statesider transplants who were popular on the island beach bar/nightclub scene. In 1976, when J.D. Crutch was recording *Guinafen Manglo* at the Charfauros Bros. studio, Tugboat was also there, working on their own project. As a result they ended up playing on the J.D. Crutch tracks “*Ti hu Ta’lo Domingo*” and “*Maseha Haftaimanu*” (No matter How)”⁵¹⁹ *Guinaifen Manglo*, broke new ground in the Chamorro music recording industry because it was perhaps the first real Chamorro rock and roll album. More than the musical arrangements however, what made the power of J.D. Crutch’s voice. It was undoubtedly also a cross-over album that shaped not just the culture of the Chamorro community, but the multicultural youth culture of the island.

On the back cover of *Guinafen Manglo*, Cunningham gives a sense of how the music contributed to a “Guamanian” identity that included the Chamorro language.

I spend a lot of time with Crutch...recording, playing music with him, partying and just hanging out with him. I’m proud because he is a young voice taking deep Chamorro into newer musical forms, amidst cries that the language is dying. My own Guamanian pride makes me feel good about this album...made by jungle rules and local dudes, right here at home.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

⁵¹⁹ Joe Cunningham “The Late J.D. Crutch.”

⁵²⁰ Joe Cunningham. *Guinafen Manglo* LP back cover, Charfauros Bros. Productions, 1977.

According to Cunningham, it was like most groundbreaking events, not received warmly by all.

A Guamanian country and western recording artist (who shall remain nameless) actually wrote a letter to the editor of the local newspaper bashing the album, saying he thought it was a disgrace that anyone could just come out of the jungle and make a record album.⁵²¹

With the success of *Guinaifen Manglo*, Crutch became a household name on Guam and he spent the next few years performing in the local club scene with Tugboat and with other local musicians who were working on a collaborative album. Among this group were Chuck Mc John and Frank “Country” Reyes.

Mc John had come to Guam as a contract teacher in 1972. Originally from New York, he was recruited to Guam via Castroville, California, where he had been working at the Buena Vista migrant camp. With his experience teaching English as a Second Language (ESL), he explained that the Guam Department of Education decided the logical place for him was the southern village of Merizo. He explained that “they thought Malesso was the right place because (he joked) all those people could barely speak English.”⁵²² He ended up falling in love with the place and with his future wife. Ironically, he explained, “They were sending me to help them speak English and the opposite occurred, they ended up helping me with my Chamorro.” Mc John met Cunningham in 1974 at a bar called Leigh’s By the Sea and befriended Crutch during the recording of the *Guinaifen Manglo* album in 1976.⁵²³

⁵²¹ Joe Cunningham, “The Late J.D. Crutch: Artist/Outlaw.” This points to a lingering stigma about southern roots and Chamorro identity. One club owner actually told me how he only let Crutch play a few songs on any given night because he would often play ballads. While this understandable for a dance crowd what was interesting was the he ended with, “he’s too Chamorro, you know what I mean?” (Gutierrez interview)

⁵²² Chuck Mc John “Seven Minutes in Malesso.”

⁵²³ Ibid.

Frank “Country” Reyes was from the village of Sinajana but had spent most of his young life away from the island because his father was in the military. He moved back to the island in the late 1960s and graduated from George Washington High School in 1972. Shannon Murphy, who was a classmate of his, remembers that their circle of friends included statesiders, Filipinos, children of mixed parentage, and Chamorros who all spoke English and were very oriented toward American culture.⁵²⁴ Frank Reyes was known to always have his guitar with him and would play the popular acoustic rock music of the era.⁵²⁵ Having not grown up on Guam, Reyes was not a fluent Chamorro speaker but he was an excellent songwriter.

Unfortunately, like many young adults during those years, both on Guam and in the United States, he got caught up in the permissive drug culture of the time. The prevalence of heroin and other hard drugs and violent crimes on Guam during the 1970s escalated. Although it was later determined that he was not the primary person responsible, Reyes was convicted in 1973 for involvement in a violent murder at the house of a local judge and was sentenced to prison. By the late 1970s, he was living in a halfway house. Chuck Mc John and others would visit him there, bringing him guitar strings and playing music together.

Tugboat had been working on an album during the late 1970s and teamed up with Cunningham and Mc John, but after recording several songs, the original members of tugboat decided to try their luck in the mainland music scene. Cunningham, Mc John, and J.D. Crutch formed the core of another group called *Ga’ga* Brothers and also recorded songs. The *Ga’ga* Brothers and Tugboat songs were packaged together as *Marianas*

⁵²⁴ Shannon Murphy, personal communication. June 2010.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

Homegrown (1980). The album was popular among diverse audiences because it included both original English language rock and roll, oriented towards the local audience, and it included several Chamorro language songs that attracted the growing audience for Chamorro music. Notably, both Mc John and Cunningham tried their hand at composing Chamorro language songs. Mc John's love song to his wife, "*Chamorrita*," was one of the most popular songs on the album.⁵²⁶

Frank Reyes, while still in the halfway house, played a key role in the band. One of the songs that came out of these half way house jam sessions was "Southern Comfort," a song about the beauty and serenity of Guam's southern seaside villages. Reyes wrote "Island Snowman" (slang term used on Guam at the time to refer to heroin) at the request of Dan Baker, a Guam resident who had received a grant to do a documentary on the heroin problem on Guam.⁵²⁷ The first few lines of the song are:

Do you remember the day, you came back home to Guam?
You rode that snowman's horse that you brought from Vietnam.
You said the whitey snowman will never strap a saddle upon your back.
You said you couldn't get hooked if you only snorted smack.
He's gonna bleed you dry, he's your sister's pimp, he's the pusher man.
What have you gone and done, this time?⁵²⁸

The song describes a life ripped apart by heroin addiction. The last line is "Mom and dad cried themselves to sleep last night again." Chuck Mc John explained that:

This song is a peek into how life was during those days, when the heroin was coming from Thailand and ruining people's lives, wrecking them like a train wreck. And we saw lots of people, even down in Malesso, down in Talofofu and places like that, and Frank felt that. He knew that and J.D. certainly knew it too.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ Here the term "*Chamorrita*" refers to a young Chamorro woman. There is no relation to the call and response song discussed in earlier chapters.

⁵²⁷ Chuck Mc John in "Seven Minutes in Malesso."

⁵²⁸ *Marianas Homegrown*, Guam Musician's Guild, 1980.

⁵²⁹ Chuck Mc John "Seven Minutes in Malesso."

Today the song is primarily known for the Chamorro version, titled “*Binenu*” (Poison [heroin]) that was recorded by J.D. Crutch on his second solo album *Hu Aprueba Hao na Bonita* (1981).⁵³⁰ Mc John explained that:

When we started on the album after *Marianas Homegrown*, [Crutch] said, ‘I gotta sing that song, because there are people out there who are wrecking their lives’ And he did a pretty good job himself...with his destructive behavior...It was a tough world, lots of people were on drugs, lots of people were hanging around doing seriously wrong stuff. And J.D. said, ‘We gotta do that in Chamorro. Let’s help people figure out that that’s no way to live.’⁵³¹

Despite his misgivings about the problems facing Guam’s Chamorro community at the time, Crutch fully embraced the rock and roll lifestyle and this came through in songs like the Merle Haggard cover “*Benti Unu Yo’ gi Presso*” (I Turned 21 in Prison) and “Rota Buds,” a Chuck Mc John song about their experiences with marijuana in Rota. Perhaps the most interesting song, from the perspective of connections to older Chamorro music traditions, is “*Ti Ya-hu Iyo-ku i Stone*” (I Don’t Like My Buzz). The song on the surface seems far from traditional. It begins with Crutch expressing dissatisfaction about his beer buzz and reminiscing about marijuana and L.S.D. but then he switches to a discussion of his favorite cars, and the discomfort of travel on Guam’s bumpy roads. What stands out is the random manner of story-telling and the unexpected rhymes and references.⁵³² The intended effect is to make listeners laugh and to paint mental images that make sense to the listeners very much in the same manner as pre-war songs like “*An Dangkolo si Nana.*”

During the late 1970s and 1980s, J.D. Crutch enjoyed tremendous popularity.

During the early years he usually played with the *Ga’ga* Brothers, while later he often

⁵³⁰ The term *binenu* literally means ‘poison’ but is used to refer to heroin and other illicit drugs. This album was re-released in 1993 under the title *Apu Magi*.

⁵³¹ Patchwork Productions, *Estorian Kantan Chamorro*.

⁵³² This song is in the appendix.

performed as a solo artist. Increasingly, he became known for powerful ballads that expressed hardship and suffering. A measure of his popularity during these years was his selection in 1980 as one of Guam's representatives to perform in the 3rd Annual Festival of Pacific Arts which was held in Papua New Guinea that year.⁵³³

While most J.D. Crutch songs either expressed his outlaw personality or dealt with topics of love and relationships, often unstable ones as a result of his lifestyle, some of his songs could present social commentary on the process of cultural change that he saw on the island. This was particularly true of his solo albums produced in the 1990s. For example, the song “*Antes na Tiempo*” (In the Past) from the album *Ta'lo un Biahe* (One More time) released, after his death in 1996, lamented the radical changes that had occurred in post-World War II Guam with an emphasis on the declining respect for authority among the younger generations. One verse compares an earlier era when one would see young men on the street walking to the farm with hoes in hand with the modern era in which the young man on the street “has hair like a girl.” Considering that he had long hair, and had drifted far from the traditional lifestyle in which he had been raised, it is clear that the irony is intended, but a more important point is that that the problem is outlined along terms that make sense within the *kustumbren Chamorro* value system and social break down is measured from that baseline.

NEW SOUNDS FROM THE NORTHERN MARIANAS

Recorded Chamorro music, as it is known today, while first initiated by Guamanian Chamorro Johnny Sablan in the late 1960s, would probably not be an integral part of modern Chamorro culture if not for the interactions that occurred between Guam Chamorros and musicians from the Northern Marianas Islands. Much like villagers from

⁵³³ Judy Flores, “Art and Identity,” 237-238.

southern Guam, artists from Saipan injected new energy in to the music scene as it developed in the 1980s. The historical experiences of the people of the northern Marianas had diverged from the Guam population considerably in the twentieth century. Guam, except for thirty-three months of Japanese occupation, had been under American rule for the entire time, while the northern Marianas had experienced significant periods of German and Japanese rule and then came under the Strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Northern Marianas islanders had therefore never identified America as their country, while Chamorros on Guam had been taught to identify with the United States for generations. Nevertheless, most Chamorros who settled in Saipan and Tinian did so at the very end of the nineteenth century, and in the first decade of the twentieth century. They came from the villages of Hagatña and Sumay, so all Chamorros on Guam and Saipan were at least distantly related. Saipan was also different from Guam because Chamorros shared the island with a large Carolinian population that had roots in the land going back to the early nineteenth century. The biggest division between Chamorros from Guam and their relatives in the Northern Marianas, however, was the bitter legacy of World War II.

World War II created considerable tension between the communities as result of the Japanese use of Saipanese as interpreters on Guam.⁵³⁴ In the early post-war era, the islands remained relatively isolated from each other since Saipan became the site of a restricted C.I.A. base while access in and out of Guam was tightly monitored by the United States. In 1962, travel restrictions were lifted. During these years, Saipan pursued reunification with Guam, but Guam rejected the idea in a 1969 vote. In part, reunification

⁵³⁴ For a discussion of the difficult position Saipanese interpreters found themselves in during the war see Keith Lujan Camacho "Cultures of Commemoration" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2005, 237-246.

was rejected because of memories of World War II. Nevertheless, travel between the islands increased during the 1960s, particularly by Northern Marianas Islanders who came to Guam for school, often under sponsorship of Guam families.

Despite the significant differences in the twentieth-century history of the islands, there were remarkable parallels in the processes of cultural change. As in southern Guam, Saipanese who grew up during the early post-war years remember adults could be heard “throwing” *chamorritas* back and forth while working in the fields. The tradition of traveling musicians who would go from village to village entertaining while people in the villages they visited fed them and gave them alcohol also existed, as it did in southern Guam.⁵³⁵ Also as in Guam, Chamorro folk songs did not look as if they would be perpetuated by the next generation. When asked about *chamorrита* singing in Saipan, one recording artist explained that as kids in the 1960s, “we didn’t like it, but we always hear it. My uncle, you know, drinking tuba, drinking moonshine, that’s the only time they’ll sing it.”⁵³⁶

Carolinian culture was perpetuated more systematically. Many Carolinians grew up singing their traditional chants in a ritualized form as a way to record history and this predilection for singing, combined with fluency in Chamorro, meant that they often loved to sing in Chamorro just as much as in Carolinian or English.⁵³⁷ One of the most popular Saipanese singers of the early post-war era was Larry Saralu, a Carolinian who became known for his unique and powerful voice while singing American, Carolinian, and

⁵³⁵ Interview with Candy Taman.

⁵³⁶ Interview with Alex Sablan.

⁵³⁷ Johnny Sablan noted in an interview that his desire to connect with ancient Chamorro traditions, as showcased in *My Chamorrans* (1970), was influenced by seeing Carolinians in Saipan who still dressed in their traditional clothing and *mwar mwars*. He explained that “I went to Saipan and I said, “What’s this? Chamorros don’t wear that. It was more Carolinians from down there, and I said “That’s where we should be” (Sablan interview).

Chamorro songs under a large flame tree at his high school in the mid-1950s.⁵³⁸ Saralu married a Chamorro woman and moved to Guam in 1962 and he was remembered by Saipanese recording artists as a big influence.⁵³⁹ For younger generations of Saipanese Chamorros, however, there was little indication in the 1950s and 1960s that many would pursue the musical traditions of their ancestors. The story of Candy Taman, who is today one of the most significant figures in modern Chamorro music, is illustrative.⁵⁴⁰

Born to a Chamorro-Carolinian mother with roots in Sumay, Guam and a Carolinian father with ancestors from Tamatan, Chuuk, he was born in 1948 in the village of San Roque, Saipan. He explained that while he grew up hearing Chamorro and Carolinian songs, other types of music were also around him. Taman credits a Hawaiian man named John Kainoa for sparking his interest in music. According to Taman, Kainoa had come to Saipan at the end of the war as “part of the group that cleaned up the Japanese war dead” and ended up becoming good friends with his father.⁵⁴¹ Taman recalled that:

This Hawaiian is my father’s drinking partner. And so I always sit around when they drink and this Hawaiian guy would play the ukulele. And I’m always fascinated so at the age of five, my dad bought me a small ukulele. I slept with it. And when I started going to elementary school at the age of seven, I became very known already for my ukulele and singing. Almost every school program they will put me up on stage and make me sing.⁵⁴²

The music he played as a kid in school and as a young adult was for the most part music that came through the Trust Territory radio station. Taman explained that “We grew up learning a little bit of Chamorro, a little bit of Carolinian, a little bit of Hawaiian

⁵³⁸ Tonie Saralu, “Larry Saralu” brief biography provided by Larry Saralu’s daughter Tonie who sent it to me by e-mail attachment. 19 July 2009.

⁵³⁹ In Guam, he would be among the early pioneers of Chamorro music when he began performing songs at political rallies. (Saralu biography)

⁵⁴⁰ J.T. Palomo interview.

⁵⁴¹ Taman interview.

⁵⁴² Ibid.

and mostly country music, you know, Hank Locklin, Jim Reeves, Skeeter Davis, Connie Francis.”⁵⁴³ Even more than country and western, Taman credits Elvis for having a big influence on him. He remembers that:

I got really crazy about Elvis....The first movie that came here that was about Elvis, was what they called “King Creole” [1958]. I really cried because at the time you only paid 50 cents to go into that small new movie house. But I don’t even have 50 cents at the time so I just sat outside the theater and listened to Elvis, I cannot see him. So I really fell in love with Elvis. You know, he’s my idol.⁵⁴⁴

Taman became well known for playing his ukulele but he had never really thought about forming a band. Then in 1965, Taman was working as a dishwasher at a hotel in Saipan, when the popular Guam teen group the Kaskells came to play at the hotel’s nightclub for a weekend gig. Taman recalled:

I just went nuts when I listened to these guys....I even got fired because I ran away from the kitchen. I made friends with them and when they were going back to Guam, I cried to my mother and said, ‘I’m going to Guam with these guys.’⁵⁴⁵

The band members were from the village of Toto and were still in high school but they were very active and played at many parties. During the day, while they were in school, Candy stayed in bass player Joe Perez’s garage and practiced playing different instruments. During the weekends, he helped out as a roadie.⁵⁴⁶ After six months, he went back to Saipan and organized his first band. The Kaskells had performed only American pop music, and Candy would do the same with his band. He remembers playing the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, the Animals and the Dave Clark Five, and he soon became very popular in Saipan. In addition to playing at parties, he explained that

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ Taman and Perez interviews (Joe Perez is quoted talking about the Kaskells in Chapter Three).

In 1967, the first Peace Corps volunteers came to Saipan, and they're the ones who organized what they called the 'village youth club.' Every village had its own youth club organization. So we're from the village of San Roque, and that's how we practice how to play in a band. We play for fundraising, dances, in our school auditorium. And then the Peace Corps volunteers came up with the Battle of the Bands ... So we went to the first Battle of the Bands in 1967 and we won first place.⁵⁴⁷

While the other bands played instrumental music in the style of the Ventures, Taman sang and won fans with his powerful and dynamic voice. He still remembers his winning set list: "Wully Bully," "Jail House Rock," "No Reply" and "Ferry Cross the Mersey." During these years, Taman formed several bands that played American music, including the "The Royals," "Apollo11," and "the Editors."⁵⁴⁸

What made Saipan different from Guam was that it was a very small community, in which Chamorros and Carolinians all spoke Chamorro and there was no major English speaking settler population that shaped a competing public sphere as in Guam. Recording artist Alexandro Sablan, like many Saipanese born in the late 1950s and early 1960s, learned English as a second language. English was taught in school but he recalled how translating American pop songs helped him learn the language. He and fellow songwriter David "Ankie Boy" Quitigua used to argue over the lyrics of Lobo songs. In high school during the mid-1970s he and future recording artists Ray Neskabei, Ben Muna, and Henry Manalo were playing professionally in the Vultures.⁵⁴⁹ At the time they primarily played American rock and roll but Sablan was deeply influenced by his distant cousin

⁵⁴⁷ Taman interview.

⁵⁴⁸ He named his band Apollo 11 in 1969, after the launching of Apollo 11. Among the band's highpoints was their invitation to Chuuk in 1969. According to Taman, they were the first live rock and roll band to play in Chuuk.

⁵⁴⁹ Alexandro Sablan interview with the author. Dandan, Saipan, 25 January 2009.

Johnny Sablan on Guam and made a point to play a few songs from his Chamorro music albums.⁵⁵⁰

In 1975, Candy Taman formed Local Breed with fellow Saipan musician Frank “Bokkongo” Pangelinan, and they quickly established themselves as the best band on the island through their regular performances at the Oleai Room, a club that was part of a large complex that included a bowling alley. It was the beginning of the disco era and the band played music from KC and the Sunshine Band, the Bee Gees, Earth Wind and Fire and the George Baker Selection.⁵⁵¹ Amidst the transition from Trust Territory colony to Commonwealth, Saipanese were enjoying an upswing in national pride as they shaped their new political identity. This dovetailed with a great awareness of both the elevation of Chamorro identity on Guam, and the recognition that Chamorro language and culture had declined rapidly on Guam. This shifting consciousness created a desire for Chamorro music, and Local Breed found themselves accommodating increasing requests for Chamorro songs.

In 1976, Taman transformed the identity of the band by switching to an almost entirely Chamorro language format and renaming it Tropicsette. Along with co-leader Frank “Bokkongo” Pangelinan, Tropicsette wrote Chamorro songs for modern audiences. Many of these songs were translations and adaptations of well-known country hits that Saipanese had grown up hearing, or current hit songs that Local Breed had performed. As

⁵⁵⁰ Alexandro’s parents were Eulogio Torres Sablan(familial Tingting) and Antonia Pangelinan. He did not learn of his relation to Johnny Sablan until later in life. Most Saipanese are closely related to Chamorros on Guam since Saipan was settled from Guam in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁵¹ The George Baker Selection, a Dutch group obscure in the United States but popular for decades in Europe became very popular in Saipan, in part because Local Breed regularly covered their songs as part of their set list. In particular “Una Paloma Blanca,” “Baby Blue” and “As Long as the Sun will Shine” became so popular that they have arguably become Chamorro music “standards.” Numerous versions of these songs continue to be performed by Chamorro bands as part of live music sets throughout the Marianas in the 2000s. (Taman interview)

Chamorros had done for generations, these musicians adapted western songs but discarded original lyrics for lyrics that told stories of daily life for Chamorros and raised socially significant issues. They also modified old Chamorro folk songs, such as “*Mames Kurason*,” “*Mariquita*,” and “*Nene Yangin Para Un Hanao*.” Taman, who was also part Carolinian, also mixed in traditional Carolinian lyrics and melodies. Whatever the origin of particular songs, whether traditional or modern pop hits, they were almost all rearranged for the disco crowd, usually with a *cha-cha* beat. Taman also credits the Yamaha YC-45 electric organ for bringing a modern sound to songs like the pre-war ballad “*Estorlan Mumarino*” (The Story of those who join the Navy).⁵⁵²

Tropicsette’s increasing popularity caught the attention of Franklin Gutierrez, the manager of the popular Guam nightclub Joe and Flo’s. He had seen their performance at the Oleai Room while in Saipan in 1978, and immediately offered to bring them to Guam for a weekend gig at his club. Gutierrez recalled that when they came to Guam,

They became famous you know? Boom, right away, because the [Guam] Chamorros picked up on their sound, it was kind of different, it was more a Carolinian style, and they would perform on stage, they would do these comedy sketches.⁵⁵³

The performances at Joe and Flo’s created a lot of interest among Guam Chamorro music fans, who started to visit Saipan to check out the band. The gig at Joe and Flo’s also resulted in their meeting Joe Taimanglo, Jr., who soon arranged to record the album *Palasyon Rico* (1980) at Ike Charfauros’ studio. Working at the studio, they got to know the members of Marianas Homegrown who had just finished their album, along with the Charfauros Brothers and other Guam musicians. While Tropicsette made the most dramatic impact on the Guam music scene, the Saipan Chamorro music scene was

⁵⁵² Taman Interview.

⁵⁵³ Franklin Gutierrez interview.

developing rapidly in the late 1970s. Between 1979 and 1981, Saipanese bands including “The Commonwealth,” “Afetnas,” “The Remetau,” “Primo Marianas” and “Max and Alex” all recorded albums that were well received by Guam audiences.

The era was marked by considerable excitement as the northern Marianas were in the process of transitioning from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (T.T.P.I.) to the new Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands (C.N.M.I.). The new political status would give the islanders greater control of the local government as well as new rights as United States citizens.⁵⁵⁴ However, it was also a daunting process that sparked debate over the identity of the Marianas. For the first time, the islanders had participated in an act of self-determination, and they had chosen union with a colonial power with whom they only had three decades of familiarity.⁵⁵⁵ The vote for commonwealth had been very contentious. Within the Carolinian community there were those who feared domination by Chamorros in the new government.⁵⁵⁶ Chamorros and Carolinians were both apprehensive about the fate of their culture, in light of the way the process of Americanization had transformed Guam.

Taman, as a Chamorro and a Carolinian, and as someone deeply concerned with the fate of both of his cultures and the future of the northern Marianas, was one of several songwriters who used music to help define the identity of the commonwealth. One song

⁵⁵⁴ The implementation of Commonwealth was a long process. The Covenant with the United States was drafted in 1975, but was not fully implemented, the Constitution was signed in December of 1976; the government was inaugurated in January of 1978; and the provisions of the Covenant were not fully implemented until 1986. Don Farrell, *History of the Northern Marianas Islands* (Saipan: C.N.M.I. Public School System, 1991) 613-634.

⁵⁵⁵ Not all consider the vote for Commonwealth a true act of self-determination since voters could only choose between commonwealth and staying with the Trust Territory.

⁵⁵⁶ Farrell, 599. Also see Vanessa Warheit. *The Insular Empire: America in the Marianas Islands*, (Horse Opera Productions, 2009) video recording. The film features Lino Olopai, a leader of the Carolinian Community who opposed the Covenant. It also explores lingering issues in the current United States-C.N.M.I. relationship.

in particular where this was clear was “Commonwealth” from the *Palasyon Rico* album.⁵⁵⁷ Like Chamorro songs from earlier times, the song reflects subaltern Chamorro world view that maintains distance from colonial powers. The first verse (translated) explains that “during World War II, the Americans came and raised their flag, because they beat the Japanese.” The song goes on to describe the changes that the island underwent. Children were taught in school to speak English and eat American food. Farmers abandoned their ranches to work for the government. Despite the recognition that with commonwealth, Marianas islanders would officially be with the United States, Taman reminds them that “the Marianas are our islands.” The line is significant not just for the way it suggests a clear sense of national autonomy despite official union with the United States but for the alternate view of Chamorro identity that it provided for the Chamorros on Guam who made up the bulk of Tropicsette’s fans. Chamorros on Guam had been under American rule for eighty years and had a much deeper sense of American identity. The Chamorro music coming from the north promoted a broader Chamorro identity that emphasized an alternate way of viewing the United States.

Taman’s explanation of his views from the time show that although he was not formally educated, he clearly understood basic power relations between a major metropolitan power and a small island state.

I’m a very politically minded individual today, but back then I wasn’t thinking politics...To be honest with you, I didn’t even know the substance of our covenant. Because I’m the kind of person that looks at things in general. So my general understanding at the time was that we are going to start adapting to the western culture. I was thinking about how kids are starting to eat bread and butter and a lot of them won’t eat taro and banana anymore. So I’m just trying to remind them that this is our Commonwealth, and we’re brown. Even if we become U.S., we’re still going to be brown, and this is the culture and the language that we have....I mean, a lot of things are inevitable on this island.

⁵⁵⁷ Song lyrics are in the appendix.

We're very small and the outside force is very powerful [but] if anything, at least maintain your identity.⁵⁵⁸

In the last verse Taman also gave a sense of the significant divisions that arose in the process of negotiating the new political status. These divisions arose both between political factions and between the Chamorro and Carolinian communities. He called on all sides to work together in the formation of the new government with the line “The time of being enemies has passed.”

Relations between Chamorros and Carolinians could still be contentious, however, so for his next project, he and Frank “Bokkongo” Pangelinan formed a new group called Chamolinian, the name reflecting the union of the band’s Chamorro and Carolinian members. The new group played a brighter, acoustic, island-style country western sound that blended Chamorro and Carolinian. The short-lived trio was primarily a studio band, which released three albums, *Studiante*, *Ingratu*, and the Christmas album *Noche Bueno*, all in 1981. Quirino played Hawaiian slack-key guitar, which added another dimension to the band’s sound. According to Taman, the most popular song they made that year was “*Mt. Pagan*,” a nine minute song that recounts the entire story of the eruption of the island of Pagan in May 1981 and the experiences of Chamorros and Carolinians who had to be evacuated to Saipan.⁵⁵⁹ The melody he used for the song was a German melody that had been part of the Saipanese music tradition since before World War I. The albums also included the Carolinian language song “*Menni Ochi*,” and a song called “*Beri-beri*,” which was Taman’s rendition of the traditional *chamorita* melody.

⁵⁵⁸ Taman Interview.

⁵⁵⁹ Pagan is an island in the northern Marianas about 173 miles north of Saipan. Frank “Bokkongo” Pangelinan was born on Pagan and spent his early childhood there.

The liner notes to *Studiante* include a letter from Candy, Frank, and Quirino, that explains the group's name.

Chamolinian is a word made up of "Chamorro" and "Carolinian." The Chamorros and the Carolinians are the two ethnic groups that inhabited the Marianas, long before Ferdinand Magellan discovered the islands centuries ago."⁵⁶⁰

The song "*Chamolinian*" on the album *Ingratu* makes it clear that the concept of *Chamolinian* referred not only to the group's syncretic musical identity, but was a concept that could be applied to the culture of the island of Saipan itself. In the 1950s and 1960s, when talks of unification with Guam arose, and later during the commonwealth negotiations, tensions between the two groups arose as Carolinians feared domination by Chamorros. With the establishment of Commonwealth, Saipan was in the process of defining its new identity, and the song "Chamolinian" clearly advocated the concept of the island as a shared homeland for both Chamorros and Carolinians.⁵⁶¹

Instead of using the Charfauros Bros. studio, Taman recorded his next albums in the Philippines, with cash from his producer, F.C. Guerrero, and little else. At the suggestion of a driver, he tried Greenhills Studio in Manila. By luck, he forged a connection with sound engineer Dante Trinidad, who worked on his albums and several other albums for Chamorro artists during the 1980s. Eventually Trinidad moved to Guam and got a job with Chamorro entertainer and producer Jimmy Dee's Pro Sound Studios. A slightly different line up of Chamolinian played several shows in Guam and remained a

⁵⁶⁰ Studiante, F.C. Guerrero Production, Inc. 1980, The idea of the Marianas as a Carolinian homeland in the years before Magellan's visit in 1521 is highly debatable. Carolinian oral history does support the idea of sustained contact going back centuries and there was likely always intermarriage, but a stronger argument for a Carolinian identity rooted in the Marianas begins with the settlement in the early nineteenth century when no Chamorros were living on the island.

⁵⁶¹ See appendix

fixture at Saipan's Oleai Room in the early 1980s before Bokkongo and Taman shifted their attention to solo projects.⁵⁶²

At about the same time, the Saipanese Chamorro musician Alexandro Sablan began to make his mark on the Chamorro music scene. He had been away in the late 1970s in Utah for college, but had largely abandoned his studies to focus on writing songs. When he visited Saipan in the summer of 1977, he spent time jamming with musicians who were visiting from Guam and he shared his song "*Hagu yan Guahu na Dos*" (The Two of Us) with them. The song ended up being recorded by Guam musician Jess Muna on *Meskla Unu* (1978) and became a big hit. The success of the song gave Sablan confidence and when he came back to Saipan for good in 1979, he had no degree, but he had many songs that he wanted to record.

Alexandro Sablan felt that Chamorro music from Saipan was not really permeating the youth culture because it was either very traditional as in the Carolinian-influenced Remetau band, or like Tropicsette, targeted the adult nightclub scene. Sablan targeted teenagers who would listen to the music on the radio and on cassettes. He felt that even though all Saipanese youth were still speaking Chamorro at the time, the language was taken for granted and it was clear that the language decline on Guam could easily happen in Saipan as well.⁵⁶³ One of the ways he tried to attract the younger audience was to incorporate unique Saipanese slang and speech patterns in lyrics.

With this in mind, he formed Primo Marianas (Cousins from the Marianas) with his cousin Joe Cabrera and recorded the album *The Sounds of the Marianas Islands* (1979). The album was the first of many albums produced by Frank C. Guerrero (aka The

⁵⁶² Taman Interview.

⁵⁶³ Alexandro Sablan Interview.

Saipan Daikon), a wealthy Saipanese businessman who had a strong desire to promote Chamorro culture through music. Guerrero did not have a studio but arranged for the album to be recorded in the Philippines, using the professional Filipino studio musicians, the Number Ones. This arrangement became very popular because it was much cheaper than recording on Guam and it became the primary way that Chamorro music was produced throughout the 1980s and 1990s.⁵⁶⁴

In the Primo Marianas album, a sense of nationalism and pride in the commonwealth was reflected in the album in songs like “*Manmunggi siha i Natibu?*”(Where are the Natives?), and in an instrumental rendition of the C.N.M.I. national anthem. “*Manmunggi Siha i Natibu?*” reflects both a knowledge of what happened in Guam and the reality that as Chamorros left the Marianas for new opportunities elsewhere, they needed to hold on to their identity. In a globalized economy laborers will still be imported from foreign countries, and Chamorros will still feel the pull of opportunities in other places. Taman and Alexandro Sablan both emphasized the sense that with the greater autonomy of commonwealth, Saipanese had to take on greater responsibility in perpetuating their cultural identity. The following two verses reflect this sense of responsibility.

<p>Sa adahi ningaian na u falingu Sa ni un Amerikanu ti u funas hit Ni u Tagalo ni hu achoka ha’ un contra yu’ Hagu prutehi kustumbre I fumañagu I haga’-mu</p>	<p>be careful that it [<i>kustumbre</i>] will never be lost Because it is not the American who will erase us not even the Filipino, although you disagree with me You are the one that must protect the customs that are in your blood⁵⁶⁵</p>
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⁵⁶⁴ In the 1990s, further technological advances reduced the economic advantages of recording in the Philippines and producers once again started opening up studios on Guam.

⁵⁶⁵ Full song in appendix.

Other Saipanese artists would follow in the footsteps of Taman and Sablan, and record music with social messages. The following verse from Saipanese artists Cindy and Ray's song "*Kustumbren Chamorro*" points to a specific tradition that was in decline.

Hafa na munga hao manninge?	Why don't you <i>manninge</i> ?
Hafa na chiku ha' malago-mu?	Why do you only want to kiss?
Munga ma abandona	Don't abandon
I kustumbren Chamorro-mu	the Chamorro culture ⁵⁶⁶

The declining practice of *manninge*, the sniffing of hands as a show of deference to elders, was a visible sign of shifting dynamics between generations that was of considerable concern. Instead of bending one's head down to sniff an elder's hand, young people were adopting the western practice of kissing on the cheek, which, while still a show of respect, represented a much more equitable power relationship.

Among the most popular albums of the early 1980s was Max and Alex's album *Marijuana yan Dynamita*. Most of the songs were love songs, but several tracks provide insights into social issues facing the Saipanese community. "*Strangheru*," describes an illicit affair that begins at a nightclub. The title track describes significant cultural changes. Young men smoke marijuana and young women wear "hot pants." A contrast is made between the older way of fishing with a *talaya* (throw net) and dynamite fishing. The last song on the album on the other hand, "*Nang yan Tang*," praises grandparents affirming the value of respect for elders.

The proliferation of C.N.M.I artists calling for the perpetuation of cultural practices is significant in that all of these albums were recorded after signing of the Commonwealth covenant. They point to the reality that the struggle to perpetuate Chamorro language and cultural identity as well as the social issues that arise as

⁵⁶⁶ Translation by author.

kustumbren Chamorro comes in tension with foreign values do not end with the resolution of political status issues. Johnny Sablan and Candy Taman have expressed on numerous occasions that they had often talked about their shared passion for the perpetuation of Chamorro culture and language and hoped for closer ties between the islands.

Considerable tensions existed between the islands at the time the music scene was developing. The older generation of Guam Chamorros had harbored resentment toward Saipanese as a result of their World War II experience. In many households, the Northern Marianas was a subject that simply did not ever come up.⁵⁶⁷ Some northern Marianas islanders on the other hand, remained bitter about Guam's rejection of unification in 1969. With commonwealth in the northern Marianas, the prospect of political unification was thwarted for the foreseeable future, but Sablan and Taman both felt that if the islands could not be united politically, at least they could have a shared musical identity. In this they achieved considerable success.

For the younger generation coming of age in the 1970s and 1980s, the revival of pride in Chamorro identity on Guam trumped the concerns of the older generations. Many C.N.M.I. artists ended up living and performing on Guam at various clubs during the 1980s, and in this environment many relationships were formed and artists collaborated with each other. In particular, an affinity was discovered between Chamorros from southern Guam and Chamorros from the C.N.M.I. Candy Taman remembers how Peter Champaco and his band Oldies Goodies came to Saipan in 1982 because they had heard about what Chamolinian was doing at the Oleai Room. Champaco had just gotten out of the Army and was getting back into the Chamorro music

⁵⁶⁷ Susan Aguon interview.

scene. Taman remembers how the band from Malessa fit right in: “We were so impressed because these boys are southerners. The language and the culture is very strong with these guys.”⁵⁶⁸ Taman had a similar impression of J.D. Crutch: “He didn’t need to learn Chamorro from Saipan. He came from Talofofa and was really fluent. In fact, he taught a lot of people here about his songs...and people loved him.”⁵⁶⁹

J.D. Crutch spent a lot of time in the C.N.M.I. He enjoyed his trip to Rota for the 1977 Rota Fiesta so much that he ended up playing at the fiesta every year for the next seven years. The C.N.M.I. was a place where he both entertained people and picked up songs that he would record. J.D. Crutch also picked up songs from the northern Marianas islands and turned them into hits on Guam. Among songs from Saipan artists that he popularized were Alex Sablan’s “*Kumpara i Pepble*” (Compare the Poor [and the Rich]) and “*Ti Lachi Hao*” (You’re Not the One That Made a Mistake) and the *Afetnas* song “*Tumekkon Hao.*”(You Bent Down in Shame)”

Personal relationships and collaborations between people of the two political entities played an important role in developing the music scene. Alex Sablan’s *Primo Marianas* albums were little known on Guam so he put effort into playing in the Guam club scene, including a high profile 1982 show at the Guam nightclub, the Pescador and a televised 1983 show at Joe and Flo’s. For his first solo recording, *Aniyu-hu/Lang* (1983), he worked together with Guam radio personality Rick “Big Boz” Baza to promote singles on Guam radio for months until the full album was released in stores. He then recruited the popular Umatac singer Ruby Aquiningoc to record the album *Mampos Umaguaiya* (We Love Each Other Exceedingly) as a duet, which helped launch both of their careers

⁵⁶⁸ Taman interview.

⁵⁶⁹ Taman interview

in Guam. Sablan also worked briefly on Guam for K-57 Radio in 1984, which at the time was experimenting with Chamorro programming and provided some competition for KUAM. The 1980s were also years when C.N.M.I. producers overtook the Charfauros brothers in producing artists from both Guam and the C.N.M.I. Two of the most successful producers were Fred Dela Cruz from Tinian who established Guam Sirena Productions on his island, and Calisto Cing, from Rota, who started C and F Productions in Talofof, Guam.

THE SUS CHAMORRO SHOW

The late 1970s to the mid-1990s were the peak years of the Chamorro nightclub scene. During these years, there was a proliferation of clubs that catered to Chamorro music fans. Like many other developments in Chamorro music, Jesus Charfauros played a central role, this time as an emcee of the Sus Chamorro Show, which consisted of four-hour live broadcasts from nightclubs. From the late 1970s through the 1990s, Jesus Charfauros worked as an emcee, comedian, songwriter, and radio deejay, and for a brief period, on television. In all of these roles he helped articulate a sense of the political and cultural consciousness that underlay Chamorro music. The first shows were at Joe and Flo's in the 1970s, but they began to move around to different clubs such as Cheap Charlie's, Yvonne's, Amantes Inn, Chamorro Lounge and later Double A. If "The Sus Chamorro Show" was being broadcast at a particular venue it would become a hot spot. The show was set up to give an opportunity to any artist who wanted to perform, and it allowed dozens of vocalists who did not have their own band to perform.

From 1981 to 1983, the show was broadcast from Cheap Charlies every Monday night. Peter Champaco, who had just returned from the Army, led the house band which

was called the Oldies Goodies Band. Each week singers who wanted to perform live on Monday nights would meet at Ike Charfauros' house on Sunday to rehearse.⁵⁷⁰ Virtually every major Chamorro artist of the time performed there at some point. Among the most popular were established stars such as Flora Baza, who had also just returned to the island after ten years stationed off island with her husband in the Air Force. At the time, she was performing with backing by Ike Charfauros and other musicians from his studio and sang many Charfauros Brothers songs. The band dubbed her "The Queen of Chamorro Music" in light of her former role as Miss Guam.

Jesus Charfauros, already well known for his social commentary on his other radio shows, enforced the sense that these events had cultural significance for Chamorro fans. They stood out among the other venues in Guam's public culture as places where Chamorro was the primary language spoken, and Jesus wanted to keep it that way. He explained that he was adamant that he only spoke in Chamorro when he was emceeing. He would get irritated when club goers would ask him to repeat something in English so that non-Chamorro speakers could understand. His jokes would become legendary, and are still remembered by many fans today.

He had all kinds of jokes, but one technique he used was to base his joke off of an acronym. One joke about the local government was, "Do you know what G.M.H. (Guam Memorial Hospital) stands for? A: Get Murdered Here!"⁵⁷¹ He was also critical of the federal government and was never satisfied with Guam's political status. For example a favorite was "Do you know what 'U.S.A.' means in Chamorro? A: Usa means 'to use' in

⁵⁷⁰ Champaco Interview.

⁵⁷¹ Interview with Andy Leon Guerrero.

Chamorro, so I guess it's true because that's how they treat us. Guam, U.S.A.”⁵⁷² In this way, he would inject a critical perspective into the consciousness of club goers and radio listeners.

When asked during an interview to recount three jokes in order to get a sense of what his show were like, he told the jokes in both English and Chamorro, although he explained that in actuality he usually made jokes up on the spot, in reaction to the crowd and in order to keep the crowd entertained between acts. One joke he remembered was about Peter Champaco. He would ask, “How do you know if Peter Champaco is piloting a 747? A: His arm is dangling out the window.” It was actually a joke about the way Champaco drove his truck. That such a joke was a hit with club goers points to a certain intimacy among Chamorro music fans. Fans knew who Peter Champaco was and had often seen him driving down the street with his arm hanging out the window in the particular way described.

Two other jokes that he told were much longer and stand out by today's standards as being very politically incorrect. After hearing them, I asked him “Did you actually say that on the air?” He said of course but he had said them in Chamorro.⁵⁷³ He explained that while the FCC did monitor the airwaves, they did not understand the language and it would have taken somebody who understood Chamorro to complain to the FCC in order for him to get reprimanded.⁵⁷⁴ This never happened. In explaining the jokes, Sus demonstrated how speaking in the Chamorro language marked a subaltern identity even though Chamorros were now U.S. citizens living in the modern world.

⁵⁷² Interview with Jesus Charfauros.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the most popular Chamorro club was Double A. Sus Chamorro was emceeing, and many of the artists were now entering middle age but still performing on a regular basis. In 1988, one of the hottest acts was “Country” Clyde Perez, a powerful singer who had joined the army after high school in 1979, but got interested in Chamorro music while in the mainland. With the support of Frank “Bokkongo” Pangelinan, and relatives who recognized his talent, he took a one year break from the Army in 1988 to spend a year in the Guam club scene and he ended up recording *Nanan-Biha* (Grandmother) (1989). The songs on the album are all positive and celebrate various aspects of modern Chamorro culture as understood by the generation of working class Chamorros who made up the core Chamorro music fan base. The song “Double A” celebrates the popular nightclub and gives a sense that it was a “Chamorro place” within an English dominated island.

Double A (1988)

Fanekungok I estacion sais diez
Sa masasangan
na kada puenge juebes na bababa

Listen to the 610 (KUAM)
Because they’re saying
That every Thursday they’re open

Nihi ta fan hanao para I Double A
Sa mannge na lugat
ya sen maolek na danderu

Let’s go to Double A
Because it’s a wonderful place
and there are excellent musicians

Giya Double A na lugat
Seimpre mangaige siha i Chamoru
Yan mangatchong ginen I che’cho

At the place called Double A
There will surely be Chamorros
with friends from work

Guahu si Country Clyde
Yan si Magellan,
I *Meskla Unu* yan si Boya

I’m Country Clyde
With Magellan,
Meskla Unu and Boya⁵⁷⁵

Matutuhun I musiko tengan

There is always music

⁵⁷⁵ Frank “Magellan” Santos is a popular guitar player in the club scene. *Meskla Unu* is the name of the house band at the club during those years. Boya Quichocho is a popular artist who had just returned from twenty years away in the military and had recorded albums in Washington State.

Ya mandandan I bunitu nai na cha-cha
pues manbaila
tadte titiyi ni bailan jitterbug
sa dinanche nai i puengi
ya sen todú manmagof

And they play wonderful cha-cha
and they are dancing
usually followed by jitterbug
Because it's a perfect night
And everyone is very happy⁵⁷⁶

With many music fans from the C.N.M.I. now living in Guam, and with an increasing number of C.N.M.I. artists performing in the Guam night club scene, Frank Bokkonggo and Candy Taman, along with Guam partners John and Fred Onedera, opened Amantes Inn in Agana Heights, Guam in 1984. The club became a hotspot that competed with clubs like Cheap Charlies, Joe and Flo's and Chamorro Lounge.⁵⁷⁷ Taman was a staunch advocate of Chamorro cultural unity, but he was not above getting the message across through the deeply rooted Chamorro practice of playful mockery in the form of song. He explained that one of his hits, "*Amerikanu Pau Asu*" (Fake American), was inspired by his observations of female patrons of Amantes Inn who dyed their hair blonde and acted American. It is based on the Marty Robbin's song "Devil Woman," a reference with which all Chamorro adults, having been raised on country western music, were familiar.⁵⁷⁸

"*Amerikanu Pau Asu*" was arranged in an upbeat *cha-cha* style and became popular at Chamorro parties through the 2000s. The song clearly represents a conservative and highly contentious interpretation of female gender roles, inter-racial dating, and standards of modesty that characterized conservative pre-war Guam but were out of place in the 1980s. Like other songs, it should be seen in light of the numerous social issues facing Chamorros at the time, and it reflects a sense that the central role of

⁵⁷⁶ Translation by author.

⁵⁷⁷ Around 1987, the club was moved to Harmon but retained the name Amantes Inn.

⁵⁷⁸ Lyrics are in the appendix.

the mother, *si nana*, in the family and in perpetuating Chamorro language and culture was threatened by liberal values. It should also be understood that Chamorro women hold on to considerable power over husbands and children and the song may reflect a fear that if women do not uphold the culture then everything will fall apart. The lyrics should also be taken with a grain of salt, since Chamorro songs, going back to the tradition of *chamorrta*, have often been avenues where it is socially acceptable to raise controversial issues. Undoubtedly many women fans laughed it off because they knew who the boss was.

PETER CHAMPACO AND THE FEJERAN SISTERS

In the early 1980s the availability of cassette tapes made recording much more accessible. The albums did not have the sophisticated packaging of the 1970s, but lowered production costs and allowed dozens of artists to make albums. Most of the albums produced in the 1980s and 1990s would be small scale releases, some with as few as 500 copies, while 5,000 was considered a large scale production. Chamorro music albums came together in a variety of ways. The story of Peter Champaco and the Fejeran Sisters is an excellent example of how an album was made in the 1980s and what it meant to those involved. Peter Champaco, Connie Fejeran Garrido and her sister Florence, who was Champaco's sister-in-law, had all established themselves in the live Chamorro music scene of the 1970s and early 1980s.⁵⁷⁹ The Fejeran Sisters often performed with Peter Champaco at Cheap Charlies and they had discussed making a record together several times, but did not have the money to make a record.

⁵⁷⁹ Florence was married to Peter Champaco's brother Jesus Champaco. The Fejeran sisters had also performed on the Alan Sekt show in the 1960s.

It was likely that like most people in the music scene, they would have never made an album, but in 1983, Florence Fejeran decided to take a gamble and she sold a piece of land in Windward Hills, Talofoto that she had won at a church raffle. She sold the land for \$13,000, which was about what they needed to make the album. They did not record under the Charfauros Bros. label, but they rented the studio and hired some of the musicians. Among the costs they incurred were \$5000 for the master, one hundred dollars a night per musician, and the cost to pay for recording artists Gus and Doll (they were going to the Philippines to record their own album anyway) to take their master to the Philippines for the production of cassettes.

They printed 3,000 copies and they sold out very quickly. Most were sold through mom and pop stores, while the artists also sold copies themselves and through relatives. Connie Garrido explained that they did not make as much money as they should have because “a lot of people were like, ‘can you give me ten [copies] and I’ll pay you back later?’ but then we never got that back.”⁵⁸⁰ Like most Chamorro music albums, very little money was made by the artists. After Florence was reimbursed for her initial investment, there was only three thousand dollars left, which they split equally. Nevertheless, producing an album was an experience that gave all three artists tremendous personal satisfaction and respect within their communities. For Connie Garrido the greatest reward was that she and her sister had become the first people from Inarajan to record an album.

For Peter Champaco, the songs would make him a star in his village as well. His songs included one that praised his home village, and the humorous “*Ai Malago’ yo’ Humanao*” (I Wanted to Go), which describes the plight of a man who wants to go party but cannot because his wife is waiting for him. By far, the most popular song on the

⁵⁸⁰ Connie Fejeran Garrido interview.

album was “*Put Fabot Nana-hu*” (Please Mother), which tells the story of a child who dies because his mother neglects him. Champaco’s decision to record the song was inspired by the tragic deaths of several children who were burned alive in their beds while their parents had been out at a bar.⁵⁸¹ In Guam’s southern villages, it would have been inappropriate to mention the exact details of the event, but these communities were seeing such tragedies with increasing frequency. The song was a powerful commentary, in the Chamorro language, that warned fellow Chamorros of the dangers of addictive behaviors. According to Peter Champaco, what made the song popular was that it was “true” in the sense that the emotions conveyed were real and they related to the Chamorro experience.⁵⁸²

CHAMORRO DIASPORA

By the 1980s, there were more Chamorros living away from Guam than on the island itself.⁵⁸³ Many who lived on Guam had spent at least part of their lives away from the island, whether it was because they had joined the military, attended school or just decided to “try it out” by living with relatives in states like California. Many musicians who wound up in the mainland continued to play music at “Guam clubs” that sprung up wherever Chamorros were concentrated. During the 1980s, Guam acts such as Johnny Sablan, Gus and Doll, Flora Baza, Jimmy Dee, and the Compadres began to play for Chamorros in the diaspora.⁵⁸⁴

⁵⁸¹ Peter Champaco interview.

⁵⁸² The message in the song still resonates today, almost thirty years after it was recorded. During research for this dissertation in 2009, I saw Champaco perform the song several times at *Mannge* Lounge in Mangilao, Guam. One performance that stuck out from the rest was when the vice mayor of Malesso, apparently under the influence of alcohol, took the microphone, and came to tears as he tried to get through the lyrics.

⁵⁸³ In 2010, there were 88,310 Chamorros living in the United States. U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census.

⁵⁸⁴ In 1997 as an undergraduate student at the University of Hawai’i at Manoa, I went to a concert for K.C. de Leon Guerrero and Eddie Boy Acfalle at Fort Shafter Army Base that was sponsored by the “Hafa Adai

Chamorro songs document all aspects of the diaspora experience and relations between Chamorros in the Marianas and the mainland United States. K.C. De Leon Guerrero's song "Guam U.S.A." describes the experience of a Chamorro who must explain that Guam is part of the United States. Other songs, like the Chamolinian song "*Studiante*" describes the struggles of going to school away from home. Another common topic is the change people undergo by living away from home. Jess Castro's song "Hey Yo" is one of many that mock Chamorros who have been away from home for so long they have forgotten the language and culture. Other songs, like Mike Laguana's "Vallejo" describe the adventure of going on a trip to see relatives in the mainland. Like Roque Mantanona's song about the Korean War, Laguana observed that the air in Vallejo was *manengheng* (cold) a point most stateside Americans probably would not note.

CHAMORRO (THE BAND)

The band "Chamorro" stands out as unique among the many Chamorro recording artists in that they used the format of Chamorro language music to raise consciousness about the injustice of Guam's current political status and they placed blame directly on the federal government. The primary song writer was Mike Phillips, a young lawyer and a member of the prominent Bordallo family that included his grandfather B.J. Bordallo, who had led the citizenship drive; and his uncles Governor Ricardo J. Bordallo and Senator Paul Bordallo. Another prominent band member was his good friend Ed Benavente, an activist who was working for KUAM 610 Radio and television producing Sus Chamorros' "*Programman Konbetsasion*." Also in the band were long time musicians Fred Bordallo, John Blas, and Johnny Sablan's youngest sister, Joyleen Sablan

Club" of Pearl Harbor. It was held at a large venue, which is a stark contrast to the music scene on Guam, where artists usually play in small night clubs. It points to the important role of Chamorro music for Chamorros in the diaspora who long for home.

Suba. Benavente became radicalized after taking Robert Underwood's Guam history class in 1981. He recalls reading Underwood's articles "Red Whitewash and Blue," "Hispanicization as a Socio-Historical Process," and the writings of Pacific scholars including Albert Wendt. Benavente recalled that "he really got us to read our history and not just superficially skim through it."⁵⁸⁵

In the mid-1980s, after returning from school in California, Benavente became deeply involved in the commonwealth hearings. An issue that really bothered him was that non-Chamorros who had settled in Guam after the war were arguing that they had rights to participate in the self-determination process. He explained that Americans and Filipinos who settled on Guam had already participated in self-determination and that they should not be allowed to participate twice. It was in the context of this political struggle, that the group Chamorro came together to record an album. In explaining the album twenty years later in an interview, Benavente quickly recounted the political perspective that grounded each song.

"*Monngi Chamorro*", that was a call to Chamorros who are still in the dark. "*Tiempo*," dealt with the changes in time, the evolution of our people. "*Agofli'e*" is to continue our culture, one of our values, which is to get along, *chenchule*, but *agofli'e* [to love each other], was really what we wanted to emphasize. We also wanted to emphasize "Bonita na Isla" dealt with our daily lives in the 70s and 80s, and what we dealt with. How blindly we sometimes are when we take things for granted on our island, but when we leave Guam, we really want to come back. "*Manmahalang hit*" [we're homesick] nai. "*I Tiempo*," "*Ngai'an Pumara*," "*Federalis*," "*Amot*," were all lyrics with a statement against the system itself. "Nana" was just to solidify our value system of respect for our elderly and our love for our mothers.⁵⁸⁶

Benavente's contribution to the album was "*Federalis*." It is the only song identified in this dissertation that draws connections between federal policies and the

⁵⁸⁵ Ed Benavente, interview with the author. Hagatña, Guam, 8 August 2010.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

erosion of Chamorro culture, economic dependence, and diaspora. The chorus, translated, is “The Feds’ oh those people, they abuse us.” He noted that “when they built the schools, the culture fell.” Referring to the dependence on the federal government, he included the line “you’re sucking the breast milk of the foreigners.”⁵⁸⁷ Although they were a studio band that never performed live, they were hugely successful, selling 7,000 cassettes. They also had the distinction of the having the first Chamorro album on compact disc, selling 1,000 units in that format.⁵⁸⁸ Their popularity garnered them a Legislative Resolution, although it made no mention of the album’s political bent.

Whereas “Chamorro,” a new Guam musical group, has created a sophisticated, upbeat style of music which, as set out in its album entitled “Ni Ngai’an Pumara” promises to revolutionize Chamorro music, containing as it does almost all contemporary musical idioms—jazz, rock and roll, funk, cha-cha, rap, rhythm and blues, and others, which makes the music on this album unique and thrilling.⁵⁸⁹

The album presented contemporary Chamorro music as a format through which to raise political issues concerning the federal government. As Chamorros had done for generations, singing in the Chamorro language gave them considerable anonymity from the settler society but the band was the first to use Chamorro music in this overtly political way. According to Jesus Charfauros, who was working on television and radio at the time, the song was popular among the Chamorro music fan base, including some of the older, more conservative listeners. Appreciation for the message did not attract imitators, however, and the song “*Federalis*” remains today perhaps the only recording era song to so clearly attach blame for contemporary social issues to federal policies. Younger generations of activists have since emerged, but younger generations are much less likely to be fluent in Chamorro, and so Chamorro language songs are not as an

⁵⁸⁷ Full lyrics in the appendix.

⁵⁸⁸ Guam Legislature, Res. No. 426, 4 January 1990.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

effective format for raising such issues. For the vast majority of working-class Chamorros of Phillips' and Benavente's generation, the support for radical change was always muted by the close ties to the military and other areas of the federal government. Overt Chamorro activism through Chamorro language music was therefore a direction that Chamorro music could have gone but did not.⁵⁹⁰

JESS CASTRO AND CHILANG DELGADO

In 1999 and 2000, recording artists Jess Castro and Chilang Delgado made a big splash on the Chamorro music scene. Like many of the older artists who emerged since the 1990s, they spent considerable time away from Guam. Delgado moved to Vallejo, California, in the early 1970s and had been active in a church choir there. Castro had spent most of his life away from Guam. After entering the Army in 1968 and going to Vietnam, he spent a career moving from base to base all over the world. When he retired in 1996, he moved to Rota, the home of his wife Mina, where he began to play for events as a one-man band. In 1999, he recorded the song "*Chada Fresko*" (Fresh eggs), a country western song laden with sexual innuendo. As noted by Flores, "eggs," are a metaphor for female reproductive organs.⁵⁹¹

Castro describes a journey to each island of the Marianas looking for fresh eggs. In the chorus, he asks his *kumaile* (either the godmother of his child or the woman he or

⁵⁹⁰ Interestingly, this album is one of the only contemporary Chamorro music albums that has gotten any scholarly attention. The Chamorro song "*Monngi Chamorro?*" (Where are the Chamorros?) along with Sus Charfauros' *Munga yo' Mafino Englesi*, were discussed in C.T. Perez's "A Chamorro Re-Telling of Liberation" in *Kinalamten: Pulitikat Sinenten Chamorro: Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective*, (Hagatña: PSECC, 1996). Obviously, they stand out as songs that take strong uncompromising stances that align with the goals of the decolonization movement. At the same time, the absence of more comprehensive overviews of Chamorro music, points to the way nationalist narratives have marginalized other voices.

⁵⁹¹ Judy Flores, "*Kantan Chamorrta, Revisited in the New Millenium*" in *Traditionalism and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania: Essays in Honor of Barbara B Smith*. Sydney: University of Sydney, 2001. 19-30.

his wife is godmother to) “*Kumaile-ku Kao Manbebende hao chada fresko?*” (Are you selling fresh eggs?).⁵⁹² The song set off immediate controversy but also garnered many requests on KUAM. Chilang Delgado decided to record a response song, “*Churisos Pakpak*”.⁵⁹³ In the song she calls on her *kompaire* (godfather of her child or father of a child she is godmother to) to come to her house to have a breakfast of fresh eggs and sausage. The songs are both clearly country western. Castro’s song is original while Delgado uses the tune “She’ll be Coming around the Mountain.” In this sense the duel is representative of the long established country western tradition of response songs, which both artists, having grown up on Guam in the 1950s and 1960s, were intensely familiar. However, the metaphors would mean little to audiences at the Grand Ole Opry.

Judy Flores points out that the songs reflect the same type of humor found in *chamorrита* debate. Having witnessed the decline of *chamorrита*, in her home village of Inarajan during the 1950s, as women moved indoors to watch soap operas, she recognized that the context of the old tradition no longer existed. In such debates, through recorded song, Flores suggests that this might be a way that Chamorros in the twenty-first century could “reconfigure their culture to fit contemporary needs.”⁵⁹⁴ As noted earlier in this dissertation, Chamorro music has always been the marker of a subaltern identity that has resisted colonial hegemony. In the case of the duel between these two contemporary artists, the playful teasing common in the songs of earlier eras is arguable a form of resistance to recently adopted ideas of political incorrectness.

⁵⁹²Lyrics are in the appendix.

⁵⁹³ This the Chamorro name for Miller Hog Casing Franks, a sausage with a thick skin that pops when bitten into and often sends out hot grease.

⁵⁹⁴ Flores, “*Kantan Chamorrита*,” 27.

ENGAGING LOCAL CULTURE

During the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s Chamorro music reached its height of popularity on Guam. However, even at its peak popularity within the Chamorro community, the music remained on the margins of Guam's popular culture. There was never a time when the music was heavily featured on the island's popular music stations, and it was very possible to live on the island without gaining an awareness of the Chamorro music scene. Chamorro music therefore remained a subculture, but it was a subculture that grew considerably, and began to make inroads into the larger public sphere of the island.

During the peak years of the Chamorro music scene, there were several events that sought to expand the reach of Chamorro language music. In the early 1980s, large concerts like Johnny Sablan's homecoming shows at Joe and Flo's after years away from the island, and numerous large scale promotions at the *Pescador* were marketed in major media outlets and represented a profound shift from the days of "Guamanian songs." The largest concert of the era was the 1990 *Gupot Chamorro*, where twenty-seven Chamorro groups performed. Headlining the event were Johnny Sablan, Flora Baza, and J.D. Crutch with Sus Chamorro providing a comedy routine. *Gupot Chamorro* also included a presentation of awards to the Charfauros Brothers, Jimmy Dee, The Downbeats, Bill Muna, Flora Baza Quan, and Johnny Sablan.

In 1985, Alexandro Sablan, Calisto Cing, and Tommy Charfauros got together to produce music videos. The first project was a one hour production featuring songs from Alexandro Sablan's album *Batkun Gera* (War Ship) and was interspersed with Sablan's comedy routines. The chief sponsor of the production was Anheiser Busch, and it aired

on New Year's Eve 1985 and was simulcast on KGTV, KUAM, Guam Cable T.V. and Saipan Cable T.V. The manner in which this was marketed points to the genre's commercial viability during these years. In the same year, Calisto Cing put together another video that was hosted by KUAM radio personality Rick "Big Boz" Baza. The show included videos from Rota singers David and Emilio Ayuyu, Guam singer J.R. Reyes, the Carolinian/Chamorro couple Larry and Mary Saralu, and Alexandro Sablan.⁵⁹⁵

The artists who made an impact on younger Chamorros were the ones that went beyond the subaltern existence of Chamorro nightclubs and Chamorro language radio and directly engaged the cosmopolitan "local" culture of the island. J.D. Crutch and the Ga'ga Brothers were true crossover acts that shaped the identity of a diverse segment of the local population and raised awareness of Chamorro language and culture. By the early 1990s, youth were growing up in an English speaking world, but pride in Chamorro identity had been elevated to the point that young people could not imagine a time when there was a stigma attached to being Chamorro. Beginning roughly around the *Gupot Chamorro '90* performance and continuing well past his death in 1996, J.D. Crutch enjoyed a surge in popularity and began to attract many young fans that did not necessarily speak Chamorro or listen to other Chamorro music. During these years, he recorded numerous albums, some of which were released posthumously, which became part of the youth culture of the island, and were equally popular among older fans. In doing so, J.D. Crutch led the way, in directing the attention of younger Chamorros toward Chamorro music.

Another older artist who was able to attract the attention of younger fans in the 1990s was K.C. De Leon Guerrero, whose albums *Bunito na Ha'ane* and *Saipan* featured

⁵⁹⁵ *Chamorro Music Video*. C and F Productions, Talofoto Guam, 1985.

a blend of country western and reggae rhythms. The style was very much influenced by the popular island style reggae that came from Hawai'i in the 1990s. Like J.D. Crutch, De Leon Guerrero was able to attract English-speaking Chamorros and even non-Chamorros by producing music in contemporary styles. In doing so, they countered the hegemony of the English language in the island's public sphere. By the beginning of the 1990s, several hundred albums of Chamorro language music had been produced and it was standard to play Chamorro music, particularly cha-cha, at every Chamorro party. Younger Chamorros on Guam may not have all been diehard fans of the music but all came to recognize the numerous songs with Chamorro lyrics and cha-cha, country western, batsu, jitter bug and rock and roll beats as part of their culture. People who grew up during these years could not really imagine a time when it was not.

CONCLUSION

The 1970s and 1980s were decades when Chamorro music could have faded away and if it had, an important vehicle for the perpetuation of a Chamorro identity rooted in the language and in *kustumbren Chamorro* values and traditions would have as well. This did not happen because the numerous Chamorro musicians built on the foundation laid by Johnny Sablan, the Charfauros Brothers and other pioneers of the Chamorro music industry. Younger artists who recorded Chamorro songs during these years were predominantly from the south and from traditional families in Guam and the northern Marianas. They had grown up in the 1960s and 70s with a greater familiarity with the Chamorro language and other *kustumbren Chamorro* practices than most of their peers in northern Guam. While this had been a stigma for them growing up, Chamorros island-wide were beginning to see the value in maintaining a distinct cultural identity as they

realized that they were becoming marginalized by settler colonialism. The musicians of this era were able to tap into the new pride in Chamorro identity and develop new Chamorro language music that suited the modern tastes of their peers. From the 1970s to the 1990s, Chamorros of all ages became fans and the music became an important part of the island's public sphere, as numerous night clubs featured the music and Chamorro language radio emerged as well.

Nevertheless, beneath the celebration of culture, the lyrics of Chamorro songs, revealed a Chamorro community that was struggling. The strong connection to Chamorro music among Chamorros in the diaspora, suggests that many would have liked to stay home on Guam, if opportunities had been available. Many Chamorros suffered, as they found themselves unprepared to compete with the outside forces that were shaping the island. As *kustumbren Chamorro* values gave way to outside ideas, the cohesive Chamorro identity that had shaped the World War II generation fractured into many different conceptions and articulations of Chamorro identity and culture. It is important to recognize however, that not everyone was struggling. Chamorros held most of the powerful positions in government and elite families that owned land and businesses profited from the rapid development of the island during the years.

CHAPTER 6
HAYI PO MANTENI I GITALA?
(WHO WILL HOLD THE GUITAR?)

This dissertation began with story of Johnny Sablan, the modern, Americanized, successful young Chamorro, who turned to his elders in his quest to bring Chamorro music into the modern world. In doing so, he was bringing two narratives together that underlie current understandings of Guam history. The first is a nationalist narrative, of a unified people struggling for cultural and political decolonization. The second narrative is a subaltern one that has received less attention and has largely remained outside of the discourse of modern nationalism. However, in this subaltern narrative are clues to the maintenance of an indigenous Chamorro identity throughout the colonial era.

At the time Sablan recorded his first album in 1968, neither narrative had been written. In fact, almost nothing about Guam history from a Chamorro perspective had been written yet. The nationalist narrative was established in the 1980s and 1990s in the context of the movement for decolonization. The goal of these writings was to dislodge the hegemony of the Eurocentric narrative that had written Chamorros out of history. However, this dissertation has demonstrated that the story of Chamorro music brings attention to contradictions in the nationalist narrative. As noted in the Chapter 1, contradictions in nationalist narratives are not unique to Guam, but can be traced to the roots of modern historiography in nineteenth century Europe. It relies on the fiction of a unified nation, when in most cases, national histories have been written by the powerful, and are shaped by their interests. The Subaltern Studies Group demonstrated in the 1980s, that in colonial India, elite adoption of the language of political modernity resulted in a historiography that ignored the role of non-elites in history. Prasenjit Duara,

examining the way the Eurocentric model was adopted in China, noted that nationalist histories involve presenting the “contested and contingent nation the false unity of a self-same, national subject evolving through time.”⁵⁹⁶

Employing a subaltern studies approach, this dissertation has built a case that through Chamorro language songs, a marginalized and much more complex picture of “how colonialism works” can be traced.⁵⁹⁷ Far from being the story of a self-same subject evolving through time, the history of Chamorro music reveals the story of a people who have transformed and adapted to multiple traumas and displacements over the last 340 years to become something very different than they had been before. Songs are the expression of their creators’ world views, and it is clear that the songs of the *guma’ ulitao*, which Jesuit missionaries worked to stamp out in the seventeenth century, were radically different than the Chamorro folk songs of the 1930s. Nevertheless, Chamorros clearly perpetuated their language and certain aspects of the pre-colonial values and social organization through three centuries of colonial rule. This dissertation has argued that the story of these continuities is not the story of Chamorro elites in colonial society. It is the story of subalterns who lived lives marginalized by colonial discourse.

Examining songs and musical traditions of the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century, a time when *kustumbren Chamorro* had become well established, this dissertation demonstrated that the lyrics of Chamorro songs of those years suggest a community with a very secure cultural identity. Songs were about daily life. There were many loves songs, and many songs of hardship, as well as songs that were sung simply for enjoyment. But, whether engaging in a *chamorrита* debate at a roof

⁵⁹⁶ Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 4.

⁵⁹⁷ Adapted from Osorio *Dismembering Lahui*, 3.

thatching party, or making up a rhyme at the schoolyard, the primary audience for songs was fellow Chamorros, and the topics people sang about generally involved the Chamorro community. The few songs where non-Chamorros are mentioned, such as “*Humalom Enfetmera*,” give a sense of the clear boundary line, defined by anthropologist Laura Thompson as a division between “the Chamorro world,” and the world of the colonial government.⁵⁹⁸ The songs reveal an inner confidence among Chamorros that came with the security of living in a community in which they established the cultural norms, even if different rules applied when they engaged the world of the colonial government, in school, work, or at civic events. They could do this, despite domination by a colonial government, because the colonial government, and colonial knowledge, had never been hegemonic.

In this battle over hegemony there was a division between official power, and the subaltern power of the Chamorro community. Elites who had greater access to western educations, spoke the colonial language, ran businesses and acquired large landholdings, always had opportunities to prosper in the colonial society. Most other Chamorros found security in maintaining their own worldview and ties with extended family for survival. *Kustumbren Chamorro* was unofficial, undocumented, and, not understood by most Spanish or American colonial officials, except as a bewildering array of Catholic rituals and festivities. It was regularly dismissed as a backward and wasteful way of life, but in this subaltern identity, Chamorros maintained an autonomous power that allowed them to shape the colonial encounter. The strong bonds that *kustumbren Chamorro* maintained proved their value during World War II, when Chamorros, abandoned by the United States, came to rely on themselves completely.

⁵⁹⁸ Laura Thompson, *Guam and Its People*, 7.

After World War II, and the granting of United States citizenship in 1950, Chamorros became citizens of a modern nation-state for the first time in their history. The logic underlying this new identity was that Chamorros had become a new “people.” They were no longer subalterns but instead citizens of the most powerful nation on earth. For the generation that grew up in post-war Guam, the island’s new identity as American shaped a new public sphere, as Guam transformed into a multi-cultural community. For the first generation of working class Chamorros, American citizenship brought a chance for upward mobility, not available to them in any previous colonial era. Although, in most cases, the clearest path to success was a dangerous one, through enlistment in the United States armed forces.

The story of working class Chamorros in post-war Guam is different than the story of Chamorro elites because their concerns were different. For elites, who work in the realm of politics and economic development, American colonialism has meant a frustrating relationship with the federal government that has hampered business opportunities. These policies have been detrimental to working class Chamorros as well, but the struggle expressed in Chamorro songs suggests that the most important concern has been the breakdown in the sense of community, and the loss of social security once provided by the core pillars of subsistence agriculture, extended family and the Chamorro language. The values and traditions of *kustumbren Chamorro* are intensely conservative, and come into tension with many aspects of liberal modernity, but it is a system that was developed and perpetuated by Chamorros and had historically allowed them to keep colonial hegemony at bay.

The role of Chamorro recording artist in articulating the concerns of working class Chamorros struggling with the contradictions of trying maintain an identity rooted in *kustumbren Chamorro* in modern Guam has been under-recognized by Guam historians. This dissertation has made the case that the recording industry is a significant social movement that has played an important role in keeping Chamorro language in the island's public sphere and that has maintained an awareness of these older values, This is not always obvious, because the Chamorro language has continued to decline in recent years, and the island continues to modernize along lines that, on multiple levels, move Guam society further away from an identity based on *kustumbren Chamorro*. Chamorro recording artists have also, for the most part remained anonymous, even while present in Guam's public sphere as entertainers. However, without the extraordinary contributions of Jesus Charfauros, Johnny Sablan, Roque Mantanona, Flora Baza, Mike Laguana, J.D. Crutch, Candy Taman, Alexandro Sablan, and dozens of others who worked in the limelight and behind the scenes in the development of Chamorro music, it is difficult to imagine what the state of the language and culture would be today.

A second major objective of this dissertation has been to establish the legitimacy of the practice of borrowing and adapting foreign influences into Chamorro music. Despite criticisms that the music is inauthentic, or a sign of a degraded culture, this dissertation has argued that such an approach to foreign influences is consistent with other elements of *kustumbren Chamorro*. Songwriters readily appropriate foreign melodies and rhythms, but, the songs are shown to be primarily vehicles for lyrics that expressed a wide range of ideas in the Chamorro language. By tracing the practice of adopting foreign songs back to the early twentieth century, this dissertation demonstrated

this practice of is deeply rooted in strategies of appropriation and resistance to colonial hegemony. By highlighting apparent continuities in musical sensibilities, particularly in humor, competitiveness, extemporaneity, and word phrasing, this dissertation suggests that the adaptive approach to music found in Chamorro songs has roots that are traceable to the pre-colonial era.

The practice of adapting outside influences into music seems to clash with modern nationalist conceptions of indigenous music, but by situating the story of Chamorro music in Chamorro historical experience, this dissertation argues that the outside influences are to be expected, and are part of the make-up of modern Chamorro identity. Despite the continual presence of Chamorros on the island, their long tumultuous history suggests parallels with diasporic cultures forged through long histories of subjugation and displacement. This dissertation employed Paul Gilroy's concept of anti-anti-essentialism, demonstrating that Chamorro music can better be understood as "Chamorro" when the historical roots of Chamorro identity formation are understood.

As noted in the Chapter 1, tensions between modernity and *kustumbren Chamorro* have been connected to numerous social issues facing Chamorros today. While this dissertation offers a critique of nationalist narratives, it is not a critique of the ultimate necessity of decolonization. Without a doubt, the United States holds on to Guam because of its value as a strategic colony and it is in the interest of the United States to hold on to as much political control as possible. This broader context limits opportunities for Chamorros on Guam to develop the island in ways not tied to military domination. Without a self-determined political status that gives Chamorros the chance to define a

more equitable relationship with the United States, or, if they choose, to move towards independence, Chamorros continue to face the other struggles outlined in this dissertation from a position of weakness. However, one of the obstacles faced by the decolonization movement is that there has been little momentum for change on the part of working class Chamorros. It may be that this is because nationalist narratives have not adequately framed the issues involved in colonization in ways that highlight how decolonization could resolve the struggles that shape their lives. Subaltern studies is a useful approach for Guam history, because it allows for the strengthening of nationalist narratives by bringing marginalized voices into a conversation once dominated by the powerful. It is from this perspective that Chamorro language songs are shown to be significant.

CULTURAL DANCE AND THE NATIONALIST NARRATIVE

As noted, in Chapter 1, the emergence of cultural dance is just as much a legacy of Johnny Sablan's quest to establish a modern musical identity for Guam as the recording industry. Sablan's quest for connections with the deeper, pre-colonial past was particularly evident in the *My Chamorrans* (1970) album. On the album cover, he stood shirtless on top of a latte stone, demonstrating awareness and a desire to embrace his ancient heritage. The album paid homage to the *chamorrta* tradition with "*An Gumupu si Paluma*" and his inclusion of the Sus Charfauros song "*Munga' Yo' Mafino Englesi*" within this broader context linked the concerns of ancient and modern Chamorros together in a shared struggle to hold on to identity.

By creating awareness to Guam's ancient heritage in Guam's public sphere, cultural dance has played an important role in redefining Chamorro identity in a way that accommodates connections to the deeper past and inspires pride in ancient roots. This

dissertation has been critical of nationalist narratives, but defining national identity is part of the process of decolonization. The format of cultural dance has allowed Chamorros to define their identity on a global stage, through the Festival of the Pacific Arts, as well as through performances in Asia, Europe and the United States. It is also a format that is compatible with the Guam's tourism industry. Whereas before, Guam hotels featured hula and other forms of Polynesian dance exclusively, Chamorro cultural dance is now making inroads, and has considerable support from the Guam Visitor's Bureau.

However, it became apparent during the course of this research that when people heard that this dissertation was about "Chamorro music" they often assumed that the topic was cultural dance and chants. In Guam's public sphere today, the music of recording artists, in relation to cultural dance, is now assumed to be less authentic. The embrace of American influences is misunderstood, and the language barrier has meant most people don't know what recording artists are singing about. In these concluding pages it is necessary to reiterate the case for the music of Chamorro recording artists.

First it is important to point out that the difference in the two forms of musical expression is not in that one type of expression is more modern than the other or more legitimate. The difference is essentially historiographical. It has to do with the way they present the relationship of contemporary Chamorros to the past. As noted in Chapter 1, the first presentation of the *Guahu Taotao Tano* play in 1985 was a narrative that progressed evenly through three historical eras. Having outlined the subaltern narrative that shaped the development of Chamorro language music, it is useful to compare it to the evolution of narrative in the cultural dance performances.

The 1988 Fest Pac performance titled *Kantan Kurason* (Song of the Heart) gave a broad overview of Guam's musical history, giving a more complex picture of Chamorro culture than was presented in "*Guahu Taotao Tano*" but followed the general outline of representing each historical era. In many ways, it mirrored the organization of this dissertation. Scene 1 of Act 1 began with a recreation of an ancient chant, and then scenes 2-8 recreated performances of early twentieth century *kantan Chamorrta*, Catholic music, country western, jitterbug, songs of World War II and Vietnam, and a pre-war wedding. Act 2, scenes 1-7 completely focused on *kustumbren Chamorro* music practices with a heavy emphasis on Catholic rituals, and foreign introductions. The final scene, (Act 2, scene 8) returns to the circle of women from scene one, but they are singing the modern Guam hymn "Fanohgge Chamorro" (Stand Chamorros) and "Pues Adios" (A modern farewell song).⁵⁹⁹

In the 1996 presentation in Apia, Western Samoa, a clear evolution toward a greater emphasis on pre-contact identity was evident. Act One was titled "Happiness and Tranquility" and began with a reconstruction of the creation of the island by the first ancestors, Puntan and Fu'una, followed by a recreation of "The Celestial Birth" and a third scene where a *makahna* (shaman) calls upon the *aniti* (ancestral spirit) for assistance. The second act was titled "Civilization and Order of the People" which included representations of pre-contact culture in the form of latte stone construction, ancient values, and the *Taotao Latte* (People of the Latte Stone at Play). Act Three was titled "Belembautuyan and the Toppling of the Latte," with the two main scenes titled "The Chamorros during the Spanish era" and "The Chamorros during the American

⁵⁹⁹ The Guam Festival of Pacific Arts Task Force. "*I Kantan Kurason: A Song of the Heart: A Celebration of the people of Guam and the evolution of their cultural heritage in song and dance*" Program for a performance at the University of Guam Fine Arts Theatre, Mangilao Guam, 1988.

era.”⁶⁰⁰ The minimalization of the colonial eras and the considerable emphasis on pre-contact times in this 1996 presentation marked a shift, not just in cultural dance, but in the way younger Chamorros on Guam were beginning to understand their relationship to their ancient heritage. In the 2000s, images of cultural dancers and other representations of ancient Guam would become commonplace in the island’s public sphere.

During the 1980s and much of the 1990s, Frank Rabon’s *Taotao Tano* Cultural Dancers was the only major group, but in the last decade cultural dance groups have proliferated as Rabon’s students have broken away. All remain affiliated with each other however, under the umbrella group Pa’a Taotao Tano. Today the groups compete with each other in local performances and for chances to travel abroad. This competitive atmosphere has driven creativity and cultural dance has moved in many directions. Some groups have focused more presenting ancient eras, but others have put considerable effort to developing presentations of contemporary Chamorros society.

Former Rabon student Vince Reyes has gone much farther than most in incorporating numerous songs from recording artists into the performances of his group *Inetnon Gef Pa’go*. He has enlisted the help of *chamorrita* singer and long-time recording artist Connie Fejeran Garrido, who has helped resurrect the *Amaga* play written by Romeo Mantanona from the 1950s. She has also instructed students in *chamorrita* and Reyes’ group has recreated *chamorrita* duels in their presentations. Often Reyes’ performances create montages of numerous influences, from ancient creations to the newest popular American hits, and songs like Sus Charfauros’ “*Munga yo’ Mafino’ Englesi*,” all blended into dramatic performances.

⁶⁰⁰ Guam Council on the Arts and Humanities Agency, *Taotao Latte: 1996 FestPac, Sep. 8-23, 1996, Apia Western Samoa*, official program guide.

Recording artists have been influenced by the broader evolution of Chamorro identity toward greater identification with the pre-contact past. Ruby Acquiring Santos, who got her start with Alexandro Sablan, and Jessie Bias, who got his start with Johnny Sablan, often perform at events alongside cultural dance performances. Candy Taman wrote a song about the ancient Tinian chief, Taga, while contemporary artist Daniel De Leon Guerrero wrote a song about ancient legends like Puntan and Fu'una. Recording artists, cultural dance groups, and other organizations that promote the revitalization of Chamorro language and culture such as Anne Marie Arceo's very successful Hurao Culture Camp have collaborated on numerous projects of cultural revitalization. These developments have been positive in that cultural dance and chanting has led the way in bringing consciousness of a pre-colonial identity to the forefront of the public culture on Guam.

At the same time, it is important to recognize the very different representation of Chamorro identity that cultural dance promotes. Most significantly, it aligns with the nationalist narrative that has emerged in the last three decades, and it therefore shares many of this narrative's problematic aspects. It is also a break from the subaltern identity that has grounded Chamorro culture for generations. Chamorro music has traditionally expressed the life experiences of Chamorros and stories passed down from immediate ancestors, but cultural dance was established from the beginning on the basis of conforming to modern expectations of indigeneity and national identity. As noted, by Flores, it developed in response to the cultures of other Pacific Islands at the Festival of Pacific Arts. The first presentation was developed by Guam statesmen Carlos Taitano who looked to historical documents of foreign missionaries to "establish an indigenous

identity for Guam.”⁶⁰¹ Taitano’s view of indigeneity, as something that didn’t exist in contemporary Guam, reflects an essentialist conception of Chamorro identity. The underlying idea is that Chamorros cannot exist as a people until they discover their true identities in the ancient past. This view of history lies on the same types of assumptions that led Europeans to believe Chamorros did not exist in the first place. Briefly examining two chants found in the Frank Rabon’s cultural dance manual illustrates the issues involved. Among the most popular of the cultural dance chants is “Fu’una yan Puntan” which blends two of the most well documented creation stories.

Fu’una yan Puntan

<p>Fu’una yan Puntan tutuhon i lina’la Fu’una yan Puntan, I taotao tano’ I akagui na’ atadok-mu, muna’ lamlam i pilan I agapa na’ atadok-mu, muna’ dokko’ i atdao. I sehas-mu gi fasu-mu, pumenta i isa</p> <p>I tiyan-mu gi talo’, fumañagu , tano’ I chelun-miyu as Chaifi, mana’lala i guafi Ha’otdetna i manglu, hana katma i tasi Fu’una yan Puntan, hamyu sainan-mami</p>	<p>Fu’una yan Puntan, the beginning of life Fu’una yan Puntan, the people of the land Your left eye made the moon shine Your right eye, made the sun rise The eyebrows on your face painted the rainbow Your stomach gave birth to the land Your brother Chaifi, made the fires controlled the winds, calmed the sea Fu’una yan Puntan, you are our ancestors⁶⁰²</p>
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Such compositions reflect Rabon’s goal to “honor our ancestral heritage” and have a powerful impact on Chamorros who have been drawn to make connections with the ancient past. But, they come into tension with the more common primary identifications with Catholic *kustumbren Chamorro* traditions and secular modernity, in which there is already a conflict. For this reason, its relevance to contemporary Chamorro identity is ambiguous.

⁶⁰¹ Frank Rabon, “Pa’a Taotao Tano: A Way of Life, People of the Land: Chamorro Chants and Dances of Guam,” (Hagatna: Irensia Publishing, 2001), 2.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 6.

Another chant featured in Frank Rabon's dance manual describes the destruction of a village during the Spanish-Chamorro Wars.

Chinaflek Korason (The sufferings)

Our hands that helped you, that welcomed you,
That served you when you came to visit
Now on our land, our hands are covered with the blood
Of our children, our women, our families whom were insulted, harmed and ostracized

Before, the skies were blue and tranquil, the seas were abundant
And the fish were overflowing
Now the village is burning, the skies are black with ash
Before the eyes of the people were so vibrant and happy
Now suffering and uneasiness are all that we see

Before you always heard the songs of the men
The friendliness of the women and the sweet laughter of the children
Now we don't hear the cries of the children or the bickering and wailing of the women
Before the air was filled with the sweet perfume of flowers and the scent of babies

The hair of the women was filled with the aroma of oranges and coconut oil
Now, all you smell is the death of our culture
We opened our hearts and accepted you into our land
Now we hurt because you did not respect and appreciate our customs and our way of life
Now, all you smell is our death⁶⁰³

This song paints a horrific image that, while perhaps romanticizing the pre-Catholic culture, nevertheless has a solid grounding in the historical accounts of the Spanish Chamorro Wars that described the burning of villages and the kidnapping of children. In this sense it seems to be very political and perhaps aligns with the decolonization movement. However, the contemporary political implications are unclear. It seems as if the *kustumbren Chamorro* heritage that followed must somehow have less legitimacy than the ancient and largely unknown past, and there is no clear sense of how Chamorros should address the problems of modern day reality.

⁶⁰³Frank Rabon, *Bailan i Taotao Tano' The Chamorro Dance Manual: Chamorro Dances, Costumes, Songs and Chants*. (Hagatna: Irensia Publishing, 2007). Only the English translation is included here because of limitations of space. Lyrics are from the Frank Rabon "Dance Manual."

The nationalist narrative that underlies cultural dance resists an exploration of contemporary issues because it was consciously created to celebrate Chamorro culture and present a positive image, not just to Chamorros and Guam's broader local audience, but to audiences all over the world. The performances must conform to the expectations of such audiences. They therefore do not have the power of subalternity. In describing his collaborations with Chamorro recording artists, Rabon noted that it is difficult to use much of the work of recording artists in his work.

The early Chamorro music compositions expressed mostly the Japanese occupation and the American influences that occurred; there were few songs that expressed the beauty of our island and its natural surroundings. It is quite difficult interpreting songs that expressed drug and alcohol abuse, affairs, dates, and other social issues, and this has been the bulk of our Chamorro compositions, which copied American compositions. This may be attributed to the lack of Chamorro performing arts practices prior to 1983. It could also be the sentiments of the Chamorro people reflective of those times. Now that the performing arts are more visual with regards to the Chamorro culture, this may influence composers, recording artists and singers to deviate from the suffering times and write more about the beauty of the Marianas and her people...Nature has provided us with beautiful scenic backgrounds and history has provided us with stories to tell. Let us reflect on these gifts and start expressing these stories through the artistry of the performing arts for our visitors and ourselves. It might just make a difference with regard to our social issues we currently encounter with the erosion of our cultural values, because of the western influences.⁶⁰⁴

The last sentence points to an ultimate goal that is undoubtedly positive, but rooting the problems facing Chamorros in "western influences" gives little concrete analysis of the problems facing modern day Chamorros. Instead, it sweeps significant issues under the table. The overall effect of the dance presentations is also one that shifts the analysis of contemporary issues from the conflict of *kustumbren Chamorro* and modernity, to one of ancient Chamorro identity to the present. Such a baseline is much harder to measure, and in songs like "*Chinaflek Kurason*" the baseline seems to be an

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 52.

unattainable utopia. Such narrative strategies work well for theatrical presentations, but they are less effective as a way of framing historical issues facing contemporary Chamorros. It is in this sense that this dissertation argues that Chamorro music, in its subaltern form, has played a fundamentally different role in Chamorro society.

DANIEL DE LEON GUERRERO AND SUBALTERN PROTEST

Among older artists who have continued to record Chamorro songs that document the life experiences of their generation of working class Chamorros, Daniel De Leon Guerrero stands out as the most prolific, having recorded one or two albums every year since he returned to the island in 1998. De Leon Guerrero is the brother of 1980s and 1990s recording artist KC de Leon Guerrero and so is part of the same generation as many of the artists mentioned in Chapter 5. Like many Chamorros of his generation, he left after high school in the 1970s and found work in the mainland. During most of the 1980s and 1990s he lived in Cleveland, Tennessee where he worked for Whirlpool and immersed himself in the country music scene. He played in various bands in the Nashville circuit, even playing gigs at the Grand Ole Opry and Printer's Alley and in Branson Missouri, which is another country music hotspot.⁶⁰⁵

When he came home in 1998, he went straight into performing and recording Chamorro songs. In his performances, he often puts on a show for the audience, walking around the crowd, telling jokes, and providing social commentary much in the way Jesus Charfauros once did. In a period of less than fifteen years he has established himself as one of the most prolific Chamorro artists of all time and his consciousness of the decline of *kustumbren Chamorro* as it was understood by his generation is clear in his music. Many recording artists have written about controversial social issues in the past, and

⁶⁰⁵ Daniel De Leon Guerrero. Interview by the author, Mangilao, Guam, 10 August 2010.

Chamorros have always sung about the hardships of life, but no artist before him has so clearly sought to bring the plight of modern-working class and poor Chamorros to light in songs. De Leon Guerrero's music represents a type of social activism that is completely internal to the ever shrinking community of fluent Chamorro speakers. In this he is very much addressing that element of the community that remains at least partly rooted in the subaltern identity that seems out of place in modern Guam. He is perpetuating the use of song to get a message across in a non-confrontational way, in the same way that Chamorro songwriters have done for generations.

In De Leon Guerrero's ever growing catalog of songs, he has tried to document all aspects of the increasingly marginalized *kustumbren Chamorro* heritage, from the often celebrated food and fiestas, to practices such as hunting, fishing, and cockfighting. The song "Gayera" for example describes the scene at a typical cockfight, including Chamorro slang jargon of the cockpit that is not used in any other context and has not been recorded in Chamorro dictionaries. Other songs demonstrate a wariness of individualism because it breaks down social ties enforced by *kustumbren Chamorro*.

The song "Na'Ma'asi un Saina" (Show Compassion for this Elderly Person) Daniel describes the plight of an elderly mother who had worked hard her whole life to support her children, but had then been abandoned at a government run home for the elderly.⁶⁰⁶ In the pre-war era, the elderly had been taken care of by children, but in the modern world, other obligations often took center stage in the lives of children.

⁶⁰⁶ *Sagan Trankilidad*, is apparently a reference to *Guma Trankilidad*, a government run home for the elderly. It translates as "place of tranquility." It is not clear if De Leon Guerrero meant the reference to be a play on words, but the use of Chamorro language terms to name modern institutions raises questions about the value of indigenous language alone if it ends up giving an alien institution legitimacy. Abandoning mothers in government run elderly homes conflicts, on multiple levels, with the centrality of the mother in *Kustumbren Chamorro*.

Na'ma'asi un Saina	show mercy to this parent
Un sagan trankilidad na ma'pega	they put in the elderly home
Ai ya taya' esta umatetendi	oh because no one pays attention
ni taya' bumisisita	nor ever visits
Sa' mantinane' famagu'on-niha	because the children are busy
Ai nu i lina'la'-niha	with their own lives
bula ai na manbinensi	many have been persuaded
i tiningo Amerikanu	by the American knowledge

In another verse, he raises the issue of land, still central to modern Chamorro identity, but disconnected from its old role as a source of agricultural subsistence.

Annai lalala i amko	when the old woman was alive
Taya' ai bumisisita	no one visited
Duru pago ai manatgramento	now everyone is arguing
Bula-ña esta eskusa	even more excuses
Lao annai matai i amko	but when she died
Todus ha' maninterasu	everyone was suddenly interested
I otro manmamaisen	they were asking
Kao guaha paten-ña	What's my share
Ai gi tano	of the land?

Of particular significance in both of the above passages is the sense that the reciprocity that once bound families together has broken down. Mothers raised to honor their own mothers in the *kustumbren Chamorro* system, give their all to their all to their own children, and find that their efforts are not appreciated. The old system was bound by an internal logic, but in the modern system there is no clear logic. Success in the modern world brings conflicting obligations that can be used to justify not taking care of the mother. The value of individualism on the other hand justifies taking care of one's self first. The second passage suggests however, that the *kustumbren Chamorro* system is abused, and called upon selectively. Modern excuses justify the inability to participate in one's obligations, but parents still feel obligated to give each child a share of the land. De Leon Guerrero blames the problem on the younger generation's adoption of "*tiningo*

Amerikanu” (American knowledge). In reality, the liberal individualism suggested is not simply American knowledge, it is a key element of the modern thought that came out of the Enlightenment, and it comes into conflict with *kustumbren Chamorro*.

As De Leon Guerrero often explains in his live performances, “the people are suffering.” It is clear that when he speaks of the “people” he is speaking specifically of poor and working class Chamorros who have remained close to the culture of their ancestors, and have struggled with the changes brought by modernity. The lyrics of his songs present the social issues facing Chamorros as none before, dealing with issues such as domestic abuse, drugs, growing up poor, and the general feeling that Chamorros are losing control of the island. The song “*Tumaimanmanu i tano*” is an example of this frustration.

Tumaimanmanu I tano (What is happening to the island?)

Gaige yo’ an ginen lagu	I came from the U.S.
Bai hu bisita I bunitan tano-hu	to visit my beautiful island
Annai matto yo’ tatti	When I came back
bula lili’e-hu na matulaika	I saw that a lot had changed
Guini na isla	Here on the island
Puru ha’ pago binaba ai chelu	All of it now is bad, oh brother
sangani hu pago tumaimanmanu I tano	tell me how this is happening with the island
I GTA manmaprivatize	They privatized G.T.A.
I sagan hanom manmaFBI	the FBI is investigating G.W.A. ⁶⁰⁷
Ya i presson kandit	The price of electricity
takhilo-ña esta ki I boka	is more than food
manalang I familia	The family is hungry
guini gi tano-ta,	Here on our island

⁶⁰⁷ These two lines are references to the Guam Telephone authority and the Guam Water Works. These agencies were turned over from the Navy to the Government of Guam with the Organic Act in 1950, and Chamorros were given preferential hiring at the time so that many Chamorro were able to get jobs in the government agencies. However, market forces have placed increasing pressure to privatize government agencies and there is a fear among government workers that they will lose the security once offered by a government job, if hiring is controlled by outside companies.

put fabot sangani hu chelu'
tumaimanmanu I tano
Ai sangani hu pago
ai mañelu-hu sangani hu
tumaimanmanu i tano

please tell me brother
what is happening to our island
please tell me now
oh siblings, tell me
what is happening to our island

I espitat pago na tempo,
bula ai manmalangu,
lao ti nahong I budget
pumapasi I mediku

in the hospital today
there are many sick people
but the budget is insufficient
to pay the doctors

Ai manu hit guatu pago chelu-hu
put fabot sangani hu Chamorro
tumaimanmanu tano-miyu

oh where are we going? Brother
please tell me brother
what is happening to your island?

Famagu'on ti manskuela,
sa ti matto talo I bus-niha,
ya I polisia mammagagacha I binenu, ,
Hayi ta trata pago ai maneluhu,

The children are not at school
because their bus didn't come again
the police are catching a lot of drugs
Who now my brother

put fabot sangani hu Chamorro
tumaimanmanu I tano
Ai sangani hu pago ai mañelu-hu
sangani hu tumaimanmanu it tano

please tell me Chamorros
what is happening to the island
tell me know brothers
Oh, tell me how this is happening

Ai atan ha pago na tano-ta
sa manmumumu hit na hora,
sa ti ta tungo manu na ta pega I basula-ta
Pago na tiempo ai manu hit guatu? Ai chelu,
sangani hu tumaimanmanu I tano

oh look now at our land
we are fighting all of the time
over where to put the trash⁶⁰⁸
where are we going now? Brother
tell me how this is happening to our
island?

In some ways, De Leon Guerrero aligns closely with the frustrations that have fueled the grassroots movement of indigenous nationalism that began with the formation of the activist group "*I Nasion Chamoru*" (The Chamorro Nation), a group established by Angel Leon Guerrero Santos that led the most overt period of activism against the federal

⁶⁰⁸ This is a reference to the contentious debate over the location of a new landfill. The final choice, was in the hills of Guam's southern village of Inarajan. In the "not in my backyard" politics the small Inarajan population could not compete with the population centers of northern Guam. Such issues reflect a continued marginalization of southern Guam residents that often comes out in Chamorro language talk shows. When driving to work in early July of 2011 for example, I listened as a southern resident complained on Jess Lujan's morning talk show "the Buzz" that "puru' ha' mayamak i chalan santatte' (all the roads in the south are broken) pointing to perception among southerners that the northern center of power cares little for the south where there are less voters.

government in the early 1990s. On the album cover of “Fanohge” (Stand Up) De Leon Guerrero stands in front of a plaque dedicated to Santos that was erected at Angel Santos Park in the capital of Hagatña.

The title track “Fanohge” begins with a spoken dedication to Santos, thanking him for defending the culture. The first verse begins with praise of Santos for going to jail in defense of what he believed. The chorus is a call for everyone “to stand up and protect the culture, the race, and the island.”⁶⁰⁹ Santos was jailed for trespassing on Air Force land that belonged to his family, but De Leon Guerrero does not explain this in the song. However, the chorus seems to represent what Santos meant for De Leon Guerrero, in his role as an activist who stood up for working-class Chamorros. Like most recording artists he does not actually call out the federal government on anything, but there is an underlying understanding that the federal government is part of the problem. The perspective that comes when looking at the full range of topics discussed by De Leon Guerrero points to a much broader understanding of the issues facing Chamorros than just blaming the federal government.

Like many artists before him, he has also written several songs praising Chamorro soldiers who have fought in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. As in the songs of artists before him, he does not praise war or write songs about killing the enemy. Instead, his songs convey the fears of soldiers and their feelings of homesickness, and he honors them for risking their lives to protect Chamorros.

Interestingly, De Leon Guerrero suggests that his decision to come home and make a difference in the community was influenced by his decades in the United States,

⁶⁰⁹ “Fanohge, yan protehi, i kotura, i rasa, yan i tano-ta.”

and the adoption of what in some circumstances might be considered *tiningo Amerikanu*.

He explained that:

When I was growing up, I was always told, don't let other people know what's going on in the family, but then I moved to the States and they say, 'the truth will set you free.' So what am I going to do? So what I do is I go right in the middle. Be neutral, be careful what I say, but meaning the same thing. You know, like in some of my songs, it speaks about families, but I do not say their names, or their last names. Some of my songs speak about scandal. But I don't say names. But it wakes up the people out there. In our culture, we have this thing called *na'mamahlaho*, which means don't embarrass the family. At the same time, you have to hold that pain inside of you. But if you know how to let it go in a more positive way, at least you can let go of some of the suffering.⁶¹⁰

This statement reflects not a blind allegiance to tradition but a flexible worldview which recognizes that culture is a continually evolving process. At the same time, he frames his understanding of social issues within the context of *kustumbren Chamorro*.

While the quest for political self-determination is an important part of the struggle to remedy problems facing the Chamorro community, the nationalist narrative that supports much of the rhetoric of decolonization must accommodate the deeper structural issues within Chamorro society. A narrative that draws clear lines between colonizer and colonized does not easily accommodate historical reality, nor does it demonstrate how political change will solve the conflict between *kustumbren Chamorro* and modernity. The story of Chamorro music does not answer these questions, but it helps convey the complexity of Chamorro history. It also brings light to the role of subalternity, in the survival of Chamorro cultural identity.

In the early 2000s, amidst a resurgent public presence of Chamorro culture, Daniel De Leon Guerrero paid tribute to Chamorro recording artists in the song "*Hayi po tinaigue?*" (Who's going to take the place?) In light of the ageing of the generations that

⁶¹⁰ De Leon Guerrero interview.

established the Chamorro music recording industry, De Leon Guerrero asked, “Who will stand up and hold the guitar and sing about our old customs?” His question suggests that despite new developments in Chamorro culture, Chamorro recording artists perpetuate a unique form of expression that has played an important role in Chamorro society for a long time. It points to the value of subalternity in the modern world. It is also a historiographical question about how the past is represented and who represents the past.

Ai hayi put manaigue?
Hayi para estorayi put i isla yan i kustumbre

Ai hayi para u tachu ya u mantiene pa’go i gitala

ya u kantayi put i hagas kotura-ta
Sangani-hu hayi para u kanta?

Oh what about when they’re gone?
Who will tell us about our island
and customs?
Oh, who will stand up and hold the
guitar?
and sing to us about our old customs
Tell me who will sing?

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APPENDIX (SONG BOOK)

Estorian Mumarino (The Story of a Man who joins the navy) (Pre-war)

Guaha tinanom-hu tronko
Gaige gi halom hatdin
Ya u guflamen uhi na tronko
Flores Rosa yan Jasmin

I have a plant
in my garden
I love that plant
hibiscus and jasmine

Talak hiyong gi bentana
Nenin dikiki' na mata
Ai sa' guaha para u sangani
Ni ayo' I hagas kontrata-ta

Look out the window
baby of little eyes
I have something to tell you
about our old agreement

Nanga naya I che'lu-hu
Sa' ti u fafaisen si nana
Po'lu esta I otro biahi
Maseha agupa' yan manana

Wait a while my brother
because I have not consulted mother
wait until next time
maybe tomorrow at day break

Ai ti sina yo' esta manganga
Sa' I batko esta para u fatto
Pues adios I chi'lu-hu
Esta ki u fatto I katta-mu

but I cannot wait
because the ship is already coming
Then goodbye my sister
until you hear from me

Hafa na mes para hanao-mu
Hafa na batko para maudai-mu
Pues sangani ji' kontempo
Ya u fa' maoliliki hao tenguan-mu

What month are you leaving?
What ship will you be sailing
Let me know ahead of time
so I can prepare a packed gift for you⁶¹¹

Humalom Enfetmera (1930s folk song)

Enrolled as a nurse

Humalom enfetmera
Para u tungo' nai manamti
Lao fina'baba ni setbesio
Sa' kineni pattikanti

She enrolled as a nurse
To learn how to heal
But the service fooled her
Because the corpsman took her

Ma'atkila I De Sott
Para guato gi ya Tohmon
Annai dinanchi oran-niha
Sa' propio pa'go hommom

They rented a taxi
To go to Tumon
Just at the right time
Because it was dusk

Sineyo' ni' patrikante
Para luchan gi ya Dadi
Tinetiling, minantieteni
Tinehtituni nina'kate

The corpsman coaxed her
To go down to Dadi
Stumbling and holding
Until she ended crying

⁶¹¹ Santos, 99

Annai dankolo tiyan-ña
Masaiponi ba binila
Lao lachi I sumangan
Sa patgon sinini-ña

When her stomach was big
They suspected she had gas
But the diagnosis was wrong
Because a baby was inside her

Ai na ni na'ma'asi' i palao'an
Sa'malalaksi panales
Kada a'atan I tiyan-ña
Tumekon papa' ya tumanges

What a pity it was for the girl
Because she was sewing diapers
Each time she looked at her stomach
She bent her head down and cried⁶¹²

Agat Town (Johnny Sablan, 1962)

Upon on the hill lies the village
Of the place that I love best
There in my home in Agat town

Where I used to play and roam
By the place where I was born
In my home by the hill of Agat town

When it's night, all my dreams
Take me back to where it seems
Back along the rocks of the hill

Where the roses bloom some more
By my little rancho door
In my home on the hill of Agat town

I got my sweetheart waiting there
With dark eyes and wavy hair
Waiting for me up on the hill

I'll be happy all my life
If she'll only be my wife
And I'll be happy in my home in Agat town

Baba i Tiempo (Bad Times), 1960s

Si tata-hu lancheru
Tai babui gi chikeru
Bula tuba yan Oly
Hasan chotda yan suni

Father is a farmer
There are no pigs in the pen
There is a lot of tuba and Olympia Beer
bananas and taro are rare

Chorus:
Ho, ho, ho, bulacho,
yanggen ginnen i lanchu
Taya' leche, taya' SPAM
Ai, ai, ai manalang ham

ho, ho, ho, drunkenness
when coming from the ranch
out of milk and out of SPAM
oh, oh, oh, we're hungry

⁶¹² Carmen Iglesias Santos. "Guam's Folklore," 103.

Si nana-hu malangu
Ti humanao buminggo
Ga' salape' taya' chek
Sumi' i grifu, baba i range

Mother is sick
she didn't go to bingo
there is money, no check
the faucet leaks, the range is broken

Mangge i Red Cross yan Welfare
Siha hit u tinek care
Maseha pan pat biskuchu
Kino si pop yan bulachu

where is Red Cross and welfare
they will take care of us
even bread or bisquits is better
than father with his drunkenness

Mampos makkat tai kepble
Puti nalang yan poble
Baba i tiempo ayuda ham
Agang lago si Uncle Sam

its very difficult without money
hunger pains and poverty
times are bad, help us
call to the states for Uncle Sam

Nanan-Mami (Our Mother) 1950s/60s

Si nanan-mami magahet
Dangkolo na ma'sapet,
I kanai-ña ha' pumoksai ham todú

oh mother honestly
suffered greatly
her hand raised us all

I gima' mami dikiki,
Sa' ti nahong salape'
Lao manomlat ham todú ni mane'lu

our house was small
because we didn't have enough money
but all of us siblings fit

Nanan-mami, gi hilo' tano'
Si Yu'us Ma'ase
Nu todú i bida-mu

Our mother, on this earth
Thank you
for everything you did

Nana, atan ham pa'go
I minaolek che-cho-mu'
Sa' un sen guaiya todú i famagu'on-mu

Mother look at us now
Your good work
because you loved all of your children⁶¹³

Manbiha na Tiempo (The Old Lady's Time)

I mambiha na tiempo mamboka mama'on
Mana' dana i afok, amaska yan hagon
Yanggin mahulat mangangas
pues siempre mafa'on
Machuli'i i mattiyu ha hagu mafa'om
Ti sina un sangani ni uno na lachi
Sa' siha manmalate tat nai ti'u madanche
Yan manmamokkat gi kanton gi chalan
I chetnot u annok, i satnot paladang
I gapot ulu ma akeyo, ya ma'usa i mestisa
Pues manhanao i mambiha
para u fan hosmi misa
Pues po'lo ya ta sungon

In the old lady's time, they chewed betelnut
They mix lime, tobacco and betel leaf
When they can't chew it
then they'll pound it
Take the hammer and you break it
You can't tell them they are wrong
Because they are smarter, they are always right
When they are walking on the side of the street

Their hair is tied and they wear a mestiza
Then the old ladies
go to attend church
So let it be, just bare it

⁶¹³ Gould, *Chamorro Songbook*, 44.

ya ta cho'gue i malago'niha
 Sa' ti apmam nai na tiempo
 u fannaigue i mambiha
 Biha, ai biha
 in agredesi i bidan-miyu
 Pues dispensa ham ni manhoben
 Sa' siempre infanbiho

and we will do what they want us to
 Because it will not be long
 until the old ladies will be gone
 oh female elders
 we appreciate what you have done
 So please excuse we young people
 Because surely we will become old one day⁶¹⁴

Bai Hanao pai Gera (I Will Go to War) Roque Mantanona (1954)

Manhalom sindalu
 Manhoben Chamoru
 Para u madifendi tano-niha
 Ya ayu na okasion, mangaige i nasion
 Na pau fan gera pot i tano-niha

They are going to the military
 The young Chamorros
 To defend their land
 all the nations are there on this occasion(U.N.)
 to go to war for their land

Manhanao ma training gi tano manenheng
 Bai hanao bai hu difendi put hagu
 Annai hu faisen hao, ilek-mu ti ya-mu
 Lao guahu bai atenda put hagu

they go to training in a cold land
 I will go in your defense
 when I ask you, you say you don't like it
 But I go for you

Bai hanao pai gera giya Korea
 Bai hanao bai hu gera put hagu
 Annai hu faisen hao, ilek-mu ma'anao
 Lao guahu bai hu gera put hagu

I will go to war in Korea
 I will go to war for you
 When I asked you, you said, "I'm afraid"
 But I will go to war for you

An ma'pos hu nene, ai gos puenge
 Na un tucha nene i lisayu
 Sa' este hinanao-hu,
 peligro dimasiao
 Lao guahu bai hu gera put hagu

If I die, oh, that night
 You can lead the rosary
 Because this journey of mine
 is much too dangerous
 But I go to war for you

Yan mattai yo' nene, haga-hu ma'chuda
 Haga-hu machuda put hagu
 Ya hafa yo' chogue na bai hu na' libre
 Lao guahu esta matai put hagu

If I die, my blood spills
 It is for you that my blood was shed
 And what I do, I do to liberate
 but if I am one that dies, I die for you

Saluda chamoru
 eyu i mansuette ni manmatto
 Saluda ya ta hahasso siha
 I manmatai guihi para u fanlibre
 Sa manmatai put i tano-niha

Salute the Chamorros
 that are lucky to return
 Salute and remember those
 Who died there to make you free
 because they died for their land

I Chamoran Guam giya Korea
 I Chamoran Guam giya Korea

the Chamorros from Guam in Korea
 the Chamorros from Guam in Korea⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ Johhny Sablan, *Lyric Folio*, 1970.

⁶¹⁵ Ed Taimanglo, *Ai Yu'us*, Stell Star, n.d. Translation by Enrique Mafnas Cruz.

Adios Querida

Johnny Sablan/Clotilde Gould 1968

Este na estoria,
estorian un sindalu
Lao este na piniti-ña
i para u hanao para i gera.

I hinanao-hu para Vietnam,
I tiempo-ku gof apmam
Lao po'lo ya bai hu sungon,
sa hu kumiti yo' gi as Johnson.

Bai despidi hao che'lo-hu,
ti hu tungo ngai'an yo' magi
Si' akasu na ti matto yo',
Sungon ha' sa' dipotse

Yanggen matai yo' dimalas,
Lao an ti matai pues siempre suette
Lao fanayuyot gi as Yu'os,
ya puedi yo' ha na' libre.

Puedi yo' matto ginen i guera,
ya umali'e' hit ta'lo
Un anu i kontrata-hu,
pues pasensia nu guahu.

Ai ai adios, adios kiridan mannge',
bai toktok hao ya bai chiku
Bai mantiene i kannai-mu.
Pues adios, adios kirida
Hagu mas siguru

An ti matto yo' gi un anu
Pues asagua i chelu'-hu
Adios, adios, adios neni
Adios, adios, adios todú

Anggen matto yo' ginen Vietnam
Na ta asagua na dos
Bai despidi hamyo todos
Yan hagu lokkue' nana
Mames, mannge' na nana

Estaki umali'e' hit ta'lo
Adios hamyo todos

This story
Is the story of a soldier
But this pain of his,
that is, he's going to the war.

My voyage to Vietnam
My time (there) will be long
But alas, I'll just have to endure it
Because I committed myself to Johnson.

I will say good bye to you my brother
I don't know when I will return
In case I don't return
Just endure it because it is supposed to be.

If I die, I am unlucky (it's unfortunate)
But if I don't die then I am surely lucky
But pray to God
And maybe He will free me.

Hopefully, I come back from the war
And we will meet again
My contract is for one year
So be patient with me.

Goodbye, goodbye my sweet love
I will hug you and I will kiss you
I will hold your hand tightly
Then goodbye, goodbye love
You are surely the one

If I don't return in one year
Then marry my brother
Goodbye, goodbye baby
Goodbye, goodbye all

If I return from Vietnam
The two of us will marry
I will say goodbye to all of you
And also my mother
Sweet, sweet mother

Until we meet again
Goodbye to all of you⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁶ Gould, *Chamorro Songbook*, 10.

Madraft Si Jose (Jose Got Drafted) Johnny Sablan 1969

Dia kinse gi Oktubri Ma agang si Jose Inagan ni tiu-ña Pa'u na libre	The fifteenth of October Jose got called his Uncle [Sam] called him to liberate
Horay! Horay! Madraft si Jose! Horay! Horay! Madraft si Jose!	Hurray, hurray, Jose got drafted Hurray, hurray, Jose got drafted
Manhalom Naval Station Madakngnas i ilu-ña Ti sina pumasehu esta ma konne' pa K.P.	he went in to Naval Station ⁶¹⁷ They shaved his head he cannot go on leave they already took him for kitchen police
Hooray, Hooray ma K.P. si Jose! Hooray, Hooray ma K.P. si Jose!	Hurray, hurray, they K.P.'d Jose! Hurray, hurray, they K.P.'d Jose!
Adingu si nana-ña Kontodu mañelu-ña Humanao para Vietnam Pa'u setbe i tiu-ña	He left his mother and all of his siblings he went to Vietnam to serve his Uncle [Sam]
Aye, Aye, gumera si Jose Aye, Aye, pa'u gera si Jose	Oh! Oh!, Jose went to war! Oh! Oh! Jose is going to fight
Humanao para gera Madanchi i patas-ña Makonne pa ma'anti Ya mamokkat siempre	he went to the war he got shot in the leg they took him to get bandaged And he is walking again
Aye, Aye, madanchi si Jose Aye, Aye, gumera si Jose	Oh! Oh! Jose got wounded Oh! Oh! Jose went to war
Matto i tiu-ña Nina'i malaya'ña kontodu posto-ña mahatsa i raya-ña	His Uncle [Sam] came and gave him a medal and even promoted him he became a sergeant
Horay! Horay! Sarjento si Jose Horay! Horay! Sarjento si Jose	Hurray! Hurray! Jose is a sergeant Hurray! Hurray! Jose is a sergeant
Matto ginen Vietnam Pa'u espia i nobia-ña Lao matto dimalas-ña Umasagua nobia-ña	he came back from Vietnam To look for his girlfriend but he was unfortunate his girlfriend was married!
Aye, Aye, mapotto si Jose! Aye, Aye, na'nina'mase si Jose!	Oh, Oh, Jose was jilted Oh! Oh! Jose is pitiful ⁶¹⁸

A Christmas Odyssey in Vietnam (Johnny Sablan, 1970)

More and more, fighting sons have died
For peace, freedom, courage and pride
Forever they will roam
in the eyes of their people here at home,

In memorial, I sing to you,
I bow my head and salute you too
My native brothers, you've died in Vietnam
But heroes you are here in Guam
You fighting sons from Guam

He went to Vietnam, to seek his fighting sons
To wish them well, the soldiers of Guam
Called out their names, all over Vietnam
Saying, "I want to see my sons of Guam,
I want to see my sons of Guam"

He said, "Hafa adai my sons, how do you do?
My name they call me, Governor Camacho
I came to see you, brought a message for you,
from the people of Guam, my sons, your island in the sun"

He flew from Saigon, up to Pleiku,
just to wish his sons there, Merry Christmas too
Danang, Na Trang, Long Binh and Bin Hoa too,
Hafa Adai, How are you? Cam Rahn Bay? Merry Christmas to you

"Well my sons, you're not forgotten,
this I'm glad to say, I've brought you a gift from home
Your families, and your dear friends I bring to you,
They would like to wish you Merry Christmas too
Merry Christmas my sons"

They joked and cried, they held their heads with pride
as they gazed at their presents side by side
One young soldier said 'Mr. Governor, you made my Christmas so great'

Four hundred or more, soldiers he met,
Jesus, Mike, Joaquin, Pedro and Alfred, Antonio, Jose, Manuel and Robert too,
shaking hands saying "Merry Christmas to you, Merry Christmas my sons"
There's Jerry and Ron, Billy and Juan, there's Jessie, William and Big John,
Albert and Pete, Tony and Benny too,
they all said "thank you governor Camacho, thank you governor Camacho"

(Switches to Chamorro)
Dies I ocho gi Dicembre
humanao pa Vietnam,

on the 18th of December,
he went to Vietnam

⁶¹⁸ John Sablan, *Lyric Folio*, 23.

pau bisitia I sendalus,
I mantaotao Guam
Ha faisen siha manmagas,
“Mungge lalahren Guam?”
“Mungge lalahren Guam?”

To visit the soldiers
the men of Guam
(When he got there)The governor asked
“Where are the men from Guam?”
“Where are the men from Guam?”

Tres mit na miyas, sais mit na libras,
i na'na ya katga-ña chuchule i Christmas,
Meggai kanta ya paketi
pau presenta todus siempre
I sindalus taotao Guam gi tano Vietnam

three thousand miles, 6,000 pounds
food brought for Christmas
many songs and packages
to present to everyone of
the soldiers of Guam in the land of Vietnam

Antes di hanao i gubietno,
ma'agang siha manaina
pau fanguentos gi tape recorder
pa i lalaha-ña

Before the governor had left (Guam)
He called the parents
To speak in a tape recorder
to their sons

Kadada nina'siña-ña,
anakoko minalago-niha,
sabedios I kurason-niha, milalak I lago-niha
Fanmana'i si Yu'us Ma'ase
todus hit ni taotao Guam,
sa' peligro hinanao-ña
bula bala kontodu bomb

Each said what they could
They wanted to say a lot
God knows their tears flowed
They gave thanks
to all the men of Guam
because their mission is dangerous
there are many bullets and also bombs

Hongge yo' todus,
singko sais dias ni apman,
annai ma-hanao ham pa' Vietnam,
I na'an-hu Johnny Sablan

believe me all of you
five, six days is a long time
when we went to Vietnam
My name is Johnny Sablan

(Back to English)

They day has come to part
when we must all say goodbye,
but the spirits are high my sons,
and “we'll be back” he cried,
Now I must say adios, to you my soldiers of Guam,
just remember, we're proud of you my sons
A short adieu, we'll always be thinking of you
Just come back home, my sons, just come back home my sons

He went to Vietnam, to seek his fighting sons
To wish them well, the soldiers of Guam
Call out their names, all over Vietnam
Saying, I want to see my sons of Guam,
I want to see my sons of Guam⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁹ Johnny Sablan, *Hafa Adai Todu Maolick How are you?* Hafa Adai Records, 1971.

Kanta Babui (The Pig Song) Mike Laguana (1973)

Tengan ilek-mu ga'-mu i babui	You always say the pig is your pet
Sigi u tenga chinatgi	He always laughs at you
anggin matto an pupuengi	When evening comes
Para guiya un asisti	You go to take care of him
An un halla i tape-ña	when you carry his slop bucket
Ya un fagasi i fache-ña	and you wash off his mud
Ya despues di na'i na'ña	and then you give him his food
Chinatgi hao sa' lamlam nifen-ña	He laughs at you, his teeth are shining

wonder where the yellow went
when you brush your teeth with Pepsodent

Yanggin matto an pupuengi chiluhu	When evening comes, my brother,
Tunanas asta i lancho	you go straight to the ranch
Nisikera un sugon nai naya	you don't even stay long enough
Ya un a'go i magagu	to change your clothes

Annai humanao humamastot	When you go to pasture him
Binatanga hao esta i bañaderu	you're dragged into the mud pit
Annai aplacha i magagu	when your clothes are dirty
Ilek-mu ai lakkue chelu	you say "oh well" brother ⁶²⁰

I Don't Like It Sa' Ti Mannge' Mike Laguana (1973)

I don't like it sa' ti mannge'	I don't like it because it doesn't taste good
Married by the bible, divorced by the law	Married by the Bible, divorced by the law
Maila ya tatitiyi, I kustumbren amerikano	Come let's follow the American customs
Umakkamo' nai pago, agupa ma diborsia	Marry today, tomorrow divorce
Madulalak I palao'an,	Chase that lady away,
sa ti ha tungo mama'amotsa	because she doesn't know how to cook
Planta nai titiyas,	Put the tortillas on the table
kontodu i finadene	with the fina'dene (a homemade hot sauce)
Ya un pula' gi fino englis	when you translate it into english
I don't like it sa ti mannge	"I don't like it" because it doesn't taste good
Hagas nai u tungo ha',	If I knew a long time ago
na taigunao pa checho-mu	that that is how you work
Maolek-ña hao ha' gi as nana-mu	It's better that you stay with your mom
Ki un gago yan malangu	Than me seeing you being lazy and sick
Ya-mu ha' nai kahulo, taftaf gi ogo'an	You like to get up early in the morning
Ya ti ya'mu na un fanfatta,	And you don't like it
I mantikiya yan I yam	if there is no butter and jelly ⁶²¹

⁶²⁰ Mike Laguana, *Casamiento*, Hafa Adai Records 1973. Translation by Peter Champaco and Joanne Aguon.

Ya' Maolek-ña na bai Mamatai (It's Better that I will die) Mike Laguana (1978)

Hu atan guatu i bentana
Hu li'e' dos na anineng
I unu gumugu gi apaga'
I otro gumigimen

Ai minakkat pinadesi
Ai i chetnot lytico
sa' ni para u kalamten
Ai ti sina ti asson-hu

Lao dialu ya bai hu sungon
Sa' si Yu'os hit maposi
Ya maolekna na bai hu mamatai
ki hu bai famadedesi

Ai asagua-hu,
ai sa' mampos hao nai sen dudos
Ai un katsa hao kabales
Kado hao pa gima' Yu'us

Lao ti un tungo' nai palao'an
Hayi uma'atan hao gi uriya
Ayu na hu chuchule' i petmisian-hu
Yan manmatto i bisita

Ai minakkat pinadesi
Ai biudu nai lala'la'
Ora gusto yan disgusto
Lao meggaiña fina'gaga'

Lao dialu ya bai hu sungon
Sa si Yu'os ke maposi
Ya maolekna na bai hu mamatai
ki bai hu famadedesi
Ya maolekna na bai hu mamatai
ki hu bai fanmadedesi

I looked over to the window,
I saw two shadows
One is (doing something) on the left
the other is drinking

Oh what a difficult suffering
Oh the lytico disease
Because you can't move at all
Oh you can't even lie down

But never mind, I will bear it
Because God made this happen
And its better that I will die
than that I continue to suffer

Oh my wife
oh because you're very flirtatious
you get all dressed up
Like you're going to church

But you don't know woman
Who (that I am always watching)
The only time I take my leave
is when visitors come

Oh the difficult burden
Oh the widower of someone who is still alive
Times of pleasure and disgust
But more so of trickery (than
anything else)

But never mind, I will bear it
Because God made this happen
And its better that I be dying
than be suffering
And its better that I be dying
than be suffering⁶²²

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Mike Laguana, *Meskla Unu*, Plaka de Ladera, 1978. Translation by Brant Songsong.

Delgado Brothers *Taotao mo'na* (1974)

Gini gi lancho matto un lahi
Dangkalo yan metgot ai hafa na lahi
Taotaomo'na

here on the ranch a man came
big and strong oh what kind of a guy is this
taotao mo'na

Ai ilao i mangatchong
Guato gi un feggon
Pues a gotte I achon
Taotaomo'na

he looks for his friends
next to his cooking fire
then he held the torch
Taotao mo'na

Manlulu ham, ti mafatto
Ya ti malili'e
Ai ai luhan luhan ham
In yiti na'mami
Taotao mo'na

were scared, he's not here yet
and they haven't seen it yet
oh , we're all scared
we threw our food away
Tao'tao mo'na

Guela yan guelo

ancestral spirits (lit. grandmother and grandfather)

Malalago si Jesus, agang ai nana
Kumakati si Jose, atugon I saban
Taotao mo'na

Jesus is running calling his mom
Jose is crying, he ran for the mountain
Taotao mo'na

Kontodu si Francisco,
malago otro na direksion
sumago yo gi ta'lo
ti hu tungo I intension
taotao mo'na

Francisco ran away
in the other direction
I stayed in the middle
I didn't know his intention
Taotao mo'na

umagang yo, tumanges yo
taya' sina hu chogue
ai ai ti hu li'e gue
estranghu na lahi
taotao mo'na

I yelled, I cried
There's nothing I could do
oh oh, I didn't see him
the strange man
Taotao mo'na

ha gotte I kannai-hu
ni hi ta fan hanao tatti
guatu gi lancho-mu
i hafa hao na lahi
kubatde hao
gof luhan yo' gof luhan yo'
estrani I moddong-ña

he held on to my hand
"let's go to the back"
"there to your ranch"
oh what kind of man are you?
"you're scared"
I was very scared
he was very tall (lit. unusual size)

ai ai mongmong kurason
unu ha' mata-ña
gof luhan yo' gof luhan yo'
sa' estrani I moddong-ña

my heart is racing
he only had one eye
I'm very scared
because he was very tall⁶²³

⁶²³Delgado Brothers, *Para Si Juan*, Del Cam, 1974. Translation by Peter Champaco and Joanne Aguon.

Ti Ya-hu Iyo-ku i Stone (I Don't Like My buzz) J.D. Crutch, (1980).

Ti ya-hu i yo-ku i stone Ni este boteya Schlitz Meggai gi gimen-hu ilu-hu manililik	I don't like my buzz from this bottle of Schlitz I drank many and I have a headache
Songi ai marijuana sa siempre nai maolek Yangin meggai chinipata entero hit mañachalek	smoke marijuana because it always makes it better If we smoke a lot we will be laughing
pues edu ya-hu i dangkolo na rod Ni magogodde gi hayu ni muna'stotone-yo' Kontodu ya-hu ai edu i LSD Sa' un dudulok i gugatu siempre hu sesiente	I really like the big rod (Thai stick) that they tie on a stick that makes me stoned I like LSD also, because I can really feel it going through my veins
Ti ya-hu maudai-hu i dikike na jeep Sa tres ham gi sanme'na Enteru yo' ma chichiget Manhanao ham para Inalahan Guatu hulu Malesso Kada matto gi barangka enteru yo' nai didisu	I don't like my ride, the small jeep because three of us are in the front And we are getting squashed we went down to Inarajan heading towards Malesso when we hit a bump I bumped my head
Pues edu ya-hu i 1968 Mas maolek na kareta i dangkolon Chevrolet Kontodu ya-hu i '69 na Mustang Ai sa'an humahanao gi chalan na'tungo mayuyulang	I really liked the 1968 The big Chevrolet was the best car I also like the '69 Mustang but when I drove it on the road I learned it often breaks down
Ai maudai motosaikot para papa nai Otdot Annai mafatto ham nai Otdot enteru yo' ma'etdot	I rode my motorcycle down to Ordot when we got to Ordot my body was already numb
Pues edu yo' ya-hu i 1972,' 72 mas maolek na kareta i dangkolon Malibu Kontodu ya-hu i '69 na Mustang Ai sa'an humahanao gi chalan na'tungo mayuyulang	Oh, I really liked the 1972, '72 The big Malibu was the best car I also like the '69 Mustang but when I drove it on the road I learned it often breaks down ⁶²⁴

Antes na Tiempo J.D. Crutch

Antes na tiempo este i tano-ta Bula minagof, bula lokkue boka' Ti meggai salape, lao meggai nai gualo' Sina hao lala lao solo' hao nai gago'	In the past on this island there was a lot of happiness and food there was not a lot of money, but many farms you can survive if you are not lazy
Antes na tiempo manbihi yan biha, maseha manu guato, manai' respeta Pa'go na tiempo, manhoben manmagas	in the past the old men and women were given respect wherever they went today, the young people are the bosses

⁶²⁴ J.D. Crutch, *Aprueba na Bunita*, Cunningham, 1981. Translation by Peter Champaco.

Ti sina un sangani, sa un ma'fagas	you can't tell them because they will ignore you
Antes na tiempo i nana gi gima' Felis yangin un dingui ti un li'e aplacha Pago na tiempo gigon un dingui Ma so'tta famagu'on ya mapos bumingo	In the past, with mother in the house she's happy if you leave and there is no mess today, as soon as you leave they leave the kids and go to play bingo
Antes na tiempo i tata gi gualo' Para famagu'on-ña para u makanno' Pago' na tiempo masotta' i lanchu Ma-paia gi checho sa sesso' nai bulacho	in the past, the father is at the farm for the children to eat today, he left the ranch fired from his job because he is always drunk
Antes na tiempo palao'an gi chalan Annako i bestidu ti un li'e paladang Pago' na tiempo, ti meggai magagu Todua sina un li'e i benta baratu	in the past women on the road had long dresses you didn't see skin today, they don't wear much clothing you can see everything, the price is cheap
antes na tiempo sotteru gi chalan Ha u'ma fosinos para u fan guasan Pago na tiempo sotteru gi chalan Annako' i gapot-ulu kalan siha famalao'an	in the past, the young man on the street had a hoe to go cut (going to the ranch) today, the young man on the street has long hair like a girl ⁶²⁵
Commonwealth (1980) Candy Taman	
Gi duranten I geran dos Gi hinalom-ña i Americanu Ha na tacho I bandera-ña Sa ha gaña I hapones	During WWII when the Americans came in they set up their flag because they beat the Japanese
Manmafanague I famagu'on Fino Englis gi eskuela Ya ha maplanta I amotsa Scrambled eggs I agon-niha	They teach the children English in school and they give them breakfast scrambled eggs is their food
Afañelos ta prutehi Islas Marianas Sa guiya I palasyo Mafatinas para hita	Brothers and sisters, let's protect the Marianas Islands Because it is a palace Made for all of us
Afanuelos ta protehi Islas Marianas Maseha ta fan U.S. Lao Marianas i tano-ta	Brothers and sisters, lets protect The Mariana Islands Even though we become Americans The Marianas are OUR islands
Manma'empleya i natibu Manabandona i fangualo'an Manunaleru i lanchero Ya manmendioka bulacheros	they employed the natives they abandoned the farm the ranchers became workers and the drunkards planted tapioca ⁶²⁶

⁶²⁵ J.D. Crutch *Ta'lo Un Biahi*, Napu Records. 1993. Translation by Brant Songsong

Ma'pos pago i suetdo Lao abundansia nengkanno Sa' iya Marianas sumen riku Gi hilo tano ya halom tasi	The pay is gone but food is abundant Because the Marianas are rich In the land and the sea
Mit nueve sientos sesentai ocho I estorian Marianas Man establesi i commonwealth I nuebu na gubetnamento	1978 the history of the Marianas They established the Commonwealth It's a new government
Meggai ginaddong gi entalo Execatibu yan legislatibu Taotao Marianas ha' siha Lao maloffan i manenimigo	Many people are tied up in the middle (arguing) Executive and legislature All are the people of the Marianas the time of being enemies has past
Islan Chamolinian (The Chamolinian Island) Candy Taman, 1981	
Sa'ipan I sankattan na islas Ya guiya I islan Chamolinian	Saipan the northern most island and it is one that is the island of the Chamolinian
Mamatigi sanlagu ladera sanhaya Dikike lao sumen gatbo I islan Chamolinian	reefs in the ocean, cliffs inland small but very beautiful, the island of the Chamolinians
Dechosu na mana'i ni saina Parehu ya iya paraiso	faithfully given to us by our ancestors It is just like heaven
Tronkon niyok yan lemmai Abundancia nengkanno I islan chamolinian	coconut trees and breadfruit an abundance of food the Chamolinian island ⁶²⁷
Manmunggi siha I natibu (Alex Sablan)	Where are the natives?
Hafa manmunggi siha i natibu? Hafa, na munga siha manguetu Hafa para u fan hanao ha' para san lago? Lao polu dialu, Sa' Marianas I tano-mu	What? Where are the natives? Why don't they stay? Why are they going to America? But oh well, the Marianas are your islands
Triste disgracia para u falingu I kustumbre, ni fumanagu I haga' - mu Kalamten un ratu ya un fanhasso	Its sad, unfortunate, it will be lost The customs that are in your blood start, to think for a moment

⁶²⁶ Tropicsette, *Saipan*, 1980. Candy Taman corrected this translation for me. The term manmendioka, (to plant tapioca) is Saipanese slang that means to “bum around. Taman explained that it refers to the fact that planting tapioca requires almost no effort.

⁶²⁷ Chamolian, *In Gratu*, Saipan: F.C. Guerrero Production (1981) translation by author.

Protehi, lai prim kustumbren I tano-mu

protect, cousin, the customs of your land

Sa adahi ningaian na u falingu
Sa ni un Amerikanu ti u funas hit
Ni u Tagalo
ni hu achoka ha' un contra yu
Hagu prutehi kustumbre
I fumanagu I haga'-mu

be careful that it will never be lost
Because it is not the American who will erase us
not even the Filipino,
although you disagree with me
You are the one that must protect the customs
that are in your blood

Esta malilingu i linguahi
Ta nananga para u matai i kustumbre
Kalamten un ratu ya un fanhasso
Protehi lai prim, i kustumbren I tano-hu

The language is already disappearing
we're waiting for customs to die
start to think for a moment
Cousins, protect, the customs of our land⁶²⁸

American Pau Asu, Candy Taman,

Un yuti nai i Chamorro,
put i Amerikanu
binensi hao sa' bulencho
ya apaka I lassas-ña

You throw out the Chamorro
for the American
you are attracted to the pointy nose
and white skin

Penta i gapot ilu-mu agaga yan amariyu
Lassas-mu atilong, mampos ti chumilong
Pau asu hao na haole

You dye your hair red and yellow
your skin is black, it doesn't match
You're a fake haole

Ai i pinideha,
hagu ha' machatchatgi
I gustu-mu u'usa,
Sa' Mampos hao banidosa

Oh you scoundrel,
you are the one they are laughing at
it is your habit to use
because you are too vain

Ginen lemmai yan chotda
guihan yan fritada
Ayu hao na pumoksai,
Chamorro na sentada

From breadfruit and banana
fish and chitterlings
That's how you were raised,
Chamorro food for meals

Maleffa hao ni kustumbre,
yan todu i linguahi
Lassas-mu atilong,
mampos ti chumilong
Pau asu hao na haole

You forgot the customs
and all of your language
Your skin is black
it doesn't match
You're a fake haole,

Un pula i magagu-mu
Un usa i bikini
Annok i sensen daggon-mu
Kulan benta katne

you take your clothes off
you wear a bikini
your butt is showing
like meat for sale

Machuchuda i sisu-mu
Sa ti nahong nai tampe

your breasts are spilling out
there is not enough cover⁶²⁹

⁶²⁸ Primo Marianas, *Sounds of the Northern Marianas*, F.C. Guerrero, 1979. Translation by Peter Champaco and Joanne Aguon.

Put Fabot Nana-hu (Please Mother)

Peter Champaco

Humanao i nana para i gupot
Ha po'lu i patgon na maisa
Ma maisen I patgon para u siha
Lao ha renuncia I nana

The mother went to a party
She left her child all alone
The child asked to go with her
But the mother refused

Un basu leche yan bowl cereal
Ayu ha' para u kanno
Sigi ha' patgon di tumanges
"Pot fabot nana-hu konne' yo'"

A cup of milk and a bowl of cereal
That's all he has to eat
The child kept on crying
"Please mom take me"

Kuatro horas esta maloffan
Ti mafatto si nana-ña
A las once i media esta gi puengi
Ya sigi i patgon kumati
Matto guatu nai un bisinu
Ha sodda' I patgon malangu
Ya ha balutan pues ha hogue
Nihi ta espiha as nana-mu

Four hours passed
Mother didn't come home
Its already 11:30 in the evening
and the child continued to cry
A neighbor came over
he found the child was sick
and he wrapped him and carried him
"Let's go look for your mom"

Ma sodda' i nana gi salon
I patgon chaflek yan boksion
Lao atrasao para u ma amte
Sa' tataigue nanan an puengi
Ya hagas ha' ti ma atiendi

They found the mom at a bar
The child was twitching and pale
But it was too late to save him
Because the mother was never home at night
She had neglected him for a long time⁶³⁰

Federalis Chamorro (1989)

Hafa este Uncle Sam na masangan
Na maolek hao sen maolek hao na taotao
Taotao tano ya in dinggu megahit
Lao madingu ya in tingu na ti anghet

What is this that Uncle Sam said?
That your good, a very good people
Chamorros are leaving
but they left and we know they're not angels

planta i eskuelan miyu
Lao un pohong i kottura
Chule tano para protehi ha'
I megahet na en sake ha'

you built your schools
but the culture fell
take the land to protect it
the truth is that you stole it

Federalis, ai na taotagues
Federalis insurales
Federalis ai taotahgues
Federalis insurables

The Feds, oh those people
The Feds, they abuse us
The Feds oh those people
The Feds, they abuse us

Para pago i manelun Chamorro
Managima ni Americanu
Kao manmagof hamyo na chamoru
Honggi otro na taya' taotao tano

For now, the Chamorro siblings
Living in America
Are they happy Chamorros?
Believe the others that they are not islanders

⁶²⁹ Translation by Peter Champaco and Joanne Aguon.

⁶³⁰ Lyrics provided by Peter Champaco.

Hafa enao na tiningo
Ya ningai'an na insedda
Sumusu hao ni lechen lagu
Atan sa mohon edu ha pago

what kind of knowledge is that
and you'll never find it
your sucking the breast milk of the foreigners
look because I should surely now

Federales ai na taotaogues
Federalis insurables
Federalis ai na taotaogues
Federalis insurables

The Feds oh those people
The Feds, they abuse us
The Feds oh those people
The Feds, they abuse us

Meggai na masangan ti nuebu
Hawaiian, i indian man parehu
Pues tohge Chamorro ya un lie
Hafa bida-niha giya hami
Baba I mata-mu manuelu-hu
Nihi ta aregla este pago

Its been said many times, it's not something new
Hawaiians, indians are the same
So stand Chamorros and you will see
What they did to us
open your eyes my brothers and sisters
Lets fix this now⁶³¹

Chada Fresko Jess Castro (1999)

Hagas bisio-ta
i manamotsa oga'an
Ya i bacon yan chada fresco i mas takhilo'
Ai na minanngge i chada fresco na nengkanno
Maseha matta sina ha' ta kanno

It's been my custom for a long time
to eat breakfast in the morning
and bacon and fresh eggs are the best
oh fresh eggs are a delicious food
even if it is raw, we can still eat it

Ai kumaile-ku
kao manbebendi hao chada fresco
Sa hagas yo' manaligao,
para amotsa-ku
Kumaile-ku, bendi yo' fan chada fresco
Sa chada fresco kumaile-ku
i mas ya-hu

Oh my kumaire
are you selling fresh eggs?
because I've been searching a long time
for my breakfast
kumaire, please sell me fresh eggs
because fresh eggs kumaire
are my favorite

Humanao yo' guatu para Guam
Ya mamaisen yo' kao Guaha chada fresco
Ya este masangañe-ku,
na hocog chada fresco
Sa ti mafatto trabiha i batkon

I went to Guam
and I asked "do you have fresh eggs"
and this is what they told me
that they were all out of fresh eggs
because the ship did not arrive yet

Ai kumaile-ku
kao manbebendi hao chada fresco
Sa hagas yo' manaligao,
para amotsa-ku
Kumaile-ku, bendi yo' fan chada fresco
Sa chada fresco kumaile-ku
i mas ya-hu

Oh my kumaire
are you selling fresh eggs?
because I've been searching a long time
for my breakfast
kumaire, please sell me fresh eggs
because fresh eggs kumaire
are my favorite

⁶³¹ Chamorro, *Ngai'an Pumara*, Stell Star, 1989.

Humanao yo' guatu para Saipan
Ya mamaisen yo' kao Guaha chada fresco
Ya este masangañe-ku,
na hocog chada fresko
Sa ti mafatto trabiha i batkon

I went to Guam
and I asked "do you have fresh eggs?"
and this is what they told me
that they were all out of fresh eggs
because the ship did not arrive yet⁶³²

Churisos Pakpak Chilang Delgado

Humanao si kompaire-mu gi painge
Para as kumaire-nia enao ileknia
Pao famaoleki ni y grifu, y kemmon yan y hetno
Ekua lokkue ngai'an magi gi gima

your kompaire went last night
to kumaire's he said
to fix the stove, the toilet and the oven
who knows when he returned home

Kompaire-ko bai hu faisen hao fabot
Kao sina un chulie yo magi
Maseha hafa na churisos,
espanot, churisos Chamorro
Lao y mas mannge na churisos, churisos pakpak

my kompaire I will ask you a favor
can you bring something to me
any kind of sausage will do
Spanish, Chamorro
but the most delicious sausage is
churisos pakpak

Chorus

Churisos pakpak kompaire
Churisos pakpak adahi
Churisos pakpak na churisos gof mannge

churisos pakpak kompaire
churisos pakpak be careful
churisos pakpak is the most delicious
sausage

Churisos pakpak kompaire
Churisos pakpak adahi
Yangin un akka na churisos papakpak

churisos pakpak kompaire
churisos pakpak watch out
when you bite into churisos pakpak

Kompaire-ku maila halom gi gima
Ya ta aflitu y hineksa yan chada
Bai sotne churisos pakpak,
kontodu chada fresco
Ai taya' umigi y amotsa-ta

my kompaire come to the house
and we'll fry rice and eggs
I will boil churisos pakpak
and also fresh eggs
Oh nothing beats our breakfast

Chorus

Kompaire-ko lachadek sigin tatte
Enague magi y karetan mame
Sumisiha yan kumaire-ña
Esta chachaka chalek-ña
Ai sa fa'na'an parehu y amotsa-ta

my kompaire, hurry out the back
here comes our car
He's with his komaire
They're even chuckling
I think we had the same breakfast⁶³³

⁶³² Jess Castro, *Chada Fresko*, LJ's Recording Studio, 1999. Translation by Jess Castro

⁶³³ Chilang Delgado, *Si Chilang*, Stell Star, 2000. Liner notes.

Santiago Peter Champaco (2011)

Hooray hooray biskuchu yan kafe
Hooray hooray mapotge si Jose

hooray, biscuits and coffee
hooray, Jose is pregnant

Mungge si nana?
gaige gi sabana
Hafa bidada-ña?
manmamfe' mansana

Where is mother?
She's on the mountain
What's she doing?
picking apples

Hafa na atman?
ke' sa' mañagu
Hafa patgon-ña?
Katu yan ga' lagu

Why is she taking long?
because she gave birth
What kind of kid?
A cat and a dog

Hayi tumakpangi?
Si Ana yan si Dagu
Hayi na' aña?
Si Rosa yan si Pancho

Who are the godparents?
Ana and Dagu (wild yam)
What are their names?
Rosa and Pancho

Chorus

An dangkolo yo' nana,
bai halom umeskuela
An esta yo' malate,
bai hatsayi hao bandera

When I'm big, mom
I will go to school
when I become smart
I'll raise the flag for you

Hu li'e guatu i batko,
gi puntan gi sanlagu
Hu li'e si tan Maria,
mananala magagu

I saw the ship out there
at the point
I saw Maria,
hanging clothes

Ma'agang i kapitan
manoppe si Santiago

They called for the capitan
Santiago answered

chorus

Semurumu, semurumu
manu guatu na lugat
kao sanlichan pat sankattan
i kareran prinsipat
Edu ya-hu nai karerra, i karerra malopat

Se murumu, se murumu
where are you going?
Are you in the west or the east,
you have an important career
I like that career, nothing compares with it

Repeat

Banidosu si tun Felipi,
Sa mannge bonuelos-ña

Felipe is proud
because his donuts are delicious⁶³⁴

⁶³⁴ Peter Champaco *Bonito Lancho-ku*, 2010. Lyrics provided by Peter Champaco.

Tumaimanmanu I tano? (What is happening to the island?) Daniel De Leon Guerrero

Gaige yo' an ginen lagu
Bai hu bisita I bunitan tano-hu
Annai matto yo' tatti
bula lilie-hu na matulaika
Guini na isla
Puru ha' pago binaba ai chelu
sangani hu pago tumaimanmanu I tano

I came from the U.S.
to visit my beautiful island
When I came back
I saw that a lot had changed
Here on the island
All of it now is bad, oh brother
tell me how this is happening with the island

I GTA manmaprivatize
I sagan hanom manmaFBI
Ya i presson kandit
takhilo-ña esta ki I boka

They privatized G.T.A.
the FBI is investigating G.W.A.⁶³⁵
The price of electricity
is more than food

mañalang I familia
guini gi tano-ta,
put fabot sangani hu chelu'
tumaimanmanu I tano
Ai sangani hu pago
ai mañelu-hu sangani hu
tumaimanmanu i tano

The family is hungry
Here on our island
please tell me brother
what is happening to our island
please tell me now
oh siblings, tell me
what is happening to our island

I espitat pago na tempo,
bula ai manmalangu,
lao ti nahong I budget
pumapasi I mediku

in the hospital today
there are many sick people
but the budget is insufficient
to pay the doctors

Ai manu hit guatu pago chelu-hu
put fabot sangani hu Chamorro
tumaimanmanu tano-miyu

oh where are we going? Brother
please tell me brother
what is happening to your island?

Famagu'on ti manskuela,
sa ti matto talo I bus-niha,
I policia mammagagacha I binenu,
Hayi ta trata pago ai mañelu-hu,

The children are not at school
because their bus didn't come again
The police are catching a lot of drugs
Who now my brothers?

put fabot sangani hu Chamorro
tumaimanmanu I tano
Ai sangani hu pago ai mañelu-hu

please tell me Chamorros
what is happening to the island
tell me know brothers

⁶³⁵ These two lines are references to the Guam Telephone authority and the and Guam Water Works. These agencies were turned over from the Navy to the Government of Guam with the Organic Act in 1950, and Chamorros were given preferential hiring at the time so that many Chamorro were able to get jobs in the government agencies. However, market forces have placed increasing pressure to privatize government agencies and there is a fear among government workers that they will lose the security once offered by a government job, if hiring is controlled by outside companies.

sangani hu tumaimanmanu it tano

Oh, tell me how this is happening

Ai atan ha pago na tano-ta
sa manmumumu hit na hora,
sa ti ta tungo manu na ta pega I basula-ta
Pago na tiempo ai manu hit guatu?
sangani hu tumaimanmanu I tano
island?⁶³⁷

oh look now at our land
we are fighting all of the time
over where to put the trash⁶³⁶
where are we going now?
tell me how this is happening to our

Daniel De Leon Guerrero Na' Ma'asi un Saina

Na ma'asi este un saina
Un sagan trankilidad, ma pega
Ai ya taya' esta umatetendi
Ni taya' bumisisita

Give pity to this elder
They placed her in Guma Trankilidad
And no one pays attention to her
not even to visit

Sa mantinane famagu'on
Ai nu i linala'-niha
Manmaleffa ni hagas sinapet
Yan minappot nanan-niha

because the children are busy
with their own lives
they forgot the long time she suffered
and their mother's hardship

Ai mandaña pago i mañelu
Ocho siha put todú
Duru manafaisen
hayi put tinagam si nana
ya u na'chocho

Now, when the children gather,
all eight of them
They're always asking each other
who will pick up mom
and give her food

pues utimos i manamumu
i mañuelo gi na puengi
i mas amko ilek-ña
pakeha gue
i mas patgon mina'kati

then at last the siblings argue
with each other into the evening
The oldest says
he doesn't care
and it makes the youngest cry

espehos hamyo mañelu-hu
nu este na kanta-ku

look in the mirror my siblings
listen to this song

⁶³⁶ This is a reference to the contentious debate over the location of a new landfill. The final choice, was in the hills of Guam's southern village of Inarajan. In the "not in my backyard" politics the small Inarajan population could not compete with the population centers of northern Guam. Such issues reflect a continued marginalization of southern Guam residents that often comes out in Chamorro language talk shows. When driving to work in early July of 2011 for example, I listened as a southern resident complained on Jess Lujan's morning talk show "the Buzz" that "puru' ha' mayamak i chalan santatte' (all the roads in the south are broken) pointing to perception that the northern center of power cares little for the south where there are less voters.

⁶³⁷ Daniel De Leon Guerrero, *Tumaimanmanu Tano*, Double A Productions, n.d. Translation by Brant Songsong.

bula ai manbinensi
ni tiningo Amerikanu

many have been persuaded
by the American knowledge

toktok guatu si nanan-miyu
toktok guatu yan chiku
yan sangani nana
Si Yu'us ma'asi
Put todus i bida-mu

hug your mother
hug and kiss her
and tell mother
thank you
for everything you did

Annai lalala i amko
Taya' ai bumisisita
Duru pago ai manatgramento
Bula-ña esta eskusa

when the old woman was alive
no one visited
now everyone is arguing
even more excuses

Lao annai matai i amko
Todus ha' maninterasu
I otro manmamaisen
Kao guaha paten-ña
Ai gi tano

but when she died
everyone was suddenly interested
they were asking
What's my share
of the land?

Espehos hamyo ai nu este
Pago ai na estoria
Ai ya in munga nai fanmaleffa

look in the mirror all of you
to this story I'm telling now
and don't forget

espehos hamyo mañelu-hu
nu este na kanta-ku
bula ai manbinensi
ni tiningo Amerikanu

look in the mirror siblings
listen to this song
many have been persuaded
by the American knowledge

toktok guatu si nanan-miyu
toktok guatu yan chiku
yan sangani nana
Si Yu'us Ma'asi
Put todus i bida-mu

hug your mother
hug and kiss her
and tell mother
thank you
for everything you did

Sa mantinane famagu'on-ña
Ai nu i linala'-niha
Manmaleffa ni hagas sinapet
Yan minappot nanan-niha

because the children are busy
with their own lives
they forgot the long time she suffered
and their mother's hardship⁶³⁸

⁶³⁸ Daniel De Leon Guerrero, *Chinatsaga*, Double A, n.d. Translation by Enrique Cruz.

Hayi po tinaigue?

Ai bula ai man gof paire,
mangantan Chamoru
Lao siempre un dia ai siempre manaigue
Taigue as Johhny Sablan yan i kanta-ña,
in the si Nana ai gi familia
pues i Mike Laguana yan i ga'-ña babui

ai hayi po fantinague?
an esta siha manaigue?
hayi para estorayi hit?
put isla-ta yan i kustumbre?
ai hayi po manteni gitara?
ai ya u tachu ya u kantayi
i manbunitu kantan Chamoru

Si Candy Taman yan i kanta-ña
Patgon ai neni
Si Bokkongo yan i Triste yo'
Bunita kanta-ña si Flora Baza
Ai hagu
Ai bula ai na' lagu an fantuhu

Lao hayi po fan tinaigue
Este siha an manaigue
Hayi para estorayi hit
put isla-ta yan kanton-tasi
Ai hayi para u mantiene gitara
Ya u kanta ai pago ni manbunitu
Na kantan manChamoru

Si J.D. Crutch yan i kanta-ña
I guinaifen manglo
pues si KC yan i Guam U.S.A
Si J.J. Concepcion yan i kanta-ña
Sen bunitu ai na kanta i mames nana

Ya ayu yo' pago munakati

Lao hayi u pa fantinague
An esta ham manaigue
Hayi para estorayi
put isla-ta yan i kustumbre
Hayi para u tachu

Whose turn is next?

Oh there are so many wonderful
Chamorro songs
But surely one day they will be gone
Johnny Sablan and his song "Mother
family" will be gone
and Mike Laguana with his pet pig

Oh, who will be take their place
When they are all gone?
Who will tell us stories
about our island and our culture
Oh who will hold the guitar
and stand up and sing for us
the beautiful Chamorro songs?

Candy Taman and his song
"the little child"
Bokkongo and "I'm Sad"
Flora Baza's beautiful song
"You are the One"
Oh it makes so many tears flow

But who will take their place
when they are gone?
Who will tell us stories
about our island and our beaches?
Oh who will hold the guitar
and sing the beautiful
songs of the Chamorro people?

J.D. Crutch and his song
"The wind is blowing"
then K.C. and "Guam U.S.A."
J.J. Concepcion and his song
the beautiful song about sweet
mother
That is the one that makes me cry
now

But who will take our place
when we're already gone?
Who will tell stories
about our island and customs?
Who will stand up

ya u mantiene i gitala ya u kantayi
put i hagas kutura-ta

Si Max yan Alex ni kanta-niha
Kada manmeska siempre manabaruka

Si Alexandro yan i ai aniyu-ña
Ya bula mañalek gue na ha'ane
Ai na makanta fireman i Cruz family

Pues ai si Selena, kanta K.G.

Ai hayi put fantinaigue
An esta siha manaigue
Hayi para estorayi put i isla yan i kustumbre

Ai hayi para u tachu
ya un mantiene pa'go i gitala
ya u kantayi put i hagas kotura-ta
Sangani-hu hayi para u kanta?

and hold the guitar and sing for us
about our old culture

Max and Alex and their song
“Each time the fish there will be loud
noise”

Alexandro and his ring
And many laugh today
Oh the “fireman song” from the Cruz
family
then K.G.’s song “Selina”

Oh but who will take their place
When they're gone?
Who will tell us about our island
and customs?
Oh, who will stand up
and hold the guitar
and sing about our old customs
Tell me who will sing?⁶³⁹

⁶³⁹ Daniel De Leon Guerrero, *Gayera*, Double A, n.d. translation by the author.