FANHASSO I TAOTAO SUMAY: DISPLACEMENT, DISPOSSESSION, AND
SURVIVAL IN GUAM

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For Nana Bear, Andy Boy, Saia, and Folole. May you and those of your generation grow to cherish the legacy of mañaina-ta.
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores experiences of displacement, dispossession, and survival as told by the people of Sumay—a pre-World War II village in southern Guam that was destroyed during the Japanese invasion of the island and seized by the U.S. military in its recapture of Guam to begin construction of the present-day Naval Base Guam. Prior to the war, Sumay had grown significantly between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries becoming the commercial, employment, travel, and communications hub of Guam. Nonetheless, the history of Sumay and its people has been nearly forgotten in written accounts and overshadowed by more popular wartime histories. Issues of Chamorro agency, transforming social identities, and history and memory are explored to shed light on the eviction of the Sumay people from their home village and their eventual exile to a newly developed site known today as Santa Rita village. Similar histories throughout Micronesia are considered putting Sumay and Guam into broader regional, historical, and thematic contexts.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ........................................................................................................ v  
Abstract ........................................................................................................................ viii  
List of Figures ............................................................................................................... x  
Preface ........................................................................................................................... xiv  
Chapter 1: Inside the Gate: A Place Called Sumay ..................................................... 1  
    * I tiempon manmaloffan ....................................................................................... 10  
    * On the Shores of Apra Harbor ........................................................................ 16  
Chapter 2: “No Place Like Sumay”: Recollections of Sumay ................................ 29  
    * Antes di tiempon gera ..................................................................................... 30  
    * The coming of war .......................................................................................... 38  
    * Occupation ...................................................................................................... 44  
    * Sumay lost forever ......................................................................................... 47  
    * Liberation day ................................................................................................ 50  
Chapter 3: Out of the Camps and Into Exile: The Aftermath of Liberation .......... 54  
    * Resettlement, compensation, and rehabilitation ............................................ 57  
    * “Civil” matters ............................................................................................... 63  
    * Decisions on displacement ............................................................................. 66  
    * On the slopes of Mount Alifan ....................................................................... 69  
Chapter 4: A Phoenix Reborn: *i Taotao Sumay* in Santa Rita ......................... 74  
    * The men of Sumay ......................................................................................... 77  
    * The women of Sumay .................................................................................... 83  
    * Identity, commemoration, and perseverance ................................................ 90  
Chapter 5: History, Memory, and *i Taotao Sumay*: Interpretations and Reflections on the Past ................................................................. 109  
    * Longing and nostalgia ................................................................................... 116  
    * Reflections of a third generation son of Sumay ............................................. 120  
Appendix A: Ostensible Land Owners in the Municipality of Sumay .................. 132  
Appendix B: Persons Born in Sumay and Relocated to Santa Rita Following World War II ................................................................. 152  
Appendix C: Biographical Information of Interview Subjects ............................. 161  
Bibliography ............................................................................................................... 175
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Culture areas map of the Pacific</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aerial view of Naval Base Guam</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Main gate (entrance) to Naval Base Guam</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sumay Cemetery, circa 1925</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sumay Cemetery, July 2007</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Headstones in the Sumay Cemetery</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sumay Cemetery sign</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sumay Memorial Park monument</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sumay visitor information sign</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pre-World War II village map of Guam</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Post-World War II village map of Guam</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Illustration of Puntan and Fu’uña creation story by Judy Flores</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Fouha Rock</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. 1672 map of Guam</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Aerial view of Sumay village, circa 1925</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Commercial Pacific Cable Company Complex</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Commercial Pacific Cable Company Administrative Center</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Pan American World Airways Hotel, circa 1935</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. U.S. Marine Corps barracks, circa 1925</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
21. Engracia Cruz Diaz Pangelinan ................................................................. 30
22. Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez ................................................................. 31
23. Concepcion Taitano Mafnas Concepcion ................................................... 31
24. Juan “Texas” Guzman Guzman ................................................................. 34
25. Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley ................................................................. 36
26. Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes ............................................................... 36
27. Santa Marian Guadalupe Catholic Church ................................................ 37
28. Juan Toves Guzman .................................................................................. 45
29. Chamorro liberators of Malesso’ ................................................................. 51
30. Destruction at Sumay .............................................................................. 55
31. Land acquisition in Sumay ...................................................................... 58
32. Dorothy Perez Williams ........................................................................... 67
33. Early Santa Rita, circa late 1945 ................................................................. 70
34. Temporary housing .................................................................................. 71
35. Juan “Ducket” Namauleg Perez ................................................................. 79
36. Gregorio Muñoz Borja ............................................................................. 79
37. Santa Rita Elementary School .................................................................. 80
38. Women in the classroom .......................................................................... 86
39. Techas ..................................................................................................... 88
40. Happy labor ................................................................................................ 91
41. Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church .................................................. 94
42. Fiestan Sānta Guadalupe ......................................................................... 95

xi
43. Lukao ............................................................................................................. 95
44. All Souls’ Day Mass ...................................................................................... 97
45. Santa Rita Senior Citizens Center ................................................................. 101
46. View of Sumay ............................................................................................. 101
47. Santa Rita-Sumay Peace Memorial ................................................................. 102
48. Julia Duenas Borja ......................................................................................... 112
PREFACE

On October 30, 2005, the Pacific Daily News (PDN) announced a United States Department of Defense decision to relocate up to 7,000 Marines and their dependents to Guam from Okinawa, Japan. Estimates indicate a population boom of over 40,000 military personnel and their dependents being sent to Guam’s 212 square miles over the next five years, a 30 percent increase to the island’s current population of roughly 171,000 people. The announcement led to heated debates among the people of Guam that continue in the present. At the core of these debates are the potential economic impact, significant population increase, military land acquisition, strains on natural resources, disruption to cultural and social practices, and many other concerns associated with the military buildup. The arguments range from those celebrating the move as a Godsend for Guam’s flailing economy and dismal job market to those lamenting the exertion of more American colonial authority over the island and its people. While there has been no indication to date that U.S. authorities are willing to negotiate in any way with the people of Guam with regard to this matter, the question of what costs will be associated with this move lie at the heart of every person that calls the island home.

The following work examines a particular case of displacement, dispossession, and survival in Guam in the immediate aftermath of World War II as a direct result of American efforts to increase its military presence in the Pacific. It is an exploration of oral history and memory that I believe illuminates a human experience worthy of remembering. The acquisition of Sumay village by the U.S. military for the construction of the present-day Naval Base Guam left the village’s people a distant afterthought and

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their ultimate fate in the hands of an oftentimes uncaring colonial administration. This history and the ways that the Chamorro people experienced it provides important lessons to be learned as the people of Guam encounter yet another wave of military expansion that has already stirred up suspicions among the island’s population.

While the experience of the people of Sumay as it will be told in the following chapters is a sad one and perhaps one that may never be fully reconciled, it is but one among many in the Pacific. Guam’s neighboring islands would witness similar instances of displacement, dispossession, and exile as a result of World War II and later the U.S., each representative of a turbulent time in which considerations for indigenous social, spiritual, emotional, cultural, and communal well-being was absolutely disregarded. U.S. military interests in the Pacific reached an all-time high in the post-World War II period as the Cold War began. Fearing aggression by the Soviet Union and its allies, the U.S. established its first line of defense against the potential threat in the northerwestern Pacific, primarily in Guam and the Marshall Islands. As the Cold War threat drew to a close in the late 1980s, military presence in the region was reduced but never completely withdrawn. Thus, the effects of long-term militarization in these islands continue to be felt.

The island of Guam is the southernmost island in the archipelago known as the Mariana Islands. The island is an organized, unincorporated territory of the U.S. Guam was granted a civilian government and its people U.S. citizenship through the Organic Act of Guam signed by U.S. President Harry S. Truman in 1950 after over half a century of American naval rule. The protections and privileges guaranteed Guam’s people through this act remain subject to the will of the U.S. Congress. Citizens on Guam may
not vote in presidential elections, nor may they participate in any national elections. Their elected delegate to the U.S. Congress has no voting rights in the House and any legislation enacted by the Government of Guam may not supersede U.S. federal law. Prior to the establishment of the island's current political status, Guam has experienced over three-hundred years of colonial administration Spain, the United States, Japan, and the United States again. Chapter one provides a more in-depth survey of these colonial periods.

Guam is the largest single island in what has been identified as the geographical region of the Pacific called Micronesia. The region's name, meaning "tiny islands," reflects an arbitrary grouping of these islands based solely on the physical smallness of
the landmasses that fall within its boundaries. The term “Micronesia” articulates much more than a geographical space, however, as it is oftentimes employed in discussions of the area as a neatly organized and united political, cultural, and historical space. The use of “Micronesia” in these contexts has proven problematic in that assumptions of inherent connectedness between island groups and peoples within the region disregard the vast diversity that prevails. The cultural, linguistic, and even historical differences between each dislocates and complicates any sense of unity that might otherwise be assumed.

Guam’s place within Micronesia and its indigenous Chamorros’ classification as “Micronesians” is further problematic for a variety of reasons. Guam and its people have become estranged from their island neighbors through historical and political processes that have led to cultural and social clashes that are strong today. Differing experiences of colonialism, development, education, and so forth have positioned Chamorros apart from other Micronesians. These differing experiences have led many Chamorros to adopt views of their island neighbors as different, and in some cases, inferior. It is not uncommon on Guam today to hear Chamorros use the phrase “those Micronesians” in a context that has negative connotations more often than not. Positioning “those Micronesians” as the other or as separate alludes to Chamorros’ unwillingness to self-identify as Micronesians. Similar positionings of neighboring islanders as different or inferior are also common among other groups such as Palauans, for example, many of whom admit to widespread negative perceptions toward the Chuukese.

Despite very real and pronounced notions of separateness between Chamorros and other islander groups in Micronesia, identities are flexible and can change depending on
the context. Younger generations of Chamorros are beginning to see themselves as part of that which is called Micronesian more and more, probably due to more collaboration between various islander groups through increased interaction in the post-secondary education system and in the workplace on Guam. Self-identification by Chamorros as Micronesians is increased outside of Micronesia when Chamorros find themselves in small numbers among greater and more diverse populations. In these cases, the need to identify with a recognizable group becomes increasingly important in feeling secure and in sharing something in common with others when so far away from the comforts of home, family, and community.

In the U.S., for example, university students from the various island groups in Micronesia are often seen collaborating more often and exuding a pan-Micronesian identity and sense of cooperation. It is in this context that “Micronesians” also adopt a more pan-Pacific identity where relationships are solidified with Polynesian and Melanesian counterparts, oftentimes rooted initially in a shared Pacific heritage. These shifting identities and associations are most clearly evidenced in organizations such as the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s Pacific Islander Connection, the East-West Center’s Pan-Pacific Association, the University of Washington’s Micronesian Islands Club, and many other student and social organizations primarily in Hawai‘i and the west coast of the American continent.

For the purposes of this work, I use the term “Micronesia” and “Micronesian” in their conventional definitions. Recognizing the baggage that comes with this collective grouping, I believe the terms hold relevant currency in approaching histories in the region that share common thematic threads. These thematic threads reveal a shared history of
colonialism that links the otherwise diverse groups of people who have been otherwise lumped together as "Micronesia." These similar histories enlighten us on processes of colonialism that relate directly to the specific case of Sumay that will be explored. Brief examinations of movements that ultimately led to displacement, dispossession, and in some cases exile in Micronesia will provide a framework that places Sumay into a historical, thematic, and regional context that inform current issues and place the past in a position of relevance in the present.

Movement, both literally and figuratively, throughout Micronesia is nothing new. The many islands that stretch across the region were first settled by ancient seafaring peoples, and their descendants continue today to make their way across geographical, political, economic, social, and cultural boundaries -- boundaries that are constantly being reshaped and redrawn. Such movements have been the focus of scholarly inquiry across the disciplines, most often associated with contemporary issues relating to migration, diaspora, remittances, and the Compact of Free Association.\(^2\) Other types of movement, namely forced movements, have been dealt with quite differently often using sterile language that classifies them as "relocations" and "resettlements." The language used to discuss these particular movements articulate the reality that such colonially-imposed disruptions to Micronesian lives have yet to be recognized for what they truly are:

\(^2\) The Compact of Free Association (COFA), perhaps more appropriately the Compacts of Free Association, are a series of agreements that define the relationship between the United States and the freely associated states of the Republic of Palau (ROP), the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI), each of which was a part of the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Under the initial COFA agreements, the U.S. provided financial assistance to the freely associated states for periods of up to fifteen years through the Office of Insular Affairs. Citizens of the freely associated states received access to federal programs including education, healthcare, welfare, disaster relief, and national defense and were allowed to travel and work freely in the U.S. The U.S. reserves strategic military rights to the islands and their surrounding waters. The compacts for the FSM
displacements, dispossessions, evictions, removals, forced migrations, and alienations. Moreover, the modes of agency employed by the very individuals who have endured these intrusions and disruptions have gone unrecognized, further clouding more accurate representations of past experiences.

Incidents of forced movements in Saipan in the Northern Mariana Islands, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, and Banaba, while distinct in the varying experiences of those who survived it, echo some of the major themes that are prevalent in the movement of the Sumay people. A brief discussion of each is in order.

*Camp Susupe: Internment in the Northern Mariana Islands*

The political entity known today as the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) lies just north of Guam. It is made up of the entire Mariana Islands chain, excluding Guam, with the islands of Rota, Tinian, and Saipan holding the great majority of the population. While the indigenous peoples of the Mariana Islands, including Guam and Saipan, share the same Chamorro language, core culture, and familial ties, their experiences of the war and of American and Japanese forces differed greatly. The partition of the Mariana Islands, and the end to any semblance of a unified geopolitical unit, came in 1898 when Spain ceded Guam to the United States via the Treaty of Paris, while the Mariana Islands north of Guam were sold to Germany. Japan, as an ally to Great Britain in its conflict with Germany during World War I, later gained control of the Northern Marianas from Germany, occupying the islands on October 14, and the RMI were renewed for a twenty-year period in 2004 while the ROP’s compact is scheduled to expire in 2009.

3 In addition to Rota, Tinian, and the capital of Saipan, the CNMI includes the islands of Aguijan, Farallon de Medinilla, Anatahan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, Agrihan, Asomsom, Maug, and Farallon De Pajaros. Small populations of no more than ten people exist on Alamagan and Agrihan.
1914. Japan also took control of the Marshall and Caroline Islands, collectively known in English as the Mandate islands, and administratively in Japan as Nan 'yo-chō. Japan later solidified its control as the administrator of the northern Marianas via a League of Nations mandate in 1919 following World War I.4

American troops captured the island of Saipan on July 9, 1944, toward the end of World War II.5 The Mariana Islands north of Guam had been occupied and administered by Japan for roughly thirty years prior to the end of World War II. Thus, their experience with Japanese administrators and military forces stands in contrast to those among the Chamorros of Guam. Japan’s 1941 invasion of Guam was speedy and violent and was followed by a brutal and oppressive occupation. The Chamorros of Guam, having been under U.S. military administration for nearly fifty years at the time of the invasion, were viewed by Japanese forces as loyal to the American enemy of war and were treated accordingly by their occupying forces. In the northern islands, however, many Chamorros are argued to have benefited from Japanese rule prior to the war, primarily through the establishment of hospitals and schools. Thus, they were relatively friendly toward their colonial administration, much like many other Micronesian Islander groups in the prewar years.6 Chamorro historian Keith Lujan Camacho notes:

Chamorros in the northern Mariana Islands of Rota and Saipan usually developed favorable attitudes toward the Japanese, but knew very little about Americans or the United States. Many Guam Chamorros, conversely, viewed Americans in more familiar terms, slowly adjusting their loyalties to the United States.

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5 Norman Meller, Saipan’s Camp Susupe, Occasional Paper 42 (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i at Mānoa Center for Pacific Islands Studies, 1999) xi.
Generally, Guam Chamorros interpreted the Japanese as a foreign people of no immediate significance.\(^7\)

The arrival of U.S. troops in the Northern Marianas in 1944, then, was not necessarily received or interpreted as a humanitarian liberation effort as it had been among Chamorros in Guam.

For those in the Northern Marianas, the arrival of U.S. troops and the defeat of the established Japanese administration ushered in a period of internment and land alienation. The indigenous Chamorros of the island and the Carolinian, or Refaluwasch, population that had settled there in the previous century became subjects of American occupying forces and would soon find themselves wards of a concentration camp for two years. Camp Susupe was established by the U.S. Navy in July 1944 to inter Chamorros and Refaluwasch, as well as Japanese and other foreign nationals on the island. In total, the survivors of the American capture of Saipan included 2,230 Chamorros, 800 Refaluwasch, 13,500 Japanese, and 1,350 Koreans, all of whom would be interred at Susupe.\(^8\)

Internees at Camp Susupe were confined within the perimeter of the camp where they were guarded by military personnel and indigenous police units. In the camp, they were subject to strict and invasive regulations governing all areas of behavior, including movement within the camp, possession of various goods, and sexual relations between Americans and internees. As Norman Meller, an American serviceman visiting the camps noted, the imposition of these strict guidelines were foreign to the people, imposed abrupt changes to their lifestyle, and were merely a long list of troublesome “dos and

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\(^7\) Keith Lujan Camacho, “Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands” (Doctoral dissertation: University of Hawai’i at Mānoa, 2005) 62.

\(^8\)
don’ts” for internees to follow. Through it all, Chamorros and Refaluwasch were never permitted to return to the villages they occupied prior to the war, nor were they given any opportunity to establish residency anywhere other than the camp. Feelings of longing for their family lands were predominant among the people throughout their imprisonment.

A woman simply identified as Rosa remembers the experience of the people of Saipan being alienated from their homes and confined to Camp Susupe stating “the Tanapag people were the only people who moved back to their original village. As soon as they were allowed to, they moved back.” The release of internees from Camp Susupe ushered in a redrawing of Saipan’s map and the creation of new villages. Rosa notes, “all of the villages that everybody now thinks are the traditional villages (other than Garapan and Tanapag) are all post-war villages that never existed before.”

Chamorros and Refaluwasch would be imprisoned at Camp Susupe up until July 4, 1946, when they were finally allowed to live outside of the concentration camp – a day celebrated on Saipan today as “Liberation Day.”

Camp Susupe survivor Tun Manuel Celes, in discussion with Camacho, spoke of his heart no longer feeling mafiol, or tight, upon his release from the camp. While gesturing to his chest, Tun Manuel proclaimed that his “heart had opened up.” Camacho writes, “a free heart, [Tun Manuel] said, allowed one to breath comfortable.” In Camacho’s analysis, “in his own poetic way, Tun Manuel depicted the collapsing of

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9 Keith Lujan Camacho, “Cultures of Commemoration,” 185. See also Norman Meller, *Saipan’s Camp Susupe*, 41-49.
10 Keith Lujan Camacho, “Cultures of Commemoration,” 185.
12 Ibid.
Susupe’s fences as emancipation from the violence of war.\textsuperscript{14} The two years of imprisonment at Camp Susupe and the forced alienation of the people from their traditional villages was, quite fortunately, temporary. The complete erasure of these villages in the process and the need for villagers to uproot themselves and establish their livelihoods elsewhere, however, would stand out as a permanent outcome of the war on Saipan that worked to reshape the island between two distinct periods of history. The same is true of Sumay.

\textit{Fallout in the Marshalls: Forced Relocations of the Bikini and Enewetak Islanders}

Of the many groups of people throughout Micronesia who have been subject to forced movement, it can be argued that the people of Bikini and Enewetak in the Marshall Islands are perhaps the most well-known. The capture of the Marshalls chain from Japan by the U.S. military in February of 1944 would usher in a nuclear age for these people, their lives and lands becoming the center of devastating nuclear tests. In December 1945, U.S. President Harry S. Truman issued a directive to Army and Navy officials to begin nuclear weapons testing for the purpose of gauging the effect of these weapons on American warships. In February 1946, Commodore Ben H. Wyatt, the military governor of the Marshalls, would travel to Bikini atoll to meet with its people to see if they’d be willing to leave their island temporarily to begin atomic testing that was “for the good of mankind and to end all wars.” The leader of the Bikinian people, known

\textsuperscript{13} Norman Meller, \textit{Saipan’s Camp Susupe.}, xi. and James E. Arriola, in discussion with the author, March 17, 2008.

\textsuperscript{14} Keith Lujan Camacho, “Cultures of Commemoration,” 186.
as King Juda, would announce after confused and sorrowful deliberation, “we will go believing that everything is in the hands of God.”15

In total, 167 Bikinians engaged in a mass exodus from their atoll in March of 1946 making way for the testing that was coined by the U.S. military as “Operation Crossroads.” The Bikinians were first sent to Rongerik, an uninhabited and resource-poor atoll 125 miles to the east. Starvation soon set in and the Bikinians were eventually slated to be moved again to Ujelang Atoll in the western Marshalls in May of 1947. After a group of Bikinian men traveled to the atoll to begin constructing housing for their community, a change in plans to relocate the islanders came when the U.S. selected a second site for nuclear testing at Enewetak Atoll. The decision led to the movement of the Enewetak islanders instead to Ujelang, leaving the Bikinians without a relocation site as planned. Thus, the people of Bikini were forced to move about the Marshalls chain in search of a new relocation site, first to Kwajalein Atoll for a brief two month stay in 1948 and finally to Kili Island in the southern Marshalls, encountering famine and other hardships in both places. They would remain on Kili up until the 1970s when many Bikinians returned to their home atoll and the radiation and environmental devastation that awaited them.16

The people of Enewetak, like those of Bikini, were convinced of the need for nuclear testing in the interests of peace and freedom for all of mankind. They left their home island in December of 1947 with sadness and ambivalence and under the impression that the move was temporary. Many believed they had no option and agreed

16 Ibid., 3-13.
to live in exile under the protection of the U.S. Their time on Ujelang, totaling thirty
years, would be wrought with famine, a polio epidemic, rat infestation, and massive
changes to notions of health, education, and government in response to the trauma of
their move. The repatriation of the Enewetak Islanders finally came in 1980, but the atoll
they returned to bore minimal semblance to the home they left, most evident in the large
amounts of debris left by the testing, the pollution of the land and surrounding waters,
and meager crop yields.17

Responses to these displacements and hardships among those of Enewetak and
Bikini express a great sense of loss and longing. As told by the late Lore Kessibuki of
Bikini, “Bikini is like a relative to us: like a father or a mother or a sister or a brother,
perhaps most like a child conceived from our own flesh and blood. And then, to us, that
child was gone... Buried and dead.”18 The late Senator Ishmael John of Enewetak,
remembered for his staunch opposition to U.S. displacements and contamination in the
Marshalls and an advocate for demanding reparations from the U.S. made the statement
“our wounds (that the U.S. caused) will never heal.” (emphasis added)19 Both of these
statements, metaphorically referring to islands as blood relatives and to wounds, physical
and otherwise, lend intimate insight into to a complex and painful history of which the
fallout continues to be felt today.

This brief chronology of forced migration in Bikini and Enewetak illustrates just
two of many other arbitrary and irresponsible displacements of Marshallese Islanders that
the U.S. military instigated. In addition to these movements, many Marshall Islanders

18 Jack Niedenthal, For the Good of Mankind, 49.
found themselves relocated to the tiny island of Ebeye in the early 1960s as U.S. military interests in the area warranted the acquisition of land for a base, satellite and communications stations, and missile testing ranges. Sadly, Ebeye soon became overpopulated and its people subject to poor healthcare, dilapidated sewage systems, scarce drinking water, overcrowded schools, and poverty. It has since earned the name “Slum of the Pacific,” its dire conditions in stark contrast to the “country club-like” conditions that are reserved for American personnel and their families within the Kwajalein Missile Range facilities on an island just three miles away from Ebeye.²⁰

The effects of what has transpired in the Marshalls over the past few decades still prove to be fresh wounds among those who endured it. They are wounds imposed directly by American motives toward military expansion and development that left the interests of the islanders most affected ignored.

**Occupation and Mining: Deportation in Nauru and Banaba**

Two very distinct cases of displacement in an area of Micronesia often left out of conversations about the region are worthy of mention. The mass displacement of thousands of islanders from Nauru and Banaba, instigated first by Japanese occupying forces during World War II, and more recently as a result of nearly a century of British, New Zealand, and Australian phosphate mining relate to the cases I have presented thus far. The discovery of phosphate reserves on both islands in 1900 by New Zealander Albert Ellice would usher in an era of resource exploitation by the British Phosphate Commission that would lay the foundation for economic displacements of islanders.²¹

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The expansion of the Japanese empire that would come later would further work to dislocate many islanders for long periods of time, some lasting into the present.

In the case of Nauru, 1,200 islanders were deported from their home island after Japanese forces occupied it in August of 1942. They were exiled to sites in what is today Chuuk state in the Federated State of Micronesia (FSM) where they became subject to hard labor and saw 463 of their fellow Nauruans perish in the process. Although finally allowed to return to Nauru in 1946 after the island was captured by Australia, their four-year exile would not end without significant trials and hardship including forced labor, damages to physical health, changes to social structures and cultural practices, and oftentimes-violent conflict with their newfound Chuukese and ex-patriot Asian neighbors. A sense of intense longing for their home island persisted during their exile. Even upon their repatriation to Nauru, a longing endured for the home they once knew that had changed so drastically. Nauruans face the threat of displacement today as the exhaustion of phosphate reserves has left the island economy, environment, and resources almost completely baron and incapable of sustaining a fruitful life.

Similar to the people of Nauru, those of Banaba Island, located in what is recognized today as the Republic of Kiribati, became subjected to mass displacements in the interest of both phosphate excavation and Japanese military expansion. During the Japanese occupation of Banaba between 1942 and 1945, the entire Banaban population was scattered among Kosrae, Nauru, and Tarawa. Following the war, these groups were rounded up and moved to the island of Rabi in what is now the Republic of the Fiji Islands. Under the impression that their stay on Rabi would be temporary, they soon
came to terms with the reality that their exile was permanent, with the exception of sixty Banabans repatriated to their home island in the 1970s. Phosphate mining ceased in 1979 leaving ninety percent of the island’s surface stripped away and scattered in Australia and New Zealand as fertilizer. Like Nauru, the environmental and economic destruction of the island, as well as war-related mass relocations, perpetuate the intense longing that Banabans feel for their “essential homeland” while living in Rabi, or their “disconcerting place of exile.”

The survey of displacement that I have presented here, although quite brief and far from exhaustive, articulates a tumultuous time in greater Micronesia’s history when people and their livelihoods became subject to the whim of warring nations, foreign economic interests, and military land and resource needs. They are but a few of many other similar cases of entire communities uprooted from the physical, cultural, and ancestral spaces they long occupied. Similar experiences are embedded in the histories of other islanders including those from Anguar and Peleliu in Palau, Tinian and Rota in the Northern Mariana Islands, and many islands throughout the FSM. Though each is unique in the specific experience of its participants and in the particular responses provoked there are commonalities that illuminate a larger history of U.S. military presence in the Pacific.

Between Sumay, Susupe, Bikini, Enewetak, Banaba, and Nauru, there exists a very real interpretation of the relocations I’ve discussed as forced exiles. Whether temporary or permanent, instances of communities uprooted from the places they knew

NAME Pacific Phosphate Company.
22 Ibid., i, 10.
as their home generated sentiments of deep longing and grief associated with their eviction and alienation that continue in the present. It becomes clear that such movements were not merely isolated actions taken for the benefit of a newly liberated war-torn people. Rather, they were calculated, intentional, and lucrative measures carried out by very specific outside groups who benefited from the opening up of lands for their own exploitive purposes. Current moves to relocate substantial numbers of military personnel and their families to Guam are no different.

This work will explore the themes I've introduced thus far as they relate to the people of Sumay and their experience. It is, in many ways, a case study of a history similar to many. Although it has been over sixty years since this history unfolded, it resonates today on Guam for many Chamorro people who continue to face the militarization of the island and the reverberating aftermaths. It is a history largely under-recognized, even by those such as myself that are so closely tied to it. It would not be until I encountered this history in a university classroom that I came to know the importance of sharing it with my fellow Chamorros, as well as those in the greater world outside of Guam.

It was mid-August of 2000 and the first day of the fall semester for the University of Guam. I had just moved home not too long ago after years of going to school and working in California. I had somehow found myself enrolled in college, not particularly focused on graduating or anything else for that matter. A carload of friends and I pulled into the UOG parking lot, after the mandatory stop at Fine Store for a breakfast of ice

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cold Assam Black Tea, *kelaguen* wrapped in *titiyas*, and a fresh pack of cigarettes. We were still recovering from the string of back-to-school parties that dominated the previous week as the sun began to get hot and take its place high in the sky.

Our priorities that day rested in meeting up with friends, reclaiming our spots on the benches under the palm trees in the English and Communications Building atrium, and enjoying the freedom of college campus life. My class schedule sat crumpled in my bag and I had no intention of looking at it, at least not in this first week of the semester traditionally reserved for syllabus reviews, self-introductions, and near-empty classrooms.

As the morning turned into the afternoon, I had decided to break tradition and make a cameo appearance in at least one of my classes. I unfolded my crumpled schedule and saw my afternoon class: HI211 History of Guam. I entered the classroom and went for my favorite spot in the rear of the room at the corner nearest to the door. Just then, the professor began to speak and introduced herself as she began to distribute the syllabus. Today, she explained, we’d view a slideshow with pictures of places around the island and the class was to call out what and where these places were. As the slideshow went on, all the usual Guam sites appeared on the screen: the Plaza de España, Two Lover’s Point, the Chief Quipuha statue, Latte Stone Park. Students called out the names of each slide never missing one as the professor rhythmically went through her slide show. And then, a slide popped up with weather- and time-worn grave markers in

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24 *Kelaguen* – dish made of chicken, venison, beef, or seafood, salt, lemon juice, hot pepper, and grated coconut meat.

*Titiyas* - tortillas

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Chapter 1
Inside the Gate: A Place Called Sumay

Driving south along Marine Drive, one takes in the typical scenes of everyday Guam. The expanse of the Pacific lies on the right-hand side of the road with coconut tree-lined beaches and a few shops and homes along the way. To the left, the sheer clifflines and rolling hills of the island sit with village communities dispersed throughout. Suddenly, the roadway opens to the “freeway” of Guam — the Piti strip. The road winds through mangrove forests and is free of the heavy traffic, clusters of buildings, and frequent stop signs or traffic lights so common to the northern and central parts of the island. And then, as if out of nowhere, one arrives at a busy intersection with two options: turn left or proceed straight.

Should one turn left, he would find himself heading up toward the southern village of Santa Rita — the sole option for a great majority of people on Guam, better known as civilians. For the rest, proceeding straight leads one to the main gate of what is often referred to as “Big Navy” and more commonly, Naval Station. For the privileged few with access to Naval Station, what lies within the main gate stands as a stark contrast to the rest of southern Guam. McDonald’s, shopping outlets, recreational facilities, and military personnel housing sit among administrative office buildings, military equipment warehouses, and other facilities to support the everyday operations of the largest military base in the Pacific outside of Hawai‘i. Adjacent to the base’s facilities lies Apra Harbor,

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1 Guam’s main thoroughfare, Marine Corps Drive, is often referred to by the local population simply as Marine Drive.
2 Piti — a village in south-central Guam. “Piti strip” is a popular term used to describe a stretch of road extending from the Guam Veteran’s Cemetery located in Piti village to the front gate of Naval Base Guam. This road is most noted for its long stretch with no stop signs, only one traffic light, and having the highest speed limit on the island (35 miles per hour). Thus, its is commonly referred to as the “freeway” of Guam.
3 “Big Navy”/Naval Station — officially, Naval Base Guam.
a natural deep-water port protected by Orote Peninsula that serves as the commercial hub for Guam, most of which is contained within the base and controlled by the U.S. Navy.

The landscape of Naval Station is one that is typical of any military installation. Order and security are paramount. They are evident in the facility’s manicured roads, well-maintained structures, and the keen observation of strict regulations both imposed upon and adhered to by its residents, personnel, and visitors. All seems well within the gates of Naval Station, an exemplary specimen of military might and, above all, modernity standing at the helm of the American Pacific. But there is more to Naval Station than what is immediately visible.

Just further into the base sits a silent reminder of what was once there. Encased in a whitewashed plaster wall, a small field of overgrown grass sits quietly in complete contrast to the surrounding hustle and bustle of everyday naval operations. At the center of this small, enclosed field stands a majestic cross towering toward the heavens, and nearby stands a tree with roots deeply entangled and grasping firmly to the earth. Perhaps
more captivating than the majestic cross and commanding tree are what peek out from within the overgrown grass – grave markers of the people who once called this place, not Naval Station or “Big Navy,” but Sumay.

The headstones and accompanying adornments at the Sumay Cemetery differ from those typical throughout Guam’s many other cemeteries. They do not receive fresh coats of paint each year by family members who return to remember their dead, nor do they have fresh flowers laid upon them throughout the year. These grave markers, most of them broken and sunken into the ground, are weathered with time. Many of them have lost their etchings and are void of recognizable text. Some are altogether blank. For the fifty or so markers that have survived time, war, and typhoons, their inscriptions, some in the native tongue Chamorro, others in Spanish and English, speak of eras that have come
and gone in Guam’s long history. What has survived speaks, in particular, to a history often silenced or forgotten all together – that of *i taotao* Sumay, or the people of Sumay.

Two signs are posted just outside the cemetery. One lists the many men, women, and children buried at Sumay. Many of them lie in unmarked graves, their markers destroyed over the years. The other sign briefly tells the history of the cemetery:

This cemetery once contained 157 grave markers dating from 1910. Inscriptions are in Chamorro, Spanish, and English. The cemetery was badly damaged by bombs from American planes during the weeks prior to the July 1944 invasion. Countless grave markers were destroyed at this time. Official cemetery records have been lost, and it is not certain how many bodies are actually buried here.

Just across the road from Sumay Cemetery stands another cross and plaque at the sight of the present-day Sumay Memorial Park. These memorials and the park commemorate the site of Santa Guadalupe Church, the Catholic church that once stood there and served as the center of spiritual and social life of Sumay village. The small memorial sits amid a large field facing outward to what was the heart of the village and reads:

Sumay, a 200 acre Garden of Eden, pearl of the island, was the center for commerce and transportation. This century-old cross marks the site of the former
Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, which overlooked a flourishing village blessed with natural resources.

Nearby, yet another sign sits along the road. This sign, posted by the U.S. military for residents and visitors taking in the sites of the base further expresses the history of Sumay and the importance it once played in the geography, economy, and society of prewar Guam. It reads:

Sumay Village – Site inhabited since pre-historic times. A thriving commercial port during Spanish times. In 1941, Sumay was second largest village in Guam with 2000 residents and over 100 homes. It was bombed by Japan on Dec. 8, 1941 and totally destroyed during the 1944 liberation.

And so ends the short list of physical reminders of Sumay. The few words that they convey provide only a minute glimpse into the thriving community that existed there. The rest is left to memory and scattered, brief histories that others have chosen to document.
The Sumay Cemetery is the most visible and striking physical remnant of Sumay village, the once vibrant community that was situated on the present-day Naval Base Guam before it became the site of intense bombing as Japan initiated it’s World War II occupation of the island. Sumay would go on to be seized by the U.S. military, condemned, and then completely destroyed to make way for the construction of the naval base. The village was completely erased from the map after World War II in 1944. Its residents, displaced and dispossessed, found themselves exiled to the newly formed village of Santa Rita located on land that was previously uninhabited jungle foothills. The
people of Sumay would have to wait twenty years from the day they left Sumay to be allowed back to grounds of the village and to the cemetery to honor their dead.⁴

I visited Sumay throughout my years on Guam, escorting my grandmother and other manâmko’ to the cemetery on November 2 each year to celebrate All Souls’ Day.⁵ Just as many Chamorros do in other village cemeteries throughout the island on this day, we would return to Sumay to honor our dead buried there, placing flower wreathes and candles beside them and maintaining the sites as best we could on the one day we were allowed access. These visits stopped following September 11, 2001, the day that provoked America’s war on terror. It was then that the commander of naval operations on Guam closed off the base to civilians in the interest of national security, including Sumay Cemetery and the grounds of the prewar village. The cemetery was eventually re-opened to civilians for the All Souls’ Day celebration a few years later. Access to the cemetery and permission for Chamorros to maintain graves according to custom, however, continue to be subject to the whim of whatever commander is charged with overseeing naval operations on Guam.

Despite the obstacles that have persisted in allowing the people of Sumay to return to the site of the old village, whether to visit the cemetery or simply to spend time on the old village grounds, strong and deeply intimate ties to the village prevail. These ties manifest themselves in the very social identity of Santa Rita, where it is not uncommon to hear manâmko’ continue to refer to themselves as taotao Sumay.⁶ The

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⁵ manâmko’—elderly or elders
⁶ For generations, Chamorros have identified themselves in three ways: baptismal name, clan name, and village. For example, a person named Maria Perez who is a member of the Kotla clan from Sumay would
mandmko’ve maintained a very special place for the village in their memory, and the connection to Sumay has persisted in the community of Santa Rita to this day. The oral histories of these former Sumay residents stand out as the most detailed and complete recollections of life in the prewar village and the experience of forced relocation. While there is a substantial body of written material focused on Guam’s World War II experience that has reached canonical status, considerations of Sumay and its people’s experience continue to be confined to scant paragraphs or brief references that are few and far between.

This thesis seeks to present, as detailed and concisely as possible, a history of the place called Sumay, from its earliest written documentation to the day it was wiped off the maps in 1941. More importantly, this thesis will examine the experience of i taotao Sumay, or the people of Sumay who, evicted from their homes, dispossessed of all they had owned, and alienated from their land became living testaments to survival in the midst of rapid change.

I taotao Sumay is the only group of Chamorros explicitly and permanently forbidden to return to their village after the war. I will explore the particular modes of agency employed by them as they established the present-day Santa Rita village. These modes of agency provide understandings of the social, political, economic, and cultural contributions of these displaced and dispossessed survivors in the process of creating a new community, and perhaps, a new and unique social identity that resonates today. More importantly, this thesis will demonstrate the complexities of mass relocations of people not as a simple movement of a population to a new site, but rather, as a
devastating interruption to deeply engrained notions of belonging to a particular place and space.

The oral histories of the people of Sumay will offer more inclusive understandings of the over-simplified (mis)conceptions of the Chamorro survivors of World War II as wholehearted patriots of the United States with unfaltering faith in Uncle Sam — that inspiring American figure so often employed in the dominant colonial discourse positioning Chamorros as children in need of a paternalistic, inherently good American father figure. The retelling of their histories calls into question the "liberation" bestowed on the people of Guam by the U.S., further complicating what has been understood of this generation and the manner in which they operated as subjects of their re-established American colonizers.

I intend to address notable deficiencies in the historiography of Guam’s World War II experience by presenting richly detailed oral histories of i taotao Sumay alongside what written history exists of the village. This project will thus contribute, on some level, to a closing of the gaps between Guam’s written and oral versions of history, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of the island’s past as experienced and understood by those who lived through it.

There is no doubt that I am intimately tied to Sumay, its people, and the history that has unfolded. I do not deny bias in both my approach to this research and its eventual articulation here. Both my grandmothers and the great majority of my familial and community elders, being sons and daughters Sumay, have notably influenced my life and the ways in which I have come to know my roots. Yet there remains the very part of his or her personal identity. To lose a village, therefore, is to lose a part of one’s self.
real need for this history to be told, if only to provoke new considerations of Guam’s past and the ways in which we have come to understand it. The history of Sumay is not my history or even a history that belongs to those who have informed this study. It is one that belongs to all the descendants of those who called Sumay home. It is but one piece of a greater history that belongs to all Chamorros of Guam whose very lives are so indebted to the legacy of our *manâmko'*, and the lessons that they have to offer. This work, however biased it may be, is but one contribution by the author to the continuity of our knowledge of our past as the numbers of those who experienced it first hand lessen each day.

The central focus of this work on displacement, dispossession, and survival, and the modes of agency employed by those who endured it, is rooted in the events that began on the morning of December 8, 1941 – the day when the Chamorros of Guam found themselves thrust into World War II. In order to better position Sumay within Guam’s greater history, however, I think it appropriate to look further back to times before 1941, before the coming of war, and perhaps, even further back to times that predate Guam’s written history.

*I tiempo manmaloffan* 7

The history of Guam, as it has been written, is a subject of some debate. There are those who date settlement in the Mariana Islands at sometime as early as *2000 BCE*. Many trace the origins of its original settlers, the Chamorro people, to mainland Asia or island Southeast Asia during the first of many waves of seafaring people into Oceania. 8 For

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7 *I tiempo manmaloffan* – the times that have passed.
many Chamorros, however, the linguistic, migratory, archeological, geological, and other equally convincing evidence that support such theories come second to what their own epistemologies suggest. I take a brief moment here to consider the ways in which Chamorros understand their origins.

Chamorro oral accounts of origin tell us that in the beginning, the earth was but a mere expanse of waters and was not suitable for human life. The great god Puntan and his sister, the goddess Fu’una, were the only beings that reigned over the earth. Puntan and Fu’una were not born of a mother and father as we are today, but ruled over the planet with great powers. The two siblings devised a plan to create the world as it is known today. Combining Puntan’s powers with her own, Fu’una did as she was instructed by her brother creating the world with his body.

From his eyes, Fu’una made the sun and the moon, his back became the earth, and his eyebrows were fashioned into the rainbows that span the heavens. From Puntan’s back Fu’una formed the island of Guåhan setting it gently into the waters that covered the planet.9 When all had been done according to the plan, Fu’una looked upon what she had created and was pleased. She then decided that men and women in the likeness of her brother and herself should inhabit what they had created together. So she took the red earth clay of Guåhan and the salt water of the sea and turned herself into a great rock, which came to rest upon the place called Fouha near Humå’tak Bay in southern Guåhan.10 The rock split open and out poured hundreds of people who looked just like Puntan and

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9 I opt to use “Guåhan” instead of Guam in the retelling of Puntan and Fu’una’s creation story to reflect the indigenous name of the island as recognized by the Chamorro people.
Some sailed away to other lands created by Puntan and Fu’una, while others remained on Guåhan calling themselves *Taotao Tano’* (people of the land).

Because the Puntan and Fu’una creation accounts have been passed down orally, the specifics vary in their retellings. Still, it is important to consider the core values of Chamorro culture that are expressed in the account — values that inform local epistemologies. These values inform understandings of the Chamorro culture and the ways that Chamorros have experienced, participated in, and understood their history.

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10 Umatac Bay is an inlet at Umatac village in southern Guam. I opt here to observe the indigenous name “Humátak.”

11 Anne Perez Hattori, “Puntan and Fu’una (ancestral god and goddess of creation)” *Guampedia: The Encyclopedia of Guam,*
Most clearly demonstrated in the story of Puntan and Fu’una is the centrality of home, land, and family in the Chamorro culture. The creation of the earth and its elements, and more importantly, the birth of Taotao Tano directly from these very elements communicate intimate connections between the people, land, and sea. Fouha Rock, still recognized today as the birthplace of the Chamorro people, stands as a testament not only in reverence to land and nature, but of connection to specific place and shared origins.

Puntan and Fu’una’s creation further alludes to the stature of both men and women as powerful and contributing members of Chamorro society. The matrilineal system observed by Chamorros promoted gender roles that were “balanced equitably so that men and women shared power and responsibility.” The seemingly balanced distribution of power between Puntan and Fu’una alludes to the gender-balanced political system of Chamorro society in which both men and women held the most powerful titles of maga’lāhi (leading son) and maga’hāga (leading daughter). The relationship shared between Puntan and Fu’una, that of brother and sister, is symbolic of the centrality of family and interdependence shared between brothers and sisters to protect family property, raise the children of the family, and generate assets to keep the family well-endowed.

These few but extremely important values that are expressed in the Puntan and Fu’una story evolved over many thousands of years and carry on as central to the Chamorro social and cultural structure. By the time Europeans first made their way to


13 Anne Perez Hattori “Puntan and Fu’una (ancestral god and goddess of creation).”
Guam, these values had shaped a people for over three thousand years into a highly developed and vibrant society. Chamorros would be the first people of Oceania to engage in contact with Europeans when Ferdinand Magellan, sailing for the crown of Spain, would “discover” the island on March 6, 1521, in his attempt to circumnavigate the globe. Magellan’s visit lasted only three days and ended in the Spanish murders of several Chamorros and the burning of canoes and dwellings. Having provided these sailors with food and water upon their arrival, the Chamorros began taking what goods from their ships they saw as a fair trade according to their customs of reciprocity. The Spanish sailors, however, condemned the act as thievery, lashing out at the “culprits.” This brief and bloody encounter would mark the start of much bloodshed in the name of colonial expansion for Guam. From that day forth, and lasting for several centuries, Guam and its neighboring islands to the north would be known as, Islas de los Ladrones, or “Islands of the Thieves.”

Spanish ships en route to Manila from Acapulco would visit the island frequently since 1521. Its crews, keeping their distance and preferring to remain onboard their ships just outside the reef, would trade iron hoops for food and water with naked natives in their flying proas.¹⁵ Miguel Lopez de Legazpi led an expedition to Guam, landing on the island and officially claiming it for Spain on January 22, 1564, simply stating:

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I, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, Governor and Captain General, by his Majesty, of the people and armada that goes in His Royal service on discovery of the islands of the West, in the name of His Royal Majesty the King, Don Filipe Our Lord,
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¹⁴ Ibid.
take and apprehend as an actual property and as a Royal possession, this land and all the lands subject to it.\textsuperscript{16}

Father Andres de Urdaneta, a Spanish Augustinian friar, celebrated Mass marking the first Christian service to ever be held in Oceania.\textsuperscript{17} Legazpi’s swift and arrogant assumption of power over the island and its people would prevail for the next three hundred years. Spanish rule over the island took a formalized hold through the establishment of a Catholic mission on June 16, 1668, by Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, a Spanish aristocrat and Jesuit priest sanctioned by Queen Mariana de Austria, Spain’s regent queen.

Spain, attempting to exert domination over an isolated island thousands of miles from any of its established colonies, employed a practice known as \textit{reducción} that had proven effective in other conquests. Although Spanish soldiers had accompanied every visiting group to Guam since initial contact was made, larger numbers were mobilized and sent to the island to protect the missionaries in a combined effort to dominate in which the “cross of the church and the sword of the state supported each other...”\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Reducción} on the island began with the establishment of mission churches at various sites on Guam and the concentration of Chamorros in parishes or villages that resemble many contemporary villages on the island today, especially those in the southern part of the island. Rising tensions between the Chamorros, especially those refusing to convert to Christianity, and their Spanish occupiers would result in the outbreak of the Spanish-

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 31.
\textsuperscript{18} Rogers, \textit{Destiny’s Landfall}, 43.
Chamorro wars that would span twenty-three years between 1670 and 1693. It would be during this era of Spanish reducción that Sumay village first found its way on to western maps and would gain recognition as a prominent site of Chamorro struggles against Spanish domination.

On the shores of Apra Harbor

It is clear that Sumay existed prior to the arrival of the Spanish and the efforts to organize Guam’s people into European-style hamlets. There are variations in the retelling of how Sumay got its name. Sumai, meaning “to soak” in Chamorro, could have been chosen for many reasons. It is believed that Sumay may have been a center for powerful chiefs of the Chamorrí, the high caste group of pre-European contact Guam. Those of this caste inhabited coastal lands, like Sumay, having authority over the most resource-rich lands and holding the highest occupations as navigators, deep-sea fishermen, and warriors. These chiefs are believed to have struggled for power with those of Hagåtña to the north, Guam’s present-day capital city. In addition to the battles for power with their neighboring chiefs, the chiefs of Sumay are documented as putting forth strong opposition against Spanish colonizers who sought to subdue them.

Sumay and its people played an important role in a rebellion led by the maga‘låhi Agualin, the second largest rebellion staged by Chamorros during the Spanish-Chamorro wars. In 1677, heated tensions sparked when a young Chamorro girl from the Orote Peninsula area of Sumay married a Spaniard without the approval of her parents. The

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19 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 40-45.
22 Anne Perez Hattori, e-mail message to author, December 11, 2007.

maga‘låhi – literally, first son. Title used for the eldest male holding authority over the clan.
girl's father lashed out and attempted to murder the groom. Her father was subsequently arrested and publicly executed by Spanish soldiers. In response to what the Chamorros of Sumay saw as an unjust sentence, an ambush was planned and executed by the *maga'lāhi* of Sumay named Cheref. Together with many other Chamorros in the village, Cheref arranged for the evacuation of the Sumay mission’s priest Father Sebastian de Monroy and other Spaniards under the guise of friendship, procuring a canoe to transport the men to the safety of the fortified Hagåtña mission. Once Fr. Monroy and his men were aboard, Cheref capsized the canoe and his followers flocked to the site where they killed all the soldiers and the priest. The incident at Sumay is documented as one of the key events leading to Agualin’s rebellion that spanned throughout many of Guam’s southwestern villages.

The preceding account and speculations of Sumay as a site of numerous other battles among Chamorro rivals and between Chamorros and Spanish mission soldiers allude to what some believe to be the root of Sumay’s very name. Some say that the land on which Sumay sits, having been soaked with the blood of these chiefs in their battles, earned the village its name. Others attribute the name Sumay to the fact that the village is surrounded by water. The rich fishing grounds surrounding the village afforded an abundance of resources of which the people of Sumay were able to maintain a subsistence-based lifestyle. Some have even credited the very land on which the village sits as the root of

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*Agualin is also spelled in numerous Spanish accounts as Aguarin.*


24 Meriza Unpingco Peredo, in discussion with the author, July 25, 2007. (Referring to comments made by the late Senator Antonio Reyes Unpingco).
its naming, land that was so fertile and its soil “soaked” with rich nutrients for fruitful agriculture.

Father Alonso López, a member of San Vitores’ mission, drew one of the first detailed maps of Guam in 1672 in which ancient settlements and newly formed Spanish-style parishes or villages are identified. The map further indicates the location of established churches or chapels. Those areas with churches or chapels were those that contained significant populations or served as centers of agricultural, maritime, or administrative activity. It is clear, in comparison to more recent maps, that López’s rendition of Guam’s topography and geography is wrought with inaccuracies. What his
map does suggest, however, is that Sumay (identified as “Sumai”) was already a place of notable prominence on the shores of the present-day Apra Harbor in the vicinity of the Orote Peninsula by the time Spain established its mission. Moreover, the existence of a church at Orote and a chapel in Sumay indicate the area’s growing importance as a center of agricultural, maritime, and administrative activity for the island. Sumay was later upgraded from a church and chapel parish to one of the main mission stations on the island. An 1856 smallpox epidemic killed over half of Guam’s population and two-thirds of the village of Pago died. Those who survived the epidemic in Pago were moved to Hagåtña when their mission had been closed. It was about this time that Sumay became one of Guam’s mission stations. 25

There is clear evidence beyond López’s map to suggest that Sumay stood out as an important site in Guam’s early recorded history. To better place Sumay in the context of it developing as a center of life for Guam, I turn to *A Report by Governor Felipe de la Corte of the Marianas (1870)*. These accounts of a Spanish Governor’s impressions of Guam provide one of the earliest and most detailed written impressions of Guam as it evolved and developed under its first colonial regime.

According to de la Corte, the area known as Sumay in 1870 was then a *barrio* of the village of Agat. At the time, the term *barrio* was used in reference to neighboring communities or suburbs of more populated villages. These *barrios* were sparsely populated and contained only small chapels that were overseen by the priests of neighboring churches. They were, essentially, smaller and quieter extensions of larger village establishments. According to de la Corte, however, the *barrios* of the city of

Hagåtña, namely Anigua and Asan, consisted only of “a single file of houses along the road,” whereas Sumay was home to “553 souls.” de la Corte goes on to note:

The houses on the barrio of Sumay, though few, are almost all well-constructed and sided with planks, because they are built by people who have moved there from the city. The situation of this village is very good by reason of its proximity to the principal harbor of the island; it has very good water... and fresh breezes, while the extensive farming land and its immediate vicinity would make it possible for a population as great or larger than that of [Hagåtña] to live there in much comfort.  

de la Corte’s impressions strongly suggest that Sumay stood out from other barrios of the island, indicating perhaps that it was, at the time of his account, on a fast track to becoming an independent and well-established village or town on Guam’s landscape.

The development of Sumay into a social and commercial center for Guam predates de la Corte’s 1870 impressions. Sitting on the shores of Apra Harbor, interactions with foreigners would become commonplace among Chamorros residing in Sumay. It is reported that on October 29, 1775, the Spanish galleon Concepcion II en route from Mexico to the Philippines wrecked off Guam’s shores after encountering a typhoon and grounding on a reef. Of the 538 people on board, only a few could continue their journey on a small boat constructed from the wreckage. The rest remained on Guam, living in Sumay for nearly a year until they could continue their journey.  

Between 1799 and 1850, it is suggested that hundreds of trading ships visited Sumay each year between January and March seeking provisions, repairs, and recreation. Vessels from Spain, France, Germany, Japan, England, Holland, the United States, and


26 Felipe de la Corte, A Report by Governor Felipe de la Corte of the Marianas (1870), Marjorie Driver, trans. (Mangilao: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center), 46, 49.

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even Russia sailed into Apra Harbor, its crews coming ashore at Sumay.28 The whaling industry that boomed throughout the Pacific in the nineteenth century would make its way to Guam further boosting the importance of Sumay as port of call. By 1853, the Spanish Captain of the Port was stationed at Sumay. By 1870, a school was built for boys and girls and the village became organized into six streets perpendicular to the sea, each lined with newly-constructed homes of masonry, rather than cane.29 Just as the village of Sumay began to take shape and grow toward becoming a center for trade, so too were the people of Sumay adapting to a changing lifestyle.

Interactions at Sumay between residents and foreigners fostered lines of communication between Chamorros and those in the outside world. By the later years of the nineteenth century, the people of Sumay had already become accustomed to interacting with foreigners other than their Spanish colonizers. By the end of that century, Guam would find itself quickly transitioning to a new colonial era. In 1898, the island was ceded to the United States as part of the Treaty of Paris at the close of the Spanish-American War. Article two of the agreement briefly and simply states, “Spain cedes to the United States the island of Porto Rico [sic] and other islands now under Spanish sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island of Guam in the Marianas or Ladrones.”30 Spain would later sell the rest of the Marianas chain to Germany leading to a geopolitical and social estrangement of Guam from the northern islands that continues in the present. The peace agreement between Spain and the U.S. would ultimately lead to

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28 Ibid, 1.
29 Ibid, 1.
30 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 113.
the establishment of US military rule on Guam in the form of the U.S. Navy whose Naval Government of Guam would rule the island with utmost and unquestionable authority.

Vicente Diaz provides a glimpse into early encounters in Sumay at the start of American rule on Guam. The first American journalist to visit Guam came shortly after the seizure of the island by the U.S. Oscar King Davis, a special correspondent for the New York Sun had traveled to Guam with the “Army of Occupation” from May to December of 1898. They sailed into Apra Harbor and were guided into port by young Chamorro boys from Sumay who “came straight out to the boat and said ‘Good morning’ in English, with a grin that showed a double row of beetle-stained teeth.” The journalist and his companions were completely taken aback by the young natives’ ability to speak English. Once taken ashore, Davis noted that “every able bodied man in Sumay can understand and make himself understood in [English]. They do it with a single word: ‘Whaler’.” The information provided by Diaz confirms in a primary source that Sumay and its people, already by 1898, had been exposed to English-speaking people through the whaling industry for some time. Moreover, by their ease it appears that the arrival of newcomers to their shores was not a strange occurrence for this particular port town.

The implementation of American naval rule in Guam would provoke a wave of development in Sumay. By 1905, the Commercial Pacific Cable Station, linking Guam with the rest of the world, was placed at the edge of the village. In December of 1912, work commenced on the Sumay cut off, a road built to shorten the distance between the

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32 Ibid, 41.
cable station and naval facilities, as well as to make travel to and throughout Sumay easier. In the *Guam Newsletter*’s coverage of the road, it was noted that “Sumay is steadily increasing in importance and in population.” Small seaplanes made their first landings near the shores of Sumay by 1921, and by the mid-1930s, Pan American World Airways built a small hotel in the village to accommodate passengers en route to Asia. Pan American’s world-famous China Clipper landed weekly at Sumay’s sea ramp bringing world-famous dignitaries who would spend time among the villagers leaving their mark on Guam. World champion boxer Jack Dempsey landed at Sumay and stayed the night refereeing a boxing match while world famous writer Ernest Hemingway went fishing for marlin. It was during these early decades of American military rule that

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34 Roberto, “A Brief History of Sumay,” 1.
Sumay also became home to the U.S. Marine Barracks, the floating dry dock, the seawall, the Standard Oil Company’s huge oil storage tanks, and the Maxwell School for boys and girls.

Additionally, four Chamorro-owned stores providing a variety of goods were owned by the Torres, Pangelinan (familiar Kotla), Ishizaki, and Pangelinan (familiar Tun Feliz Kotla) families providing a variety of goods. These business-owning families were not merely simple store owners providing everyday goods. Some, like Pedro Borja Pangelinan (familiar Kotla), traveled frequently to many of the neighboring islands of Micronesia, as well as to various ports throughout Asia to obtain goods to import for sale at his Sumay store while simultaneously operating a successful copra trading business.37 These business-oriented families were part of a larger community of Chamorro laborers,

36 familiar Kotla — literally, Kotla family. “Clan” names, often going back many generations, are used to identify family groups who are blood-related among larger groups of families holding common surnames. Kotla is a family name for a group with the common surname Pangelinan. “Clan” or family “nicknames” will be used to more appropriately identify individuals throughout this work.
37 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, interview by James P. Viernes, June 14, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam.
farmers, ranchers, fisher folk, craftspersons, housewives, religious leaders, and others that rose to number 2,000 by 1941 in Sumay – nearly twenty percent of Guam’s total population.

By the 1930s, Sumay had become the trade, commerce, travel, transportation, and employment center of the island. It was beginning to rival the capital city Hagåtña in population, commerce, and employment, and there was active talk of officially renaming Sumay the capital of Guam. There were a notable amount of homes with running water and electricity, luxuries not yet in place in the majority of homes throughout the island. Sumay and its people began to encounter a modern world that had never before been seen on Guam. While popular histories of Sumay, as well as the memories that will be shared throughout this work acclaim the village as a prime specimen of modernization and development in prewar Guam, Sumay’s history of growth did not unfold without greater objectives being sought behind the scenes.
It cannot be said with any certainty that Sumay, or the whole of Guam for that matter, flourished completely in the early twentieth century as a result of increased development and modernization. This point is made clear through the work of James E. Oelke, an undergraduate student at the University of Guam. Oelke’s impressive survey of Sumay’s history of development alongside American federal and commercial interests provides a look into an often forgotten history. It is a history where, despite Sumay’s obvious importance as a center of trade, commerce, travel, transportation, and employment, bigger motives to secure the area as a powerful military homebase took precedence over any motives to develop the village for the benefit of its people or the island of Guam.

Oelke’s research paper “Broken Spear: The Impact of Federal and Commercial Interests in the Village of Sumay, Guam (1900-1945)” is rooted in the core argument that the influx of commercial and federal investment dollars to Guam was merely a result of American Manifest Destiny and motives to seek as many material gains as possible in Asia. Additionally, Oelke argues that, although Sumay had been an attractive option to relocate the capital of Guam, widely accepted theories of Sumay actually becoming the capital city are incorrect. Naming Sumay the island’s capital city, as Oelke demonstrates, was in direct conflict with military plans for Orote Peninsula.39

Oelke’s research offers a much-needed, expanded view of Sumay that steps beyond popular understandings of the village. Oelke problematizes oversimplified

notions of development and modernization against complex military, commercial, and federal interests. From his work, it becomes apparent that although the people of Sumay indeed enjoyed the benefits of living in a developing village, broader American military and economic interests made for a more complicated experience of what can be seen as advancement and progress. As pointed out by Oelke, “it is important to mention that this development was more of a roller-coaster than an upward rise. Sumay was hit hard economically when the United States Marine Corps deployed to conflicts in China in 1926-1927, after the 1931 demilitarization of the island, and during the Japanese occupation beginning in 1941.” These “hard hits” to the people of Sumay, while rarely, if ever, articulated in oral history accounts, demonstrate the struggles that accompany seemingly well-intentioned development and modernization.

The roller-coaster ride of development in Sumay was combated by its residents through pursuing their livings in multiple ways that balanced what was becoming a time of heavy transition. While some members of the families of Sumay sought employment at the many government and privately-owned establishments in the village, the majority supplemented the family income in the ways of their ancestors, taking from the ocean and the earth all that they needed to survive. The people of Sumay had found themselves enjoying the fruits modernization while simultaneously practicing many of the subsistence skills that continued to be of great importance to their survival. And despite the importance that the village played in the island’s economy and in the U.S. military’s operations, Sumay was simply home to these families. It was a home that many look back on with fondness and longing.

40 Ibid., 27.
The memories of *i taotao Sumay* and their personal experiences of displacement, dispossession, and survival will be shared throughout this work. Their oral histories preserve an era that, for many, ended all too abruptly, paving the way for what would come to be remembered as one of Guam’s most trying times. It would be during this time that the once vibrant village of Sumay would be left empty and its people homeless. It is to these very experiences and memories that I now turn.
Chapter 2
"No Place Like Sumay:" Recollections of i Taotao Sumay

I find the statement made by Paul Connerton, “all beginnings contain an element of recollection,” an appropriate point on which to center my discussion of Sumay, both as a physical place as well as a cultural and social space that has become so embedded in the memory of i taotao Sumay. Their memories are perhaps the only lens through which we can view Sumay at this point, the written accounts being so scant, incomplete, and relatively dated. The written word continues to be regarded by many historians as the primary, if not only, reliable source of information on the past, as it is among many other scholars across the disciplines. I choose, however, to rely on historical accounts more appropriate to my own epistemologies and those of the very people to whom this study is geared toward – the people of Sumay and Santa Rita villages. It is in the recollections of the people of Sumay who became the first people of Santa Rita that I find my beginning.

The accounts presented in the previous chapter clearly position Sumay as a place of prominence in pre-World War II Guam. Much of the village’s distinction is rooted in the presence of U.S. military government facilities and operations, as well as the presence of commercial entities, both American and Chamorro owned. Yet I have not adequately explored what made Sumay an important place to the roughly 2,000 people that lived there, and more importantly, why this place called Sumay would come to be held in such high regard in the memory of those who call themselves taotao Sumay.

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In the words of the late Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez, *familian* Kotla, better known as *Tan* Beriña, “there was no place like Sumay.” *Engracia Cruz Diaz Pangelinan*, *familian* Galaide, another former Sumay resident, simply recalls, “más maolek na lugát Sumay (Sumay is a very good place)...everyday I dream of that place and when I close my eyes, I can still see the way it was when we left.” What these women’s brief words express is a time and place looked upon with special affection and longing. These notions are shared by many former Sumay residents who tell their stories

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42 *Antes di tiempon gera* – before the time of war
43 *Tan* is a title of respect used for older Chamorro women. It is a corruption of the Spanish word *tia* meaning aunt. The title of respect used for older Chamorro men is *Tun*, a corruption of the Spanish word *tío* meaning uncle. These titles will be used where appropriate throughout this work.
44 Jeanne Schulz, “Sumay: Displaced Villages Can Never Go Home.”
with great enthusiasm for the old village and the lives they had lived there. But there is more to these stories than the over-romanticized “good old days” rhetoric. The idyllic nostalgia with which i taotao Sumay look back on the times before war, or ântes di tiempon gera as they call it, is rooted in the very fact that Sumay was truly a good place and there really was no place like it in all of Guam.

Perhaps the strongest memory of Sumay as an ideal place to live rests in recollections of the village as rich. “Sumay is the richest place in Guam before the war,” recalls Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, familian Kotla. Concepcion Taitano Mafnas Concepcion, or Tan Chong Año’ as she is better known, remembers Sumay as

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45 Engracia Cruz Diaz Pangelinan, interview by James P. Viernes, July 15, 2007, Yona, Guam.
46 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
... a nice town...people coming from all over Guam trying to find jobs. Down there is where all the military people live. That's where you get the jobs before the war. Very nice town, people also come down to the ocean to fish...plenty fish. You can catch anything. Even children go with their basket to pick clams...very easy to live in that village. 47

Tan Chong vocalizes two important points about Sumay. First, it provided employment opportunities for not only its residents, but for many from Guam’s other villages. The first half of the twentieth century stands out as a time during which the Naval Government of Guam made strong efforts to force Chamorros out of a predominantly subsistence-based economy toward a cash-based economy. As pointed out by Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori, “...it was quite difficult for the Navy to obtain labor. Governors complained that the relative self-sufficiency of the lânchos (ranches) disinclined the Natives from taking on strenuous or tedious tasks offered, and in fact, needed by the Navy.” 48 As a result, an array of Naval policies was enacted to encourage, if not completely force, Chamorros away from the lânchos and into the more cash-based economy.

The imposition of various taxes and fee-based licenses became required of Chamorros including those for land ownership, marriage, divorce, dog ownership, and the practice mid-wifery, to name a few. Quotas were placed on livestock raising and crop production, as well the number of pests men were responsible for killing. Taxes and labor regulations were met with heavy resistance, oftentimes adhered to only upon the

47 Concepcion Taitano Mafnas Concepcion, interview by James P. Viernes, July 12, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam.
goodwill of the Chamorro people. Nonetheless, the imposition of such fees and regulations worked to prod the local population into a cash-based economy.49

While the capital city of Hagåtña provided many employment opportunities for Chamorros, the majority of jobs available to them were in Sumay prior to 1941. Chamorros held positions as mess hall attendants, cooks, construction workers, laborers, golf caddies, laundresses, housekeepers, clerks, and attendants at the U.S. Marine Barracks, the Pan American Hotel and seaplane facilities, the Standard Oil Company, the Commercial Pacific Cable Station, the Golf Links golf course, and in the homes of military officers and their families. What influence the Navy did have in imposing a cash-based economy on the Chamorros of Guam manifested itself in the high employment rate and abundance of jobs that were primarily available in Sumay.

Tan Chong’s recollections of Sumay also express the wealth of the village’s natural resources that were important to families that remained reliant on farming and fishing. In addition to the rich fishing grounds in Sumay, the wide-open land provided ample space for agricultural production. The late Juan “Texas” Guzman Guzman, owned a lâncho in Sumay, and with his wife and children was able to make a living. Tun Juan Texas recalls

Y taotao an’tes hutsan man ha’nao y taotao sa ta’ya che’chu nai, pues y lancho ha ni a popok’sai y familía’na. Guma’lu mamok’sai, todu ha e’nao siha chechocho’na nai. Huma’nao pumek’sai, pot huma’nao pumeskan ha’lom tano. E’yu ha nai, hocog ha y bus’kan bida’na. Lao man mauleg lina’la niha y familía’na. Ti man na’lang sa e’yu na lo’kue chechocho’na nai y guma’lu yan y mamok’sai.50

49 Ibid., 18.
50 Juan Guzman Guzman, interview by Flora Baza Quam, May 19, 1993, interview FY93.Pxiv, transcript, Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, Agana Heights, GU, 13.
(The people, as I remember, the people move on because there was no salaried work... then the ranch is where they raise their families. Planting, raising livestock, these are what they do. They went fishing at sea, or hunting in the jungles. That’s all, yes, that’s all their livelihood for their families. They didn’t go hungry because that’s their best job, yes, planting and raising livestock”)

The methods that the people of Sumay employed to support themselves varied from family to family. As Tun Juan Texas expresses above, fishing, hunting, and farming were the sole means of living for many. There were, however, those families that supported themselves in a combination of ways. For Perez, she and her family earned their living through operating a general merchandise store owned by her father,

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This excerpt is quoted exactly as it appears in the interview transcripts. It should be noted that the transcriber of this oral interview did not utilize the official Chamorro orthography (for Guam) as adopted by the Guam Chamorro Language Commission. Translation provided by Peter R. Onedera.
Pedro Borja Pangelinan. Pedro Pangelinan is remembered by many Sumay residents as an entrepreneur, recognized for his general store, lucrative copra business, large land holdings, successful agricultural production, and profitable fish-trapping ventures. These numerous business ventures combined with tending Pedro Pangelinan’s ranches ensured not only a stable living for his family, but widely-recognized affluence in Sumay and other communities on Guam. Other families, including the Ishizaki’s, Torreses, and the family of Feliz Pangelinan enjoyed similar success. Sumay, growing in prominence in the early 1900s, provided the resources central to the good fortune of these families. Sumay stood out in pre-war Guam in that it was rich in opportunities to sustain both subsistence and cash-economy lifestyles, giving families options and opportunities that might not have otherwise been available in many of the island’s other villages.

Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley sums this point up clearly, stating

we are very fortunate. We find so [much] food that you can catch in the sea and in the farm. …the salary [from paid employment] is so small that the family can do extra activities like planting, raising pigs and those things. I cannot say the people of Sumay are poor…they’re not rich. But I consider them as they are not poor because to every meal, we have food on our table…Before the war, some people already have electricity. Some even have flush toilet and indoor bathroom. The “richness” of Sumay, as expressed through the preceding memories of its former residents, was not something to be measured by Gross National Product, household incomes, or other such western systems of determining wealth. Rather, it was

51 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
52 Pedro Borja Pangelinan, familian Kotla, was my great-grandfather. Each of the individuals that I personally interviewed for this project recognized me as one of his descendants, making special mention of him during our discussions. The memories of Pedro B. Pangelinan expressed above are reflective of comments made by each of the individuals during the course of my discussions with them. See also “Sumay,” Guam Newsletter, September 1918, 1.
53 Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley, interview by James P. Viernes, June 25, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam.
a collective understanding of Sumay as a place where a family could not only make a living, but had the luxury of choosing from a variety of ways to do so.

Apart from Sumay yielding multiple ways of earning a living, the village is remembered by many former residents as containing a vibrant social life. Wesley tells of the active community life that was centered in Sumay, proudly noting that no other village, even the capital city of Hagåtña, could rival Sumay in this regard. “The biggest baseball field in the island of Guam is in Sumay right behind the Catholic Church. In there we have the handball court...we have even a tennis court. They have canoe racing in Sumay and the island’s first golf course.”\textsuperscript{54} The church grounds that Wesley refers to were the heart of Sumay that provided not only a place to worship, but a place to gather.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
and enjoy the company of fellow villagers. Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes, *familian* Miget, fondly remembers the church grounds where men, women, and children gathered for worship and church service, to play, to attended *eskuelan pāle*’  

and to hold holiday pageants and performances.

Viernes remembers the people themselves as worthy of mentioning, people who were “very friendly, help[ed] each other out,” and who minded their own business.  

Tan Chong supports Viernes’ memories of the villagers noting that “all the neighbors are helping each other, especially during those fish seasons, *atulai* (mackerel), *mañāhak* (rabbit fish)... everybody will share. There’s no such thing as buying. If somebody goes fishing and there’s plenty of fish, everybody will get some.”  

Community life in Sumay

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55 *eskuelan pāle*’ – literally, priest school. The term has been and continues today to be used to refer to religious education for children, formally known as the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD).

56 Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes, interview by James P. Viernes, August 5, 2007, Hawyard, CA.

57 Concepcion, July 12, 2007.
exhibited the central cultural value of *inafa ‘maolek*\(^{58}\) as most communities throughout the island did at this time. For the people of Sumay, the notions of sharing, interdependence, and helping one’s neighbor stand out as perhaps the most prominent memory that they have retained and choose to share when asked about Sumay.

The memories of Sumay that I have presented thus far express recollections of a time and life that was agreeable for the people. That is not to say that life in Sumay was not without its hardships or in anyway close to perfection. Struggle and hardship were just as much a part of the lives of *i taotao Sumay* as they were for the rest of people throughout Guam, and for that matter, around the world. Typhoons, earthquakes, epidemics, poor harvests, and personal losses were very much a reality in Sumay. I do not exclude such memories in any attempt to romanticize or even misrepresent history or the people themselves. Memories of these hard times, however, are rarely shared by *mandmko*’ when asked about Sumay. They are a distant backdrop to more dominant memories of a better life in days gone by. It would be appropriate to say that the memories shared with me capture strong expressions of *i taotao Sumay*’s love for their village and a life that they had enjoyed. This love is the root of an idyllic nostalgia that *i taotao Sumay* would come to cultivate in response to an abrupt disruption to their lives that was to come.

*The Coming of War*

As early as 1931, aggression in both Europe and Asia, primarily instigated by Japan and Germany, began to set the wheels in motion toward what would become a global military conflict called World War II. On December 7, 1941, as the United States

\(^{58}\) *inafa ‘maolek* — Chamorro cultural value of interdependence and cooperation.
was discussing with Japan measures toward keeping peace in the Pacific, Japanese air
squadrons commenced the bombing of Pearl Harbor in Hawai‘i severely crippling U.S.
naval and military forces and taking the lives of thousands of people. The following day,
U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaimed the day a “day of infamy,” urging the
U.S. Congress to declare war on Japan for the attack on Pearl Harbor. This day of infamy
continues to be regarded as one of the most important and defining moments in modern
American history.

Guam’s “day of infamy” came just a few hours after Pearl Harbor had been
bombed. Though they did not know exactly where and when, both American military
officials and the civilian Chamorro populace of the island had long expected the outbreak
of the Pacific war. Despite the very real threat of war arriving on Guam’s shores, the
U.S. military failed to establish a strategic defense plan for the island. The number of
personnel that could actually be used in combat was only 340 and they were ill-equipped
for battle. By October of 1941 all but one of the American military dependents on the
Guam were evacuated. Thus, the Chamorro people were left behind on Guam with a
pathetically ill-equipped and miniscule infantry to defend the island against what had
become widely expected aggression. 59

As dawn was breaking in Guam on December 8, the great majority of the island
was preparing to attend Mass in honor of the feast of the Immaculate Conception, known
on Guam as Gipot Sānta Maria. 60 The feast was and is now the most important Catholic
holiday on the island. Like other religious feast days, Chamorros take time away from
their daily work to attend church services and processions, to recite novenas in the home,

59 Rogers, Destiny's Landfall, 161-162.
and to partake in the festivities of the *fiesta*\(^{61}\) in honor of *Sānta Marian Kamalen*.\(^{62}\) In Sumay, most families had just finished attending the first morning Mass held at 5 A.M. and had headed home to prepare for the *fiesta* that was to be held throughout the day. Before the festivities could begin, however, nine strange planes appeared overhead making their way toward the Pan American facilities and the Standard Oil Company's storage facility.

Benito Wesley and Joaquin Sablan of Sumay had just begun their work at the Marine Corps officer's quarters when they saw the planes. They immediately noticed round red markings on their wings and were awed at how the planes flew considerably low. Just as the planes flew past them, they saw bombs drop over the nearby Pan American buildings and the Standard Oil fuel tanks. One of the bombs struck the Pan American Hotel kitchen killing two Chamorro workers. These employees -- Larry Lujan Pangelinan and Teddy Flores Cruz -- became the first fatalities of what soon became obvious was the coming of war to Guam.\(^{63}\)

The planes flying overhead, those of Japanese military forces, commenced the initial bombing of Guam at Sumay at 8:27am, moving on to the *U.S.S. Penguin* just outside Apra Harbor, the *R.L. Barnes* and other small craft in the harbor, and the Navy Yard in neighboring Piti village.\(^{64}\) The mission was to cripple Guam's only ties to the outside world -- the Pan American facilities, the island's fuel supply, communication

\(^{60}\) *Gipot Sānta Maria* – Celebration of Saint Mary  
\(^{61}\) *fiesta* – party, celebration, festival celebrating feast day of a saint  
\(^{62}\) *Sānta Marian Kamalen*, also known as Our Lady of Camarin, is the title for the Virgin Mary observed as the patron saint of Guam. The main *fiesta* in honor of *Sānta Marian Kamalen* is held in the capital, but is celebrated in villages throughout the island. This feast day coincides with the feast of the Immaculate Conception.  
\(^{63}\) Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 161-62.  
\(^{64}\) Sanchez, *Guahan Guam*, 176.
facilities and equipment at the Commercial Pacific Cable Station, the Marine Barracks, and any watercraft that could provide defense, all within the village of Sumay and its surrounding waters. Over the next two days, the people of Guam would witness subsequent bombings in the capital city of Hagåtña. The panic and chaos that ensued left the capital city completely abandoned and many of Guam’s villages virtually empty. The island’s residents the lânchos and surrounding jungles. By December 10, 1941, Japanese forces landed on Guam and occupied the island.

Perez remembers the morning of December 8, 1941, vividly. She was at her home in Sumay on that morning and recalls the following:

Right after church when we get home to change our clothes, the Japanese plane came over and bomb...we don’t know what’s going on. We all run out of the house and go to Apla.65 They keep on bombing...it’s making a loud noise. They bomb the Pan American, they bomb the Standard Oil. [The people], they were running, they were crying...[going] away from Sumay.65

Perez remembers the mass confusion that consumed the people of Sumay as they ran away from the bombing. Many did not know what was going on. As Juan Toves Guzman, familial Texas, points out, the people Guam were not accustomed to seeing so many planes flying overhead on any given day. The only planes that they were used to seeing were the Pan American Clippers that brought mail and passengers. These planes, however, only arrived once per week. Never before had any other planes in such numbers been seen in Guam’s skies.67

65 Apla was an area on the outskirts of Sumay proper. The area was the site of many lânchos owned by families in Sumay. The area known as Apla is where the present-day McDonald’s restaurant, Navy Exchange, Commissary and AutoPort in Naval Base Guam are now located.
66 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
67 Juan Toves Guzman, interview by James P. Viernes, June 26, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam.
While many of Sumay’s residents did not initially know who was flying these planes and why they were bombing the village, many became privy to information that alerted them to the situation just moments before it unfolded. Guzman recalls a frantic visit to his home that morning by family friend Sugar Gogue, whose father Ben was employed at the cable station. Sugar informed the Guzman family that her father received word of the bombing of Pearl Harbor and was advising all his neighbors to leave Sumay. Guzman’s family immediately began to flee and not more than ten minutes later, they heard the bombs falling on Sumay.68

Wesley too knew of the impending bombing just minutes before it began. She remembers her family receiving word from one of her uncles who had heard from another family member that Pearl Harbor had been bombed and Guam was the next target. Just as word arrived at her home from her uncle, a neighbor and then-commissioner of Sumay, Juan P. Sarmiento, arrived at the home to inform the family of the coming Japanese forces. Sarmiento had begun evacuating his family and those of the surrounding homes.69 Shortly after, Wesley’s family fled their home.

Whether people had advance notice of the invasion or were merely trying to get as far away as possible from the bombing, the whole of Sumay fled to the lâñchos and jungles with nothing more than the clothes on their backs. Wesley recalls, “there [was] a parade of people all pushing up the hill trying to find where to go. The whole people of Sumay just left the place.”70 The mass exodus of people from Sumay left the village

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68 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
empty by mid-day, most of the people taking refuge at Apla in their lânchos, other’s taking shelter in the jungles.

The first atrocities of war were carried out upon and witnessed by the Sumay people. In addition to the first casualties of the war on Guam taking place in Sumay, historian Robert F. Rogers notes, “the entire population of Sumay was swiftly evicted in the first few days to make way for a Japanese garrison, and five Chamorritas were raped by Japanese troops in the takeover.”71 Wesley tells the story of her father-in-law, Juan Wesley, who was working on the morning of the bombing at the Pan American office building. Juan Wesley began to flee the area when he heard a bomb explode, looked down at his abdomen, and noticed his intestines oozing from a wound. In a panic, he ripped off his T-shirt and plugged the wound as he made his way to his Sumay home. Juan Wesley amazingly survived the wound and the entire war.73 These atrocities were a preview to what lay ahead for the Chamorros of Guam.

Over the next two days, Japan made its advances on Guam, bombing the capital and strafing other villages. Naval Governor George McMillin ordered the U.S. Marines on the island to take defensive positions at Sumay and assembled the Insular Force Guard, an ill-trained and nearly unarmed civilian force made up of Chamorro men to protect the Plaza de España, then the seat of the Naval Government of Guam. By 2 AM on December 10, Japanese forces had landed on the island at numerous points. Just a few hours later, those attempting to protect the plaza were overcome by invading forces and it

71 Chamorrita is a term, probably with Spanish origins, that is used to refer to a female Chamorro.
72 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 171.
73 Wesley, June 25, 2007. see also Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 164.
wasn’t long before McMillin officially surrendered the island to the Imperial Japanese Government. 74

With the surrender of Guam by the U.S. to the Japanese government came rapid and extreme changes to life on Guam. Almost immediately, the Chamorros of the island were sought out in the jungles and lâchhos and ordered to report to the village centers. Many, in disbelief that America had abandoned them, never realized the extent to which the occupation would last, most hoping they’d return to their homes and everyday lives in a short amount of time. For the people of Sumay, it would not be long before they realized this was never to be.

*Occupation*

Guzman remembers the first days after the invasion and the confusion that resulted.

We got a leader in Sumay...we call him *kapitan.* He got ordered by the Japanese to have the people come out of the jungle to go back to their residence. We went back home because we are called out for the Japanese to take survey and census of the people of Sumay. They tell us to go up to Apla to build whatever you can for your family...to stay there because the Japanese are going to use your house for storage or barracks. 75

The survey and census that Guzman refers to was aimed at identifying the civilian population on the island that would then be put to work by the Japanese. Chamorros were counted and given pieces of cloth with Japanese writing on them that were to be worn at all times as proof of identification. The herding of people to receive their passes is remembered as a time of great confusion and the first hands-on Chamorro experiences of Japanese brutality. Many were manhandled and bullied about, forced to wait in the hot

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sun for the counting to be complete. The demeaning manner in which the people were treated and identified as if they were livestock earned these cloth passes the name _lisiensan ga'âgu_, or dog license, among the Chamorro people.\textsuperscript{76}

Once the Chamorros had been counted and given their _lisiensan ga'âgu_, the Japanese quickly implemented what was to become the system of life to be followed throughout the occupation. Chamorros were ordered to bow to all Japanese soldiers any time they may have encountered them. Failure to do so would result in a slap across the face for women and a beating for men, the severity of each to be determined by the offended soldier. Soldiers also had to option to punish Chamorros who failed to bow in other ways that they saw fit. All able-bodied men and women were put to forced labor, cultivating rice fields, tending vegetable and fruit farms, and working on construction projects, the fruits of their labor solely for Japanese benefit.

\textsuperscript{75} Juan Toves Guzman, June 26, 2007.  
\textsuperscript{76} Sanchez, _Guahan Guam_, 186.
Chamorros were not paid for their labor and the only compensation they received was one handful of rice per day. Quotas were imposed on lánchezos requiring that Chamorros produce regular amounts of meat, eggs, and produce for Japanese soldiers in addition to what they produced through forced labor in the fields. The only food that Chamorros had throughout the occupation was whatever they could conceal from soldiers demanding rations or whatever they could grow or catch outside of the long and tiring days working in the fields. Children were forced to attend schools to learn Japanese language and put to work in the afternoons in the fields and on construction projects after classes had ended.

The maltreatment of the Chamorros of Guam by their Japanese occupiers at the start of the occupation and in the long years that followed provoked intense physical, psychological, and emotional wounds, many of which have yet to heal. This treatment was a direct result of suspicions among Japanese forces of historical affiliations between Guam Chamorros and the United States. Unlike other islands in Micronesia where Japanese rule had successfully been established over many years, occupying forces remained wary of Guam Chamorros’ loyalties to the United States that had been developing for over fifty years. Such loyalties stood out as a direct threat to the establishment of Japanese rule on the island. Thus, the Chamorros of Guam bore the brunt of a heavy-handed, violent, rapid, and forceful creation of a Japanese colony.

Life throughout the majority of the occupation went on like this. Those who survived the occupation recall it as a dark time in their history when they went hungry, endured brutality at the hands of Japanese soldiers, were treated like slaves, and longed for the way things were before the war. During the course of the interviews conducted
for this project, each and every subject expressed the hope that their children and
grandchildren would never experience what they had during the occupation, a common
sentiment shared among Chamorro survivors of World War II. For the people of Sumay,
they would have one particular experience that no other group on Guam would suffer –
the complete and permanent alienation from their home village and the subsequent
dispossession of land and other resources.

**Sumay Lost Forever**

Although Chamorros were subject to the whim of Japanese military personnel and
were forced to work and live by their mandates, they were allowed a limited amount of
freedom to move about the island and decide where they wanted to stay. This freedom
was not extended to the people of Sumay. The parade of people that pushed up the hill
away from Sumay during the December 8 bombing of the village was completely
unaware that this would be the very last time that they would set foot in the village as
they knew it. From the first day of the occupation, they were forbidden to enter the
village or to return to their homes to collect their belongings, with the exception of a few
who encountered sympathetic Japanese soldiers or Chamorro interpreters from Saipan. 77

A sentry was posted at the entrance of the village and anyone wishing to enter was

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77 Approximately seventy-eight Chamorros of the northern Mariana Islands, primarily Saipan and Rota, had
been sent to Guam to work as interpreters for Japanese occupying forces between 1941 and 1942. As
interpreters, their role was not only to interpret between the Japanese and Chamorro languages, but to carry
out any and all directives issued by Japanese soldiers as well. This often resulted in the maltreatment of
Guam Chamorros by interpreters during interrogations and the administration of punishment as demanded
by the Japanese. Though it has been effectively argued that these interpreters from the northern islands did
so under the threat to their own personal safety or that of their family’s, it has also been established that
some interpreters participated in the cruel treatment of Guam Chamorros willingly, for their own personal
gain, and even for their own entertainment. This experience has led to intense intra-cultural tensions
between the Chamorros of Guam and the northern Marianas that persist today. See Camacho, *Cultures of
Commemoration*, 237-246.
required to have a written pass. Some Sumay residents dispersed to other parts of the island where they had family networks with whom to take refuge. But for the great majority, they remained at Apla in makeshift shelters for the remainder of the occupation.

What did survive the bombing in Sumay was quickly claimed by Japanese forces. The village and its facilities were used for barracks, storehouses, and to carry out various activities. The beloved Santa Marian Guadalupe Catholic Church was converted to an auditorium and meetinghouse used for performances and other entertainment by occupying forces. Just as the American administration had recognized Sumay as a strategic location for commercial and military activity, so too did the Japanese. Apra Harbor continued to be used to house sea vessels and the coast of Sumay used for fishing activity. Perez, whose brothers obtained special permission to return to Sumay through a Chamorro interpreter from Saipan who happened to be their relative, remembers the devastating news they brought back with them to the lâñcho in Apla about what became of Sumay. Their large home and general-goods store had been seized and was being used to house comfort women imported from Japan to entertain occupying forces. Two additional homes that the family owned were being used to house Japanese soldiers. The homes, land, and possessions of the Sumay people had fallen into the hands of their Japanese occupiers and would never again be returned to them.

The occupation of Guam by Japanese forces would last nearly three years, and would come to an end in July of 1944. Prior to that, American advances in the Pacific had caused alarm among the Japanese forces in the region. Anticipating the battles with Americans for Guam that were to come, the Japanese began to concentrate the people at

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78 Ibid., 191.
camps throughout the island. The majority of Chamorros were marched inland to the

southeastern area of the island known as Manenggon. Viernes remembers:

We march day and night...in the rain, in the heat to Manenggon. People are so hungry and tired. They don’t even let us stop to drink water. If you’re too old or sick to make it, they make your family leave you at home or on the side of the road to die. If you get tired and fall down, they beat you. Lots of people die on the way up there...so exhausted or killed by the Japanese. When we get to Manenggon, all the people of Guam are in there. There’s no food...the water is dirty. We just sleep on the ground and weave coconut leaf for a small roof over our head. 8

The people were marched to the concentration camps unexpectedly and with no explanations as to why they were being moved. Some marched for days from the furthest areas in the northern and southern ends of Guam. There were those taken by the Japanese to transport munitions and other supplies to various posts, becoming separated from their families without any explanations or assurance of safety. Most Chamorros suspect that they were concentrated as part of a Japanese plan to exterminate the indigenous population before Americans arrived. This was a common suspicion throughout the islands of Micronesia where a “climate of mistrust” had provoked increasingly strict control over civilians to prevent any uprisings, espionage, or resistance. 81 Despite these speculations as to Japanese motives among the Chamorros of Guam over their concentration, many have argued that it was the key factor in their survival of the American invasion, the inland camps providing shelter from the bombardment and battles occurring on the coasts.

80 Ibid.
It was during these times that Japanese brutality reached its cruelest and most frequent levels, most apparent in the massacres that occurred throughout the island. Aggravated over the success of U.S. troops in the region and paranoid that Chamorros would side with American liberating forces, Japanese soldiers launched efforts to do away with any threat to their occupation. On July 15 and 16, some forty-six Chamorros from the southern village of Malesso’ were killed in massacres in the Tinta and Faha areas of the Geus Valley by grenade, machine gun, and bayonet. On July 19, Japanese soldiers killed thirty-four residents of Sumay and Agat in the area called Fena which lies between the present-day Santa Rita and Agat villages. Nearly 100 people were herded into caves at Fena, after which Japanese soldiers proceeded to throw grenades into the crevices. Tan Chong, a survivor of the Fena massacre, had this to say:

We were supposed to be dead with all the people in Fena...but we ran away in the middle of the night. I can tell you the suffering...the atrocity. I suffer so much at that time. Man ma konne’ nai, yan man mapuno’ siha (they took them, you see, and they killed them).82

Similar massacres occurred across the island. Just as Chamorro morale reached an all-time low, relief soon arrived.

Liberation Day

July 21 is celebrated today as “Liberation Day” on Guam and is done so with great enthusiasm. The holiday commemorates the return of American soldiers to the island in 1944, the defeat of the Japanese occupying forces, and the end of the occupation so vehemently mourned by those who endured it. While this day will forever be recognized as the day that all of Guam was liberated from Japanese rule, I find it
appropriate here to make brief mention of the first true liberation on the island that is so often overshadowed by greater understandings of Liberation Day.

On July 20, 1944, eight men in the southernmost village of Malesso' led a revolt against Japanese guards in response to hearing of the massacres at Tinta and Faha. Led by Jose "Tonko" Reyes, these men were able to overwhelm three Japanese guards at Tingting Hanom, after which they were able to help themselves to supplies and weapons. A fourth guard who had led a group of people back to the deserted village of Malesso' to gather food returned to the site, after which Reyes shot and killed him instantly. From Tingting Hanom, Reyes led his fellow villagers to the main Japanese camp at Atati near Malesso'. Together, they successfully carried out a takeover of the camp leaving ten

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Figure 29. Chamorro liberators of Malesso'
This postwar photo includes co-liberators Jose "Tongko" Reyes (front center), Vicente Meno, Patricio Taijeron, Nicolas Ada, Mariano Nangauta, Jose Nangauta, Juan Naputi, and Jesus Barcinas.
(From Guahan Guam: The History of Our Island)
Japanese soldiers dead and those who were not killed fleeing. After the take over, Reyes and his fellow villagers were able to secure the camp and fight off approaches made by any Japanese soldiers, maintaining their freedom from Japanese oppression until the full American recapture of the island. The people of Malesso’ stand out as both the first liberators and liberated people on Guam.

For the rest of the Chamorros of Guam, Liberation Day would come on July 21, 1944, when American troops landed on Guam advancing on Japanese troops who had abandoned the concentration camps to tend to the front lines. Viernes remembers the days leading up to the landing of Americans. “Every night, all we hear is BOOM, BOOM, BOOM! The siren is blowing far away. The Americans are coming in. There’s no more Japanese in the camp. They all go to fight the Americans.” After several days of fighting in the distance, the first American soldiers arrived at Manenggon and it became clear to the people that the war was over. Perez recalls:

One day we look out from our camp...the tent...and there’s three army soldiers passing by and we follow [them]...American...and then the soldiers said ‘please go back, even us we’re lost and we don’t know the place where we’re going.’ And we don’t listen to those people, we just keep on going, following them out of the camp.

Over the next couple of days, more and more American soldiers would arrive, leading the Chamorro people out of their concentration camps to refugee camps set up by the U.S. military. The people of Sumay were taken to a camp at Agat where they would be reunited with friends and family. These people, overjoyed at the return of the Americans and the subsequent end of harsh Japanese oppression, were unaware that more difficult times lay ahead. They simply rejoiced in the end of the war, thankful for having

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83 Viernes, August 5, 2007.
survived the first and only violent occupation of the island in their lifetime. Many looked forward to a new life with hopes of picking up where they left off and simply going home. This was not to be for the people of Sumay.

84 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
Chapter 3
Out of the Camps and Into Exile: The Aftermath of Liberation

In the months immediately following the recapture of Guam from Japan by the U.S., thousands of Chamorros remained in refugee camps throughout the island. Intensive bombardment of the island by American liberating forces left Hagåtña completely destroyed and much of the rest of the Guam in similar condition. Tan Chong remembers coming out of the camp at Manenggon and had this to say of the island:

After the war...there's not even one coconut tree standing. Everything is clear...mayamak todo Guam (all of Guam is broken)! Hagåtña...I cry. All the buildings – the courthouse, the palace... it’s all broken down...even the old cathedral. 85

As Chamorros poured out of Japanese concentration camps, they found themselves once again in camps, these established by the U.S. Civil Affairs unit at Agat in the south and Anigua on the outskirts of the capital in the central part of the island. 86 For the majority of Sumay people, it was at the Agat camp that they were to reunite with friends and families who had survived the war and celebrate their newfound liberation.

The immediate postwar months on Guam yielded great dilemmas for both liberating forces and the Chamorro people. Residents of Hagåtña, Sumay, Agat, Piti, Asan, and many other villages simply had no homes to return to, as their villages were completely destroyed in the battle for Guam. Village residents returned to the sites of their homes absolutely stunned at the complete erasure of their houses, churches, schools, and familiar landmarks. 87 What had survived the 1941 bombing of Sumay and the occupation years that followed was completely destroyed in the American capture of the

85 Concepcion, July 12, 2007.
86 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 244.
87 Ibid., 254.
island. The ruins of the village were razed by American forces and the entire site deemed inaccessible to civilians. The people of Sumay were not allowed to return to the village at this point, primarily because U.S. forces were fortifying the area at Orote Point and Apra Harbor in an attempt to secure fully the island. The people of Sumay were further instructed to stay away from the village, as there were many bodies of dead Japanese soldiers still rotting in the streets. The village was simply barricaded and civilians blocked from entering with no complete explanation as to why or for how long Sumay was to be off limits.

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88 Concepcion, July 12, 2007.
Tan Chong tells of a particular experience that illustrates the lack of communication and understanding between the military and the residents of Sumay. When attempting to reclaim what was left of her home in Sumay she encountered a military official near the site of her old house. “I told the captain of the army or the marines ‘that’s our house, we can still live there.’ And he said [while waving his finger in the air] ‘oh no, you can’t live there.’ Instead of giving us the house, they blow that house up!”

Without anywhere else to go, the great majority of Sumay people left the refugee camp at Agat in August of 1944 and took up temporary residence in Apla, the only other land outside of Sumay proper to which they had a legitimate claim to reside. Tan Beriña remembered leaving the Agat concentration camp on August 15, 1944, and had this to say:

My brother went to check their place in Apla and he found that everything was burned down, but there was space there that we could [use]. No shelter at all...we went down there that day and that’s it, we stayed there. We stayed there for, I forgot how long but it’s not too long...for a few months.

In the months that the people of Sumay stayed at Apla, it became clear that their home village was becoming more and more inaccessible. Regardless of the heavy construction going on in Sumay that they could view from the heightened position of Apla, there were no indications that they could return to what some assumed was being rebuilt for them. What they assumed would be a brief and temporary relocation to Apla was becoming more of a long-term living situation, most evident in the construction of a makeshift

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89 Ibid.
90 Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez, interview by Flora Baza Quan, May 24, 1993, interview FY93.xvii, transcript, Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, Agana Heights, GU, 5.
church and a school for children.91 Meanwhile, decisions that would impact the Sumay people taking refuge at Apla were being made by foreign men many thousands of miles away.

Resettlement, Compensation, and Rehabilitation

Unbeknownst to many Chamorro survivors of the occupation during the immediate post-war period, the U.S. military was taking deliberate and quick action to organize the entire island of Guam as a base from which to initiate attacks against Japan.92 Efforts to do so would lead to the inevitable seizure of certain land and waterways in the interests of launching successful air and sea attacks. With Apra Harbor being a natural deep-water port protected by the Orote Peninsula, which conveniently provided space for an ample airstrip, Sumay in its entirety was slotted for acquisition in the effort to secure Guam as a functioning military base. Portions of other villages were also seized, including areas in Piti, Agat, Yigo, Mangilao, and Hagåtña.

By the end of 1944, 1,500 acres of prime farmland on the island were slated for crop production and the raising of livestock and poultry for military consumption. The Cold War era that was to follow increased the military’s thirst for more land on Guam leading to the request of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz to the U.S. chief of naval operations in 1945 for an additional 75,700 acres or 55 percent of the island. Nimitz’s request for more land on the island was to include not only “those lands directly employed by the military forces, but additional land adjacent to the used areas to insure control of the total

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91 Ibid., 5
Figure 31. Land acquisition in Sumay
This August 1944 photo shows Sumay after it was seized and converted into an unloading depot for marine aviation supplies. The ruins of the Santa Marian Guadalupe Church are in the background. (National Archives 127-N-95243, http://www.npswapa.org/gallery/album04/B0747_G_Sumay, April 5, 2008)

areas for defense and security reasons and to provide for future needs, installations, and possible expansion.”

With the seizure of these lands came the issue of resettling those residents displaced and dispossessed. The criteria used by the Navy to evaluate compensation and resettlement claims focused solely on documented land ownership prior to the occupation. This criteria proved problematic as most, if not all Chamorros, had not maintained any paperwork documenting their land ownership throughout the invasion, occupation, and retaking of Guam. Furthermore, the longstanding landmarks that served

93 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 215.
as markers to outline plots of land had been virtually eliminated in the heavy bombardment of the island in 1941 and 1944.

In a memo dated February 19, 1945, the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, D.C., ordered the formation of the Land and Claims Unit to investigate claims and advise the Navy Department on the appropriate action to “effect the restoration of records of boundaries and ownership of all lands on the Island of Guam and to make preliminary investigation into claims resulting from military operations of the United States and Japan.”^94 The memo further recognized the responsibility of the U.S. Navy toward the rehabilitation and resettlement of the Chamorro people and authorized the Chief of Naval Operations to develop a plan to carry out that responsibility.

Despite what would appear to be a noble, humanitarian effort on the part of the U.S. Navy to assume responsibility for rehabilitating, resettling, and compensating Chamorros for their material and personal losses, the extent to which these efforts bore any sort of benefit to the people of Guam was minimal. Progress toward rehabilitating the island remained slow throughout 1945 and 1946, provoking the formation of the three-member “Hopkins Committee” in 1947. The committee was tasked with assessing the handling of reconstruction and rehabilitation in Guam, as well as in American Samoa. Headed by former Dartmouth College President Ernest M. Hopkins, the committee found that “in considerable number [the people of Guam] are dispossessed of home and lands which have been destroyed or taken from them and they are without adequate understanding of the processes by which to secure replacement or compensation for these.” The committee further found that the statute of limitations for filing claims for

lost land and property had expired by the time of its review, most Chamorros failing to file claims within the timeframe allotted for reasons most directly related to their lack of familiarity with the process. 95

For those who did file claims against the U.S. for losses suffered as a result of the war, compensation was often inadequate or forced upon claimants. The statute of limitations determined by the Land and Claims Commission was often viewed as a mechanism that worked to pressure claimants into accepting whatever compensation was being offered them, lest they find the timeframe for receiving any restitution expired. This is closely linked to what some have viewed as an “excessive urgency” by the Navy to complete its task of rehabilitation, reconstruction, and compensation given the limited funding appropriated by the U.S. Congress to complete the task. The shortage or altogether absence of private attorneys on Guam to represent claimants, as well as claimants’ financial inability to secure such services, has also been identified as a hindrance to adequate compensation. 96

Rogers puts forth an interesting analysis of post-war land acquisitions and compensation issues. In his estimation, federal legislation designed to address American military needs alongside those of displaced and dispossessed Chamorros were often “contrary to Guamanian interests when implemented” and led to the formation of administering bodies, such as the Land and Claims Commission, that became the “focus of Guamanian discontent.” Rogers cites ceilings placed on funding for property loss claims and on claims for death and injury as a primary factor in providing inadequate forms of compensation to claimants. He notes that only 217 property damage claims

95 Ibid., 18-19.
were paid by the time the last claim had been settled in 1957. Even at that, the largest amounts for property losses were paid to those of higher economic status holding large amounts of land prior to the war, including the Catholic Church, San Francisco trading firm Atkins Kroll & Company, and the Torres, Butler, Martinez, and Bordallo families. 97

Of the claims filed and paid out to those who suffered property damage as a result of the war, the determination of those amounts would stand out as a point of contention. The amounts paid were “modest,” as Rogers puts it, and were based on 1941 appraisals, despite the fact that by May 1947, prices on Guam had risen by over 100 percent above the 1941 levels. The navy justified such low compensation payments as necessary to avoid “ruinous and inflated land values...which would wreck the island economy.”98

The inability of the Navy to adequately address compensation claims among the survivors of the war is obvious in the experience of the people of Sumay. Wesley remembers the compensation offered to the people of Sumay as not being enough, not being fair, and varied depending on who was handling the claim. The compensation paid to her grandmother, for example, illustrates deficiencies in the amount awarded, as well as in the very process of determining adequate compensation. “My grandmother was saying, ‘how come [our neighbor in Sumay] has a thatch roof, we have a tin roofing, we have lights, and when the money came out, she has more?” As Wesley’s account suggests, the outcome of claims for compensation among the people varied depending on

96 Ibid., 24.
97 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 214.
98 Ibid., 215
what particular Naval government official conducted the claim interview and how he
deemed it most appropriate to process.\footnote{Wesley, June 25, 2007.}

Perez shares another anecdote that demonstrates inadequacies in the
compensation of the Sumay people. A visit between Perez’s mother and a neighbor
uncovers just how inadequate compensation was for many.

The neighbor came over to the house and was telling my mother how much
money he get from the land. He show a check that the military give him. And my
mother said “[how] you going to ride to [cash] that check?” And the man said
“I’m going to look for a ride.” \textit{Ya ilek-ña} (and she said) “you know, when you
hire a taxi to take you to Hagåtña to the bank, that costs more than your check.”\footnote{Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.}

The narrative shared by Perez uncovers a sad reality, one in which compensation offered
for land taken by the U.S. military pales in comparison to the mere cab fare it would cost
to travel just few miles in order to cash the check at a bank.

In the course of the research conducted for this work, those interviewed had no
solid figures to offer with regard to compensation they received for lost lands and
possessions. They simply expressed a collective sentiment of compensation lacking any
semblance of fairness, being devoid of any level of uniformity in the processing of
claims, and compensation proceedings reflecting an imbalance between what the actual
value of their lost land was and what the naval government deemed as appropriate
payment. As Rogers’ works so clearly points out, this was the case throughout Guam as
a whole at the time and would be a major driving factor in war claims that would be
asserted in the decades to come.
"Civil" matters

Immediately following the recapture of Guam by the U.S., no official announcements had been made and no documents drafted to make the seizure of Sumay an official act by the military. The directives and memoranda issued to make land seizures and resettlements of people "official," for the most part, speak collectively of the "Island of Guam" making no specific reference to particular villages or communities. The displacement and eventual resettlement of the Sumay people was simply mandated by the U.S. military personnel who issued verbal orders to the people with no explanations as to why they were prevented from returning to Sumay, why they would eventually be relocated to an uninhabited jungle area, or whether these actions were to be permanent.

It would not be until 1946 that any official documentation would emerge legislating the taking of not only Sumay specifically, but various other sites throughout Guam in the name of U.S. military interests. In 1946 the 79th U.S. Congress passed Public Law 594, also known as the Guam Acquisition of Lands act. The legislation states:

The Secretary of the Navy is hereby authorized to acquire in the name, and for the use, of the United States, by purchase or otherwise, land and rights pertaining thereto situated on or within the island of Guam [sic], including interests in fee, leasehold interests with or without option to purchase interests in fee, and rights-of-way and easements both temporary and perpetual for highways, drainage systems, water supply and communication distribution facilities, upon conveyance of title acceptable to him or to such other officer as he may designate...
The act goes on to appropriate the amount of $1,630,000 to carry out the acquisitions of land on Guam.\footnote{"Laws of the 79th Congress," \textit{United States Code Congressional Service}, (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1946), 768-9.} An additional $1,600,000 was appropriated in a brief section of Public Law 519 passed by the 80th U.S. Congress in 1948 for Naval Base Guam to support the mandates outlined in the 1946 legislation.\footnote{"Laws of the 80th Congress," \textit{United States Code Congressional Service}, (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1948), 235.} The language in both congressional acts remain vague as to what these millions of dollars would be used for, and most certainly make no explicit provisions for the compensation of those directly impacted by the acquisitions. The conditions under which land could be acquired “by purchase or otherwise” further set the stage for arbitrary and unjust acquisitions. It would not be long before “otherwise” would translate to an outright taking of land in the name of military interests.

Although the terms set forth by public laws 594 and 519 are unspecific, they were enough to justify a civil suit that would solidify the taking of Sumay from its residents, as well as portions of Piti and Agat villages. Civil case no. 5-49 “Naval Government of Guam vs. 2,471 acres or 10,000,000 square meters of land, more or less, located in the Municipalities of Piti, Sumay, and Agat, Island of Guam, Marianas [sic] Islands, Bordallo Brothers, Inc., et. al.,” was filed in the Superior Court of Guam at 3PM on November 30, 1948. In the suit, then-Naval Governor of Guam Charles A. Pownall, citing the authority granted by public laws 594 and 519, made the following declaration:

\begin{quote}
I, Governor of Guam, do hereby make and cause to be filed this Declaration of Taking and by virtue of the authority thereof do hereby state that the lands in and to which title in fee simple absolute is to be acquired aggregate 2,471 acres or
\end{quote}
10,000,000 square meters of land, more or less, in the Municipalities of Piti, Sumay, and Agat, Island of Guam, Marianas [sic] Islands...  

Pownall goes on to declare in the suit that

the sum of money estimated by me to be just compensation for the taking of such estate in the said lands, improvements thereof...is the sum of FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND AND No/100 DOLLARS ($450,000.00), which is hereby deposited in the registry of the Court for the use and benefit of the persons entitled thereto. I am of the opinion that the contemplated award for the taking of the said lands will be within the limits prescribed by law as the price to be paid thereto.  

Attached as “Exhibit A” to the Civil Case No. 5-49 filing is a list of what is referred to as ostensible land owners and the lot numbers assigned to the land to which they had a rightful and documented claim in Sumay. In total, 345 privately and commercially owned lots of land in Sumay were seized through the filing of Pownall’s declaration of taking dispossessing rightful owners of precious lands – a invaluable resource to Chamorros (see appendix A). The declaration further displaced many hundreds of Sumay villagers and would exile them to what was to become Santa Rita (see appendix B).  

Pownall, exercising his executive authority, not only secured the taking of significant amounts of land from its rightful owners through the suit, but determined the value of those lands based on a sum that he estimates as “just.” As expressed through various oral accounts, such amounts would rarely make their way to the people of Sumay. In the event that monetary compensation did get paid, such payments were far less than what the people of Sumay themselves considered “just.”

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103 Naval Govt. of Guam v. 2,471 acres or 10,000,000 square meters of land, et. al., Civil Case no. 5-49 (Hagåtña: Superior Court of Guam, 1948), 1.
104 Ibid., 5.
105 Ibid., 13-26.
Decisions on Displacement

As the U.S. Navy continued its efforts to rehabilitate and resettle the people of Guam on their own terms, the people of Sumay continued to live at Apla waiting for some indication as to whether they’d ever return home or be forced to make “home” elsewhere. By April of 1945, a meeting was called that would confirm fears that had grown among the Sumay people with regard to their village and any hopes of eventually returning to it. Tan Beriña was attending her daughter’s first Holy Communion ceremony at the Apla tent-church on April 21, 1945, when her son Ricardo came and interrupted her. He told her that a military truck had arrived to take all the people to Agat to attend a meeting. It was at this meeting that the people of Sumay were presented with two options: to take up residence in the village of Agat along with the original Agat people and form one community or to move to another newly developed site. The decision of relocating to Agat was one that the people of Sumay did not have to deliberate on for any significant length of time. The answer to the question was simply no.

It is important at this point to explore the objection by the Sumay people to creating one village with the people of Agat. This objection was made, not with polite withdrawal or for any clear-cut, simple reasoning. It was, on the contrary, an adamant refusal on the part of the Sumay people to take the U.S. up on its offer to relocate to Agat. Dorothy Perez Williams, Tan Beriña’s daughter, was just fifteen years old at the time of the meeting and still recalls the staunch objection put forth by the manâmko’ of Sumay:

[The Americans] wanted us to move to Agat and be one big village, but the people from Sumay didn’t want that. They were up in arms. They don’t want to

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106 Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez, 6.
move to Agat. No, they don’t want! I remember my mom and my dad...they were all discussing it. Put us anywhere, but Agat. They didn’t want to integrate with Agat people. I don’t care where we move, but you know, their generation...they didn’t want... 107

Williams’ memories point out an important factor in the decision-making exercised by the people of Sumay, however limited, in deciding on their resettlement location.

In terms of practicality, Agat would seem a suitable relocation site for the people of Sumay. Agat lies on the coast, providing access to the ocean and all its resources. There is also a significant amount of flat, fertile land in Agat that could provide grounds for agricultural subsistence living to which the people of Sumay were accustomed. And there remains the fact that the majority of families from Sumay share very close, traceable familial ties with those of Agat. Still, the general feeling was clear. As a collective, the people of Sumay preferred to remain separate from those of Agat despite the benefits of forming one community with them.
The decision of the Sumay people to decline resettlement in Agat is inextricably linked to long-standing tensions and rivalry between the two communities that has existed longer than any interview subjects in this study could remember. These tensions and rivalry have manifested themselves in many forms, ranging from pronounced and violent clashes between the two groups, to more subtle and passive forms of maintaining views of "otherness" toward the one another. As many manamko' will simply say when asked about these feelings, "it has always been that way." Hattori speculates that the tension and rivalry between Agat and Santa Rita are rooted in the nature of competition that existed within the clan system dating back to Guam’s pre-contact period. Prior to Guam’s organization into village communities revolving around the church, Chamorro society had been organized into clan systems made up of extended families. Competition between clans for resources such as land and food, as well as for political power and clout was common. Hattori contends that this competition and rivalry has extended into contemporary inter-village relations, most evident between village sports teams and in school gangs.108

The social discord, first between the people of Sumay and Agat, and more recently between the people of Santa Rita and Agat are representative of deeply embedded concepts of clan or community rivalry as Hattori points out. Clan competition that existed for centuries throughout Guam’s history persisted throughout the experience of displacement among the Sumay people, so much so that it strongly impacted what little decision-making they had in their eventual movement to Santa Rita. The will of the Sumay people to retain their own separate social identity is demonstrated in this decision,

107 Dorothy Perez Williams, interview by James P. Viernes, June 28, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam. 68
an illustration of the importance of community among Chamorro people and the role it plays in dealing with adversity and change.

*On the Slopes of Mount Alifan*

The meeting at which Tan Beriña and many other Sumay people voiced their decision to remain separate from the Agat community would pave the way for the resettlement of the Sumay people in what is now today Santa Rita village. Families were moved out of Apla to a new site on the slopes of Mount Alifan in the latter half of 1945. Prior to the war, this area had always been called Santa Rita, although the origins of this name are unknown. All that existed there was heavy jungle brush and wildlife. In 1945, the U.S. military began construction of temporary wood and thatched-roof duplex homes and began moving families at Apla one by one into the area as homes became available.

For the most part, the move to Santa Rita provided many Sumay people with a sense of stability they welcomed after years of occupation and constant moving from Sumay to Apla during the war and then from Apla to Manenggon to Agat and back to Apla through the liberation process in 1944. Although the houses they were moved to in Santa Rita were meager structures made of wooden debris and thatched roofing, they were a luxury in comparison to the makeshift shelters they had built at Apla. “The housing is a very suitable housing. It’s a wooden building...it’s like an apartment. One side is my cousin and her family and the other side is my sister and her family and me,” remembers Viernes.109 All of the first homes in Santa Rita were constructed in this fashion, with two family groups, often related to each other, living side-by-side. As years passed, families were offered the opportunity to purchase the lots on which these

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108 Anne Perez Hattori, in discussion with the author, May 7, 2008.
temporary homes sat, many of which are still owned by these family groups today in Santa Rita. Apart from this housing, however, there were many obstacles in Santa Rita that the Sumay people faced in creating a home in the new village.

Williams recalls the early conditions in Santa Rita, which at the time was referred to as a “temporary refugee camp for the Chamorros of Sumay.”

“They just move us up here,” Williams remembers. “When we first move, no plumbing. They have the community bathrooms, showers...when you want to take shower you go to that big long building where they have the showers and everyone’s using them.”

While not all Sumay residents had the luxury of modern plumbing in their homes, public showers and toilets in the center of the village were most likely a new thing to them. The lack of infrastructure in Santa Rita was also apparent in the haphazardly built roadways. According to Wesley, the roads were barely suitable for getting around on foot.

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111 Williams, June 28, 2007.
"Sometimes, when it's a rainy day, you have to get a bucket and wash your feet before you go into the church...it's so muddy." In Perez's estimation, the move to Santa Rita provided yet another hardship for the people of Sumay in the wake of liberation. With disgust in her tone, Perez simply expressed that there was "too much change...no food, no store, no money...no nothing" in Santa Rita.112

Apart from the living conditions in early Santa Rita being less than adequate, the location of the village itself posed a large challenge to its new residents. A 1972 article in the *Sunday NewsMagazine* asserts that "the Navy could not have chosen a worse site [to relocate the Sumay people] as most of the home sites were on a 45-degree slope and

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112 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
the land was for the most part untillable and mosquito infested." The prospects for salaried employment were virtually erased on Guam for all Chamorros during the immediate reconstruction period after World War II. However, for the Sumay people, their new village further complicated their situation in that there was essentially no suitable land to grow crops or raise livestock. Moreover, Santa Rita’s location in the foothills of Mt. Alifan and away from the coastline limited their ability to regularly harvest food from the ocean.

Wesley recalls the early days in Santa Rita noting, “we try to [farm and ranch] but it’s not that good. We try to plant a few vegetables, but it’s not the same as in Sumay.” Perez adds to Wesley’s account remarking, “nobody farms in Santa Rita. Fishing...[if] people go out into the sea and catch fish they have to walk, but it’s far. There’s no car...only the military got a car.” Without the prospects of continuing to survive primarily through a subsistence-based economy, the people of Santa Rita now were challenged with adopting new ways of supporting themselves. As Tan Chong so poignantly notes, “it’s different when we move up here...money, money, money. You have to have money. Everything is money.”

These differences stand out as a major turning point for the people of Sumay, as well as for the entire population of Guam that was recovering from occupation and adjusting to a new era in their lives. It is in these major differences between the pre- and post-war days that we can view the various modes of agency enacted by Chamorros in their efforts to accommodate immense change. I turn now to the various modes of

113 “Sumay: Annihilated Village” Sunday NewsMagazine, November 12, 1972, 2A.
115 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
agency carried out by the people of Sumay in adjusting to a primarily cash-based
economy in the interests of survival, as well as the many ways they developed a new
social and community identity in Santa Rita, one that was built upon and continued to
manifest all that made them *taotao* Sumay.

Chapter 4
A Phoenix Reborn: *i Tuotao* Sumay in Santa Rita

*Pacific Daily News* reporter James Herbert wrote in 1974, “Santa Rita is a phoenix reborn once from the ashes of war, reborn twice from the ruins of typhoons. Its history is full of violence — both natural and manmade — and each of its rebirths was accompanied by much agony.” Herbert’s poetic characterization of the village of Santa Rita and the “rebirth” that its history embodies speaks volumes to the ways in which an overgrown jungle *sabána* (mountain or hilly area) was transformed into a flourishing community. More importantly, it alludes to the active agency put forth by its residents toward this birthing process, not only in response to the war and reconstruction that warranted its birth, but also in the many challenges that arose in the years that followed.

In the refugee camp that eventually became the present-day Santa Rita village, the former residents of Sumay made active and notable strides toward not only surviving their displacement and dispossession, but toward creating a vibrant community that continues to exude an identity still so invested in their roots in Sumay. The economic struggles that were presented immediately upon their arrival in Santa Rita stood out as perhaps the greatest immediate obstacle toward recovering from years of violent occupation and immense material and personal loss. Moreover, the need to breathe life into a new community that would serve the emotional and spiritual needs of a people so connected through familial and social ties presented a large task for the people of Sumay. This chapter will explore the various modes of agency, that is, the proactive, intentional,
and calculated efforts carried out by the people of Sumay, now the people of Santa Rita, in adjusting to a rapidly changing economic environment in the name of survival. It will further examine the various efforts put forth and institutions conceived for the sake of developing a new communal and social identity that retained and manifested persevering connections to their origins.

I have, thus far, explored the experiences of the people of Sumay through a collective narrative in hopes of illustrating their shared encounters with displacement and dispossession. I find it appropriate at this point to step away from these collective considerations, at least briefly, to explore the ways in which they navigated abrupt and significant changes to their modes of supporting themselves and their families in the immediate post-war period. Through an gender-based approach to my explorations of agency with regard to this issue, I hope to fully demonstrate the ways in which both men and women carried out particular roles and made specific adjustments to what their roles had been previously in contributing to family income and support. As pointed out by Chamorro historian Pedro C. Sanchez with regard to pre-European contact society, "the Chamorros had an elaborate division of labor. Each man and woman had a role to play and each contributed to the good of all."  

The same applies in the early history of Santa Rita and holds true in the present.

A gender-based approach to explorations of Sumay is further appropriate at this point as it will address two popular perceptions about Chamorro men and women in Guam history that are often oversimplified or altogether false assumptions. First, my

118 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 13.
examination of the particular roles played out by men in the experience of the Sumay people will address false assumptions that Chamorro men were sedentary or altogether absent in the island’s more recent history. The Spanish-Chamorro Wars between 1670 and 1693 would initiate the island’s first documented, post-contact experience of mass death among the indigenous population. Rogers further identifies deprivation, disease, infertility caused by introduced illness, societal demoralization, and epidemics, all direct results of the arrival of the Spanish, to the near decimation of the Chamorro people.119

Alarmingly high death rates during the first colonial era in Guam’s history worked to promote representations of Chamorros as a dying or already extinct breed. Chamorro men were subject to this perception more so in that, as warriors, they were exposed to an added threat to life and higher rates of death by engaging in combat. This representation of Chamorro has contributed to their relative exclusion from written histories of Guam. Moreover, such representations of near total defeat and decimation have emasculated Chamorro men, constantly robbing them of their active agency in the island’s past.

The marginalization or altogether erasure of Chamorro men from Guam’s history has been embraced as a tool of colonizing administrations, most notably the U.S. naval administration of the island. The removal of Chamorro men from both Guam’s immediate landscape and broad history opened doors for other men to step in and take their place. As pointed out by Hattori, “with the erasure of men from the Chamorro landscape, Guam was feminized not only as a terrain from which men were literally absent, but also a space available for the colonial penetration of a masculine naval

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119 Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, 71.
establishment.” The casting of Chamorro men to the periphery of Guam’s historical and social consciousness further worked to position women as delicate and in need of a masculine counterpart that had otherwise become absent.

Situating women as delicate, and in turn weak, also contributed to changes in perceptions of their roles within society. Recognition of active agency among women in Guam’s history has become limited, focusing on these members of society solely as protectresses of culture and language. While women do in fact serve in this important capacity, accepting this as their only role in society limits the scope of women’s place in the community and discounts other important contributions they have made. The following are explorations of men and women’s particular contributions made and roles carried out in the experience of displacement among the people of Sumay. As will be made apparent, these particular men were neither inactive nor absent, and their female counterparts were not merely confined to the home with the sole mission of promoting culture and language.

**The Men of Sumay**

The new residents of Santa Rita found themselves now dependent entirely on a cash-based economy. They were no strangers to salaried employment, many of them having worked or had family members supplementing the family resources through employment in Sumay. The vast difference, however, was that they were now forced to make ends meet through employment alone, and the choices of employment were limited at the time. Both men and women were expected to contribute to the family income and

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did so through a variety of ways. The ways in which they did this were often new to
them and considerably different from the roles they played before the war.

The majority of men from Sumay, prior to the war, spent most of their working
hours on the láncho or fishing at sea. Even those who had salaried employment were
expected to contribute to subsistence activity that supported the family. The roles they
played in their community and within their family were clear, and they conducted their
work and led their lives along the lines of these particular roles. Their new
circumstances, however, in the agriculturally poor site of Santa Rita that was not within
close proximity to the ocean presented a need to readjust their roles as men and the ways
they would provide for their families and community. Thus, the pursuit of career paths
that were, for the most part, foreign to them became absolutely necessary. For a great
majority of them, they would find new career prospects through the U.S. Civil Service
and armed forces.

The late Juan “Ducket” Namauleg Perez supported himself and his family through
working for the Navy Civil Service. He additionally worked for the Government of
Guam’s Commercial Port following the establishment of the civilian government in
1950.121 Gregorio Muñoz Borja also worked for the Navy as a civil servant and would
later go on to serve in the U.S. Army as an active duty soldier between 1952 and 1954.122
Like Borja and Tun Juan Ducket, Tun Juan Texas became a civil servant and worked for
the Navy as a contractor and carpenter.123 These three men illustrate a trend throughout

121 Juan “Ducket” Namauleg Perez, interview by Flora Baza Quan, May 20, 1993, interview FY93.xv,
transcript, Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, Agana Heights, GU, 12-13.
122 Gregorio Muñoz Borja, interview by Flora Baza Quan, May 18, 1993, interview FY93.xiii, transcript,
Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, Agana Heights, GU, 8-9.
123 Juan Guzman Guzman, 9-10.
post-war Guam of men seeking employment through the public sector in direct
connection to the extreme decrease in agricultural lands on the island and the near end to
subsistence living among the people. The trend proves ironic in that men sought their
livelihoods and maintained them through the very establishments that displaced and
dispossessed them.

As Rogers notes, the labor force on Guam “shifted dramatically by 1950 in
correspondence with 1940. Before the war, the island workforce was 92 percent Chamorro,
of whom 53 percent were in agriculture. By 1950, 65 percent of the workforce was non-
Chamorro (mostly Filipino contract workers), and only 6 percent was in agriculture.”
Rogers attributes the major shift from agriculture-based work to public sector
employment among Chamorros to the practical end to the cultivation of staple food on the island and the ushering in of food importation from the U.S. continent. 124

Apart from seeking careers with the U.S. administration, the men of Santa Rita further contributed to the support of their community and families through serving as educators, role models, and political leaders. Borja served as one of the first teachers for Santa Rita’s elementary school where he contributed to the formal education of the village’s youth. 125 Tun Juan Texas also supported the educational needs of Santa Rita’s youth as a custodial member of the school’s support staff. 126 As the first mayor of Santa Rita, then referred to as a commissioner, Tun Juan Ducket spearheaded efforts to develop the village into a suitable home and community in the years following resettlement. He

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124 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 218.
125 Gregorio Muñoz Borja, 8.
126 Juan Guzman Guzman, 11.

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had been appointed commissioner in 1945 and was later elected by 99% of voters in 1948. Tun Juan Ducket served in this capacity until 1952 and later returned to the post in 1970 where he remained for twelve years.¹²⁷

Tun Juan Ducket stands out as a prominent leader whose many years as commissioner guided efforts to establish in Santa Rita all those things that make up a village on Guam – a church, schools, community center, small businesses, recreational areas, and so on. It is interesting to point out that all of the mayors that have served as leaders of Santa Rita have been former residents of Sumay, with the exception of the current mayor, Joseph C. Wesley, who, though born after the war, nonetheless is a direct descendant of former Sumay residents. There have been those who have come to live in Santa Rita over the years who have no direct lineage to Sumay and have vied for the office of mayor, but have done so without success. It is thought by many that those without such ties to Sumay have no hope of securing the office in Santa Rita.

Following the footsteps of Tun Juan Ducket, Borja took leadership of Santa Rita in 1989 and from then would serve multiple terms as the elected mayor of the village.¹²⁸ Borja contributed to the development of Santa Rita, not only as mayor of the village, but as an active member of various organizations, including the Holy Name Society of Santa Rita, the Santa Rita Church Finance Council, and the Archdiocese and Pastoral Council. The involvement of Borja and many other Santa Rita men in these organizations further strengthened the community in their contributions to the establishment and continual support of Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church in Santa Rita that continues to be central to the village and its people.

¹²⁷ Juan "Ducket" Namauleg Perez, 11, 13.
Bolja, along with many other men in the Santa Rita community, additionally assisted with the organization of the baseball little league team that to this day provides the youth of Santa Rita with the opportunity to excel athletically and socially. The baseball league in the village further promotes camaraderie and collaboration between many families in Santa Rita and stands out as a strong community organization centered on service and personal growth through sports. During the 1990s, Bolja would go on to serve on the Southern High School Task Force that later built the present-day Southern High School in Santa Rita, increasing its importance as a village within the island community as a whole. The organizations which Bolja led and in which he participated actively continue to be popular service organizations for men in Santa Rita today and stand out as key associations in everyday community life in the village.

The three individuals I’ve discussed thus far illustrate the contributions of the men in early Santa Rita as active supporters of their families and valuable community leaders and role models. They are living examples of the evolving roles of Chamorro men in Guam’s twentieth-century history during a time when abrupt change demanded dynamic adjustment in economic, social, and community modes of participation. It was a time in which men sought new opportunities and methods of supporting themselves and their families through careers in the Navy’s civil service, as active duty members of the armed forces, or through other avenues. Doing so was not merely a way to establish a fulfilling

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128 Gregorio Muñoz Borja, 9.
129 Ibid., 9. Southern High School opened its doors in 1998. The Håya, or southern, District of Guam including the villages of Santa Rita, Agat, Umatac, Maloilo, Inarajan, Talofofo, and Yona had previously been divided into two separate districts served by the former Oceanview High School in Agat and Inarajan High School. The districts were unified into one with the opening of Southern High School where public-school students from the entire southern area of Guam are now educated.
and successful career. It was, rather, more directly related to what was necessary to support themselves and their families in a new era of economic development for Guam.

As demonstrated, the men of Sumay swiftly readjusted to a cash-based economy immediately after the war pursuing new career paths. The career prospects that were previously limited to more subservient positions as cooks, clerks, and laborers had now expanded in these post-war years, opening opportunities for many men to pursue careers and positions that had the potential for advancement. As active community and political leaders, as well as role models for those in the village, the men of Santa Rita provided the necessary support to foster the community’s growth and its development as a suitable place to live and thrive.

*The Women of Sumay*

Women too did their part to contribute to the family income and the very development of Santa Rita into a flourishing community. With regard to their participation in the cash economy, many of them assumed positions that they wouldn’t have otherwise had access to before the war. Prior to the occupation of Guam, the primary jobs open to women were positions as laundresses, maids, store clerks, and for those with the privilege of advanced education, nurses and teachers.¹³⁰ Viernes recalls a particular event in which the women of Sumay would be given opportunities including and beyond these limited positions. She tells of a time when a Civil Service recruiter visited Santa Rita not too long after the people of Sumay were resettled there. The recruiter was assessing which individuals were eligible or interested in working for the civil service. In 1945, Viernes was hired as a File Clerk for the Navy Supply Center

¹³⁰ Williams, June 28, 2007.
(NSC), a position she remembers as something totally foreign to her, but one that allowed her to learn new and useful skills. Many opportunities such as this became available during the reconstruction period on Guam providing women a chance to maintain their roles as active contributors to their families.

Prior to the war, women were often kept close to home or within earshot and the watchful eye of family or close familial friends. They had either worked in the home, alongside family on the lancho or fishing, or among family friends at wage-based jobs close to home. An unescorted, single woman in either a social or work environment was culturally, religiously, and socially unacceptable. Viernes and many other women, however, ventured into new territory with the jobs made available to them after the war, oftentimes surrounded by white civil service personnel or other Chamorros who may not have been known to the family. While unsettling and unfamiliar at first for many, it was a necessary adjustment that needed to be made in the interest of supporting the family as a whole.

Women contributed to the family income in other ways beyond seeking paid jobs. Perez contributed to the monetary income of her family, not through wage-based employment, but by using her crafting ability to earn money. Perez recalls working with her mother and sisters to make various crafts from akaleha (African snail, land snail) shells including purses, jewelry, and other decorative items. When Perez later married and her husband retired, she began selling Chamorro baked goods to contribute to what had become a fixed household income. Entrepreneurship through baking and

craftsmanship became a popular career choice for many women in Santa Rita. Tan

Chong’s experience mirrors that of Perez’s. As she recalls,

> I was a person who knows how to do [things]. I make titiyas (Chamorro tortillas),
> I make empanada (meat pies)...anything I can sell to help my husband’s salary at
> the time. When somebody have a party, have baotismo (christening), they order.
> I could make fifteen dollars every weekend.\(^{133}\)

As Tan Chong and Perez’s experiences demonstrate, women were able to take their

individual talents and apply them to creative ways of earning cash for the family.

In addition to seeking paid employment and pursuing small-business ventures,

many women registered for courses at night school in Santa Rita to improve various

skills. Many women earned certificates of completion for various courses of study that

trained them in both domestic and academic disciplines (reading, writing, arithmetic).\(^{134}\)

With this knowledge, women were able to enhance their skills and abilities in both the

home and workplace. Whether working in the home or for an outside employer, women

actively sought out training to improve their ability to serve where needed most.

Prior to the war, education for most men and women alike ended in the sixth

grade. From there, boys and girls took on the responsibilities of helping with family

subsistence in the form of ranching, fishing, household maintenance, or through wage-

based employment. However, in light of changing circumstances surrounding the loss of

farming, ranching, and fishing resources, many Sumay women found themselves back in

the classroom to develop the skills necessary to be productive in their new environment.

Wesley’s experience as one of the first teachers in Santa Rita provides a glimpse

into changing notions of women’s roles in the Santa Rita community, as well as

\(^{132}\) Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
\(^{133}\) Concepcion, July 12, 2007.
Figure 38. Women in the classroom
These women of early Santa Rita display certificates awarded for completing courses in sewing. From left, Amelia San Nicolas Babauta, Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez, Barcellisa Noda Mesa, Tomasa Cruz Diaz, Engracia Cruz Diaz Pangelinan, Dolores Camacho, and Engracia Borja Perez Diaz.
(Photo courtesy of Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez)

throughout the entire island of Guam in the post-war years. After the war, Wesley returned to school and completed her education up to the eleventh grade, after which she was asked by the superintendent of schools to teach in Santa Rita. She recalls changing attitudes toward women and education during this period, remembering that in Sumay, “once you finish the sixth grade, that’s it! Some people say no [to girls going further than that], because they’re going to start writing letters to their boyfriend. Good if they even

134 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
come as far as sixth grade!” After the war, however, Wesley remembers a significant, albeit somewhat slow, shift in which more and more women went back to school. There can be various factors contributing to the significant number of women returning to school. Just as restrictions on unescorted women entering the workplace became more lenient for various reasons, perhaps attitudes toward limiting women’s education too had to become more lax for similar reasons. It can be assumed that their pursuit of education was rooted in the need to learn new ways to contribute to family income and support. Some might even speculate that a lack of other activities during the post-war years drove women back to the classroom, the hours in their day no longer filled with labor on the ranch or in the ocean. Whatever the reason, pursuing education beyond what had traditionally been the norm demonstrates active agency among women as the changing times dictated that they adjust to the newly introduced cash economy in order to support their families.

Apart from venturing out into the work world and into the classroom, women served an important role as spiritual leaders in early Santa Rita, a trend that continues in the present. Western notions often position priests as the unequivocal leaders of the Catholic Church and the primary consolers of its followers. While many priests throughout Guam appear on the surface to embody these notions, closer examination will reveal a more complex leadership structure within the church in which women hold and exercise a significant level of power.

The role of the techa (prayer leader or director) stands out as a place within the community holding a level of prominence and commanding a certain degree of reverence.

and respect. Techas serve in a leadership capacity by exercising their faith according to the traditions of both religious dogma as well as cultural influence. In doing so, they set an example and enforce appropriate protocol for the community to follow in church matters, which sit at the center of community life. Techas further serve as leaders in their close working relationship with parish priests. Chamorro scholar Laura Torres Souder describes the role of the techa as “[working] hand in hand with their parish priests to

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136 More specifically, a techa (usually, but not exclusively, a woman on Guam), leads prayers in the form of family and public novenas, rosaries for the dead, and other prayer groups. The techa must be highly skilled in the recitation of numerous prayers and songs, most often in the Chamorro language. S/he is responsible for leading in a particular stylistic manner that is most evident in the distinct rise and fall in pitch and tone throughout any given prayer or song, similar to what some argue to be pre-European contact Chamorro chanting styles.
fulfill diverse community needs.” 137 Techas’ many responsibilities include: cooking for resident priests and the entire church community; preparing and cleaning the church for both regular services and annual feasts or liturgical seasons; serving as church secretaries; and coordinating and teaching eskuelan pâle’, or the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD). At one point, Santa Rita was known throughout the island as having the largest number of techas. 138 This abundance of prayer leaders suggests that women actively participated in church life in Santa Rita specifically, contributing to the overall spiritual needs of the villagers of Santa Rita.

The power of techas over the spiritual needs of the Santa Rita people is further evident in the establishment of the Todong na Tinayuyut (deep prayer) group. Organized in 1980 by parish priest Rev. Daniel Cristobal and the church’s techas, the group was sought out by village residents encountering hardships within their families. The ten-member group of techas synchronized together on a set date and at a set time to pray for various intentions. Many believe that “the very sick have mysteriously healed, divorces are mended, and accident victims recover” because of these women’s prayers. 139 Villagers have placed their hopes in the prayers of these women, trusting in their intimacy with God and their power to obtain for them an array of special intentions. Many would assume that a priest would be viewed as the closest representative to God whose prayers might be most influential. Rather, it was in the techas of Santa Rita that the people invested their hopes and gained a more secure sense of faith and spirituality.

The dependence of the Santa Rita villagers on the prayers of these techas clearly illustrates the importance of women to both the church community and village as a whole.

The women of Sumay, as members of the workforce, entrepreneurs, students, and techas, made remarkable contributions toward the support of their individual families, as well as to the development of Santa Rita as a thriving community. Like their male counterparts, these efforts would promote the transition of just living in a temporary refugee camp to making a life in a newly created village community that would become home to them. The combined efforts of these men and women would further develop a social identity, one that was both new and unique, but retained a close, personal, and deep connection with all that made them taotao Sumay.

*Identity, commemoration, and perseverance*

The most visible and central source of community identity in Santa Rita today is the Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church that sits literally in the center of the village and metaphorically at the center of everyday life. The church serves as a social center where villagers gather to worship, celebrate, socialize, mourn, commemorate, and collaborate through daily masses, fiestas, social organizations, and customary practices associated with births, deaths, and marriages. While primarily catering to the Catholic community in Santa Rita, it would be difficult to find any villager who does not, even on the most minute level, participate in church-centered activities, as they are so interwoven with living the Chamorro culture.

Under the direction of Fr. Mel McCormack and with the assistance of military personnel in 1948, the people of Sumay living in the temporary refugee camp called
Santa Rita would begin construction of a permanent structure that would later become Our Lady of Guadalupe Catholic Church. Prior to this effort, a temporary church structure had been erected in Santa Rita, but a series of typhoons had weakened it. The people of Santa Rita, desiring a permanent structure for their church, began to build on a lot in the village, despite “technical difficulties” that had hindered the official deeding of the land for such purposes. The land was eventually assigned to the church and would become the site of the fourth church erected in the post-war period on Guam.  

All labor to build the permanent church was voluntary and would earn the name “happy labor.” Men, women, and children in the village would come together to construct the church without any compensation. Out of a sense of devotion, respect, and faith, the church was erected and would represent a sense of pride, hard work, and
community for the people of Santa Rita. It was finally completed and dedicated on December 14, 1952. Its construction represented cohesion that became "a symbol of a flourishing parish community." 141

The naming of the church stands out as an important indicator of the people’s sense of identity and devotion. Each village on Guam, since the Spanish administration of the island, recognizes at least one patron saint for whom villagers hold an annual feast day. The village of Santa Rita itself is named after St. Rita of Cascia, an Italian Augustinian nun who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is the only village on Guam for which the entire municipality is named after a saint. Nonetheless, the people of Santa Rita chose not its village’s namesake as the primary patroness for the church. Instead, the Virgin of Guadalupe, or Sánta Guadalupe was chosen as the village’s main patroness after whom the church would be named.

The Sánta Guadalupe had been the patroness of the former Sumay village since 1856 when a statue of the saint was brought to the village from Pago where a smallpox epidemic wiped out most of the population (see chapter one). It is believed to have been brought to Guam by Fr. Luis Diego de SanVitores in his 1668 mission. 142 A few years after Our Lady of Guadalupe Church was established, St. Rita was added as a second patron saint of the village. 143 Even today, the fiesta in honor of the Sánta Guadalupe is recognized as the “main fiesta” or largest celebration, while the fiesta in honor of St. Rita is smaller and called my some a “mini-fiesta” in comparison.

148 "New Church to be Dedicated in Santa Rita Today," Umatuna St Yuus, vol. VI, no. 50, December 14, 1952.
142 "Images of Our Lady," Dedication of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 11.
Maintaining their devotion to the Sánta Guadalupe as the patron saint, and the eventual adoption of St. Rita as a co-patroness demonstrates intimate connections among the people of Sumay and Santa Rita to these saints for various reasons. While there is no documentation on the reasoning behind the selection of various saints as patrons among Guam’s villages, the deep devotion to particular patron saints for various reasons can be an indicator of particular experiences of village communities and how each carried on through such experiences. The Sánta Guadalupe, for example, is recognized internationally as the patroness of the Americas, having appeared to an Aztec by the name of Juan Diego in sixteenth-century Mexico. But this patronage holds little, if any, relevance to the people of Sumay and Santa Rita. The saint is recognized, rather, for her role as the mother of God. She is further recognized as the patroness of unborn children. St. Rita is implored as the patron saint of the impossible, an advocate of hopeless cases, and the patroness of abused wives. These particular areas of patronage recognized for each saint would play an important role in the spiritual well being of the people of Sumay through their experiences, further solidifying the Sánta Guadalupe and St. Rita’s places of prominence within the community.

The retention of the Sánta Guadalupe, a mother herself and a protectress of unborn children, by the people of Sumay in their new village points to the importance of family that is so central throughout all of Chamorro society. Devotion to St. Rita as the patron of impossible and hopeless cases, as well as for those experiencing struggle in their families further alludes to the people of Sumay and Santa Rita as community who hold the institution of family in the highest regard, especially during times of difficulty or

even hopelessness. It is no wonder then that, through their experience of displacement and dispossession, they would maintain their devotion to patron saints that protect family and can provide divine intercession during times of adversity and hopelessness.

The extent to which the people of Sumay invest their identity in the *Santa Guadalupe* is expressed in a 1978 *Pacific Daily News* article that articulates the close connection the people of Santa Rita to both their patroness *Santa Guadalupe* and to roots in Sumay. The article covered a ceremony held to commemorate the dedication of a statue of the Lady of Guadalupe to be placed in the Santa Rita church. One-hundred former residents of Sumay and their families gathered to place candles at the statue’s base. As it was moved up the main aisle of the church, parishioners held onto streamers attached to the statue, representing their emotional tie to Sumay. Once placed in its niche, the streamers were cut to symbolize the people’s new home in Santa Rita, after which parishioners each kept a small portion of their ribbons. “This establishes a
connecting bond between the people and our statue,” stated Rev. Cristobal. “It shows they are still attached to our Lady.” Cristobal goes on to connect the attachment of the villagers to their patroness, saying that the attachment overall is to Sumay village. As noted in the news article, the ceremony was held to “ease the minds of displaced villagers who ha[d] not called Sumay home in 35 years.” 144

The retention of the Sànta Guadalupe as the patroness of Santa Rita demonstrates the continual connection the people of Santa Rita hold to their identity as taotao Sumay. The celebrations in honor of the patroness further serve as an avenue to not only commemorate their roots in Sumay, but to celebrate their continued connections to one
another. Each year in December, the 
*fiesta Santã Guadalupe* (feast of the Santã Guadalupe) is celebrated in Santa Rita on the Saturday closest to December 12, the actual feast day. Nine days of novenas are held and on the final day, a high mass is celebrated and officiated by the archbishop of the island. A *lukao* (procession) is held in which a statue of the Santã Guadalupe is pulled through the village on a wagon adorned with flowers and garlands. The celebration ends with feasting and music on the church grounds. The *fiesta* continues on the next day with family feasts throughout the village.

Each year, without fail, mention is made during the homily and in commemorative prayer cards and other material given out to attendees about the origins of the patroness and of the history of movement from Sumay to Santa Rita. The *fiesta* serves as an avenue to remember, commemorate, educate, and celebrate the people of Sumay and Santa Rita. It is perhaps the one social event held in Santa Rita where villagers gather for the sole and common purpose of celebrating one unifying and binding symbol of their shared roots and history.

Another religious celebration occurs once a year and is, perhaps, the most important event for the people of Sumay and Santa Rita. On November 2 of each year, Catholics throughout Guam celebrate All Souls’ Day to pray for, honor, and celebrate family members who have passed away. Masses are held in each of the Catholic cemeteries around the island. People gather at the gravesites of their family members, clean the area and headstones, adorn it with flowers and candles, and pray for the souls of the dead. For the people of Sumay, this is the only day that they are collectively allowed

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144 Debbie Burton, “Santa Rita Saint Shared with Former Sumay Villagers,” *Pacific Daily News*, December
to return to the site of their old village and spend time at the graves of those who died before the war.

It would not be until 1961 when the people of Sumay were permitted to return to the cemetery to celebrate All Souls' Day, two decades after they fled their homes during the World War II Japanese invasion of Guam. An interruption to this now long-standing religious and cultural custom came following September 11, 2001, when the U.S. launched its war on terror. The gates to Naval Station were closed to civilians and the people of Sumay were not allowed into the cemetery again until a couple of years later. Arrangements to celebrate All Souls' Day must be negotiated months in advance and there are no guarantees that the Naval commander will continue to welcome the people of Sumay in their efforts to honor their dead. People must now gather in Santa Rita and be

bussed into Naval Station after arrangements are agreed upon by the mayor of the village and naval authorities.

Like the *fiestan Sánta Guadalupe*, All Souls’ Day is a time for the people of Sumay to remember their roots and shared connections. It has also become a platform on which to grieve their loss and express the sorrow that has failed to ease with time. As expressed by Tan Beriña, “every November 2 we always feel so sad about going down to see the graves of our dead.”¹⁴⁵ Tan Chong adds that, “every time I go down to Naval Station and I go to the cemetery, I always cry. We go down on All Souls’ day, I could still see the people...my neighbors. I can go from one end to the other and I know all those people.”¹⁴⁶ Guzman angrily adds, “we are supposed to be free to go down there! Why do we need to go in and sign our name that we are from Sumay to go down and honor our dead?”¹⁴⁷ The feelings shared by these former Sumay residents demonstrate that the wounds imposed by their displacement, dispossession, and continued alienation from Sumay have not subsided with time.

In a 1978 news article, Rev. Cristobal notes, “the longing, a melancholic feeling, is what Sumay people feel,” going on to add that “you could say the people are in exile still. They feel lost. They are not allowed to be buried in the cemetery with their ancestors.”¹⁴⁸ Ancestor adoration, or what some have called “worship,” has long been a part of Chamorro culture. Prior to the European introduction of cemeteries, the remains of family members had been buried beneath the home, reflecting the deep connections of individuals to a specific place, even in death. All Souls’ Day is recognized as an official

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¹⁴⁶ Concepcion, July 12, 2007.
¹⁴⁷ Juan Toves Guzman, June 26, 2007.
Government of Guam holiday today. In 2002, I Mîna’ Bente Sais na Liheslaturan Guåhan (the 26th Guam Legislature), in an effort to alleviate budgetary strains, passed Public Law 26-157 to reduce the number of government holidays from sixteen to ten. American holidays of little or no relevance or significance to Chamorros were removed from the list of recognized government holidays including Martin Luther King Day, Presidents Day, and Columbus Day among others. All Souls’ Day, however, remained on the list of recognized holidays speaking loudly to the significance of ancestor worship that is persistently practiced on the island today.

As has been established, other obstacles hindering ancestor worship by the people of Sumay continue, most directly related to stringent military regulations. The inability of the people of Sumay to honor their dead or to be laid to rest among them stands out as a devastating blow to their cultural, spiritual, and emotional familial and community connections. Rev. Cristobal eloquently expresses the disconnection imposed on the people of Sumay from their ancestral ties, noting the pain felt over not being able to be laid to rest alongside their family members. Moreover, Rev. Cristobal’s characterization of the people of Sumay as those in “exile” provides an abrupt reality check to more sterile accounts of these villagers being “relocated,” “resettled,” or simply “moved.”

For the people of Sumay who are still living, All Souls’ Day is a time to not only remember and pray for their dead, but a time to maintain their close connection to the physical space called Sumay and to those that share a common identity as taotao Sumay. Moreover, the annual celebration provides younger generations from Santa Rita a chance to escort their manâmko’ to the village where the oral tradition that keeps Sumay alive

can be passed on. I remember many All Souls' Days in Sumay, where my cousins and I would stand alongside our grandmother at the graves of her father, brother, and nephew. She, like many of the remaining people of Sumay, have aged significantly over the years. The annual trek to Sumay proves a physical hardship, yet they continue to return to the village each year without fail. Their resilience and commitment to preserving their custom has provided for those in younger generations, such as my cousins and I, the opportunity to understand our origins and the specific ties that bind us to those standing on neighboring graves.

Having attended the All Souls' Day celebrations at Sumay many times, and only now critically reflecting on the experience, I see many things that position this particular day as central to the lives of those who participate. It is, after all, the one event out of the entire year lasting only a couple of hours when a very distinct and discreet group of people come together for one common purpose. The majority of those attending have never themselves lived in or been to Sumay as it existed. Many are middle-aged adults or teenagers who drive their parents or grandparents to the event. Still, a very real sense of community persists. It is one where Sumay itself, the memories of life there, and the memories of the journey that ultimately exiled its people serve as a fervent social cement binding those who are a part of this community. Further, the All Souls' Day celebration is indicative of a very real and living cultural community in which those who have never been to Sumay come face to face with those, both living and dead, who hail from the village. A sense of pride in shared origins is nurtured through this community, linking many who might otherwise not be connected.
Outside of church activities, there is one particular place that the people of Sumay can gather on a regular basis. The Santa Rita Senior Center provides facilities for manåmko to gather for social activities, as well as to receive various services available to them from the Government of Guam. Activities for the manåmko had previously been conducted in the community center, but a new center was built and dedicated in 2004 providing senior citizens with their own space and upgraded facilities. It was moved to a lot adjacent to its previous location primarily because the new location had a prime view of where Sumay once stood. Today, many former residents of Sumay spend their days at the center, not only socializing with their fellow villagers, but taking time out to sit and take in the view of Sumay from a distance.
In addition to religious celebrations and social gatherings that preserve the memory and connection to Sumay, there are physical reminders of Sumay that grace the landscape in Santa Rita. At the center of the village sits the Santa Rita-Sumay Peace Memorial Monument just across the street from the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church built in 1988. It is a concrete monument fashioned in the shape of an *acho' latte* or *latte* stone.† Atop the *latte*-shaped structure are rifles and military helmets, representative of those who died in the recapture of the island from Japan. On one side of the memorial are an etching of a white dove to symbolize peace and a bronze plaque reading in part,

† *Acho latte/latte* stone – large limestone and basalt carvings made by pre-European contact Chamorros. The carvings consist of two pieces: the *tåsa*, a hemispheric capstone made with limestone with its curved side down and the *haligi*, an upright slab of limestone or basalt from three to twenty feet high. The *acho latte* was used as the foundation of homes for high-ranking families or of men's houses and canoe sheds. They also indicate the site of ancient gravesites as ancient Chamorros buried their dead at the base of the
“Santa Rita-Sumay Peace Memorial: This memorial is dedicated to the Chamorros of Sumay Village and all those who died during World War II.” On the other side of the memorial are another white dove and bronze plaque, this one reading in part, “Hafa Adai. This location is the original Santa Rita Village entrance, established in April 1945 by the U.S. Naval Government as a WWII temporary refugee camp for the displaced Chamorros of Sumay Village.”

A large physical reminder of Sumay was slated for construction as a result of numerous urban renewal projects that were started on Guam in the aftermath of Typhoon Karen in 1962. The storm caused island-wide destruction and need to rebuild a great majority of the island’s structures. On August 14, 1972, a legislative resolution was adopted requesting the U.S. Navy’s assistance in constructing a housing development within Santa Rita to be called “New Sumay.” The resolution, asserted that “no other community and no people suffered more than those of Sumay, it being the first town bombed and strafed by the Japanese..., its people receiving the worst and cruelest treatment...” It further declared that “upon the liberation of Guam and the reinstitution of the Naval Government, no community suffered more at the hands of the new government—the people of Sumay being removed from the community in which they had lived for generations...”150 In an effort to provide some consolation to the people of Sumay for their suffering, the resolution called for the construction of a 200-acre housing subdivision in Santa Rita for the sole purpose of “assisting the people of Sumay in reconstructing their old community.”

The resolution assisted in the successful construction of the subdivision, but for reasons that are unclear to many, the naming of the community as “New Sumay” would never become solidified despite the expressed provisions in the legislation to do so. Instead, the community was named Santa Rosa Subdivision. It is currently known throughout Santa Rita simply as Hyundai, named after the Hyundai America Corporation that was contracted to construct the subdivision. While it is sad that such a large and visible project never fulfilled the initial intent of assisting the people of Sumay with reconstructing their old community, even on a minimal and symbolic level, the legislative resolution passed in 1972 demonstrates the local government’s recognition of the Sumay experience as one that is in need of awareness and reconciliation.

Less obvious physical monuments memorialize Sumay. In the outskirts of Santa Rita proper, in the area known as Talisay or Apra, is Sumay Memorial Parkway. The street runs through a main section of Santa Rita’s outskirts that includes two of the village’s three schools, a park, and many homes. The name Sumay has even been retained by a handful of businesses located just outside of the Naval Station main gate in an area recognized as being within the municipality of Santa Rita. Three restaurants use the name Sumay as identifying marks. First, there is the Sumay Grill bar and restaurant. Then, there are the fast food chains whose locations in the area are referred to as “Sumay Taco Bell” and “Sumay Pizza Hut.” These particular businesses, while using the name Sumay to give a geographical location of their restaurants, indirectly promote an awareness that a place called Sumay once existed, and indeed, exists on some level in the present.
A more recent expression of the history, memory, and experiences associated with Sumay and Santa Rita has been shared through the song “Kantan Sumay,” written and performed by Helen Claveria-deGuzman. Born and raised in Santa Rita, Claveria-deGuzman is the daughter of the late Ana Perez Claveria, formerly of Sumay and Santa Rita. “Kantan Sumay” tells the story of the eviction of the Sumay people and their resettlement in Santa Rita, but also speaks to notions surrounding the importance of memory, tradition, and perseverance. The following are the lyrics to “Kantan Sumay,” presented in their entirety with English translations\(^{151}\):

\[\text{Kantan Sumay}^{152}\]

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{Verse I} & \\
I mimorias giya Sumay & The memories of/in Sumay \\
Mampos na mahålang na lugåt & A place we dearly long for \\
Ya ni ngai’an na ti bira hit tätte & A place we will never return to \\
Sa ti ha sedi i fidiåt & Because the federal [government] won’t allow it \\
I kilu’us ni ma sodda’ & The cross that they found there \\
Sientos âños i idå-ña & That is one-hundred years in age \\
Ya ma po ’lo i kilu’us & They put the cross there \\
Guihi gi mismo na lugåt-ña & There in the place that it belongs \\
\textit{I sirimonias giya Sumay} & The ceremonies that were held in Sumay \\
I diha sais gi Nubiembre & On the sixth day of November\(^{153}\) \\
Ya ni ngai’an ta fan malefa & We will never forget \\
Ya ta ha hahasso ha’ siempre & We will always remember \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{Chorus} & \\
Todos hanyo ni taotao Sumay & All of you people of Sumay \\
Hahasso i manga’chong-miyu & Remember all your friends/companions [from Sumay] \\
\end{tabular}

\(^{151}\) Lyrics transcribed and translated with the assistance of Andres Santos Viernes and James E. Arriola. The English translation provided may not be a direct or literal translation, but expresses varied, metaphorical, and layered meanings as is common in the Chamorro language.


\(^{153}\) In reference to the dedication of Sumay Memorial Park on November 6, 1983.
Ya maseha man mapos todo  
Uno hamyo para todo i tiempo  
Even if they may all be gone one day  
You will always be one for all time

**Verse 2**

I park ni' i ma plānu  
Para i kilu' us propiu guatu  
I taotao Sumay yan Santa Rita  
Para ma hahasso ha' ta'lo  
They planned a park  
For the cross to have a proper place there  
So the people of Sumay and Santa Rita  
Can remember/think back again

Ayu pāpa iya Sumay  
I sumen riko na lugāt  
prosper  
Lao ni’ håfa u ta chogue  
Sa’ man hålom i fidirāt  
Down there in Sumay  
A place that is rich where livelihoods  
But there is nothing we can do  
Because the federal [government] has come

**Chorus**

**Verse 3**

I mimorias giya Sumay  
Ya i manaigue na manâmko-ta  
I kustumbre gaigi gi kurason-ta  
Maseha manaigue hit gi lugāt-ta  
The memories of Sumay  
And all our elders who are no longer here  
The customs will be in our hearts  
Even though we are gone from our place

I tumuge’ este na estoria  
I Taotao Sumay asaguâ-ña  
Ya malago’ na hu tungo’ håyi  
I na’ân-ña si Lole Lizama  
This story is written  
By the wife of a man from Sumay  
And I want you to know who she is  
Her name is Lole Lizama

**Chorus**

“Kantan Sumay” makes special reference to the centuries-old cross that marks the former location of the Catholic Church in Sumay as discussed in chapter one. The lyrics express a deep connection to the cross as a symbol of the physical, spiritual, and emotional space that still exists despite Sumay’s erasure from Guam’s maps. The song further expresses the longing of the Sumay people for their village, as well as the importance of memory in keeping Sumay alive for both its former residents and the

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154 Reference is made to Dolores “Lole” Lizama, the wife of a former Sumay resident, to attribute the origins of the story that the song tells.
people of Santa Rita who share common origins and ties to the prewar village. The chorus, ending with the line "uno hanyo para todo i tiempo" (you will always be one for all time), makes prominent the connectedness and oneness of those who call themselves taotao Sumay. The reality that the people of Sumay will soon be gone is also conveyed, further communicating the need to continue commemorative ceremonies and customs and the passing on of memory so that Sumay is never forgotten among the coming generations.

The physical reminders, celebrations, and expressions of Sumay that I have discussed can be easily dismissed as either backdrops to busier everyday village life or simply infrequent revisits of a history that is confined to a period long gone. But the very fact that Sumay, as a place, an identity, and a history remains so prominently visible in Santa Rita illustrates the will of taotao Sumay to maintain a close and real connection to their village. Santa Rita has become established as a village like any other on the island, yet its identity, manifested both physically and through its modes of commemoration and celebration, continue to strongly tie itself to Sumay. Rather than asserting itself as a physical and social space that is solely "Santa Rita," the village and its people hold firmly to notions of being "Sumay" at the same time. Public celebrations, the annual trek to the cemetery on All Souls' Day, and the subtle appearances of the name "Sumay" among businesses, on street signs, and in song continually memorialize Sumay in the present forever giving life to what would otherwise seem to be a place and community long gone.

My retelling of history through the memory and the assertion of identity by those who lived through it thus far has laid the ground for closer examinations of how these
histories, memories, and identities have been constructed. Explorations of these constructions of memory and identity are needed to foster a more critical and responsible analysis of the past than I myself have constructed to this point. It is appropriate then, to take a closer look at what these constructions of memory tell us and how they impact the many ways in which we see ourselves today. To do so, I now turn to specific interpretations of this past by those who lived through it. It is in their interpretations of what has unfolded and their strong feelings about the outcome that we can better position ourselves to make sense of broader issues of history and memory.
Chapter 5
History, Memory, and i Taotao Sumay: Interpretations and Reflections on the Past

The overall experience of the people of Sumay of eviction, war, liberation, and displacement is one that has conjured up mixed and varied emotions. Interpretations of such a complex and eventful history among those that experienced it are not simple, nor can they be employed in gaining any narrow understanding of the past. To illustrate this, I explore briefly the concept of liberation among the people of Sumay. The varying ways that the people of Sumay interpret their liberation alongside their displacement and exile are worthy of examination. They are revealing of the ways these people have encountered history, and ultimately, the manner in which they choose to remember and retell it.

For the people of Guam, the reimplementation of U.S. rule and all that came along with it stood out as a largely preferred choice to Japanese occupation. Thus, for the people of Sumay, their displacement and dispossession cannot be dismissed as either a "good" or "bad" thing altogether. They were, after all, a price paid to put an end to the immense suffering imposed on them by the war. The liberation of Guam, then, can be effectively positioned as that which ultimately left Chamorros, especially those of Sumay, settling for the lesser of two evils. World War II has been constructed as a bridge that connects two distinct and drastically different periods in Guam’s twentieth-century history. Memories of the prewar days are forever preserved in a perfect state where there were no problems and no suffering. It was a time when everyone helped each other out and kustumbren Chamorro (Chamorro custom) lived strong. It was a golden era that most from that generation look back on with a deep and romanticized idyllic nostalgia.

109
The war, then, stands out as a rocky and treacherous bridge over which Chamorros were forced to cross into a new era in their history. On the other side awaited freedom and a modern Guam so unlike anything that existed in prior years. This linear view of history as a successive parade of colonial regimes neatly organized into prewar, wartime, and postwar periods has shaped recollections and the sharing of memory. For the people of Sumay, this freedom and wave of modernity were all too bittersweet, as they stood alongside the loss of their homeland.

The complicated nature of liberation on Guam and all that accompanied it has been described as the “interworkings of memory, history, and identity through an official discourse of Liberation Day.” It is a discourse where the memories of Chamorro survivors and American soldiers alongside politically motivated jubilation of the U.S. return to Guam fabricate a story of Chamorro patriotism and loyalty to their American liberators. Meanwhile, wounds among Chamorros caused by postwar land condemnations, unaddressed war reparations, the continual colonial status of the island, and the impact of rapid economic and social growth on culture remain unhealed. These enduring wounds have led to challenge and opposition to that discourse of liberation that has become so embedded in Guam histories.\(^{155}\)

This intricate and complicated nature of liberation discourse and any false notions of wholehearted patriotism and loyalty among World War II survivors becomes clouded by the multifaceted responses among the people of Sumay. There are many former Sumay residents whose feelings toward the U.S. and liberation reinforce the

generalizations made in the discourse. Wesley, for example, notes that the people of Sumay and Guam as a whole were happy to see the Americans return to Guam in 1944 for it truly was a liberation from a traumatic occupation. She remarks:

Oh in the beginning, you know, to tell you, we are glad, because [the Americans] are here to help us. We really need them. We are used to them, and you know, that’s the life we have been [living]. Coming to liberate us...we’re real happy. We see them again...everybody’s jumping! 156

Viernes shares Wesley’s sentiments, further commenting on the Americans return as a welcomed event and justifying the seizure of Sumay as a price, however costly, that had to be paid to end the suffering during the war and ensure that such a history never repeats itself. She notes:

For people that don’t understand the situation, and in my thinking at my age and with things going on nowadays, without the Americans being involved, we are a very easy target to be taken down. Guam is a very small place. They could come in and take over like in 1941. They could just attack and it won’t take long. Guam needs an ally...needs somebody to watch over them. 157

Julia Duenas Borja, while saddened over her exile from Sumay, shares Viernes’ notions that its loss was a just price for ending the Japanese occupation. She notes,

Oh yeah, if they let us go back...if they said go back, I’ll go back, we’ll go back. But you know, we cannot go back, because I want protection too for ourselves, you know. For example, the military protecting us from things that are dangerous for us. I don’t hate the statesiders because this and that, you know. 158

Viernes, Wesley, and Borja’s comments express a very prevalent affinity for the U.S. held among the generation of Chamorros that experienced World War II. This affinity, while a natural response to the experience of occupation and liberation fuels a

common (mis)conception of Chamorros altogether as loyal, patriotic, and docile subjects of U.S. rule. It supports what former U.S. Naval Governor Willis Bradley articulated in 1929:

The people of Guam are loyal to the United States, very patriotic, and extremely appreciative of the benefits which have come to them. They understand the tremendous advantages which have accrued to them through their close connection with the United States Navy and desire no changes which might jeopardize this title of friendship and confidence.¹⁵⁹

The issue of Chamorro patriotism, however, is layered and there is no unified or overarching consensus among any one group to either support or refute such strong allegiances. Responses to U.S. rule and the histories that have resulted are as varied as the particular experiences that make up these pasts.

There are many Chamorros of the World War II period who question American motives in recapturing Guam against widely held interpretations of their return as “liberation.” As Pangelinan expresses, “This [navy]…I hate it! They’re not coming over

here to liberate the place. They need it because it’s for their homeport. Liberation is not for the Chamorro people!”

Wesley adds:

Nowadays...us that knows about it, is getting hurt. They’re still using our land, they’re coming... here’s where their main force is, here’s where they’re doing it. Look at all the space they are taking. Andersen [Airforce Base]...it’s bigger I think than Agat and Sumay combined. All those beaches, those good beaches...and they still own it! And even the place they’re not using...they still don’t want to release them.

Despite decades of time that have passed and the relative peace that Guam has been blessed with, the experience of war and the price of liberation have yet to be reconciled for the people of Guam who continue to wait to be compensated for their material loss and suffering. Concepcion notes with sadness in her tone, “I hope that what [Congresswoman] Madeline Bordallo is trying to accomplish for the reparations of the people during the war...I hope that will get through. If they give me some of that money, at least I could give my family. I don’t even want my children to worry when I pass away.”

Just as sentiments toward Americans as “liberators” varies among the manamko’ of Guam, so too do the attitudes among the people of Sumay toward their displacement and exile. For the majority of them, the ideal situation would be to return to Sumay. Like Pangelinan, there are others who harbor feelings of anger or resentment toward their exile and the U.S military who initiated it as part of the liberation process. Guzman notes:

I feel bad about it...I feel very bad about it. The place I was born, the place I was raised...I still call Sumay my home. I don’t care whether the navy is going to

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159 Qtd. in Hattori, “The Navy Blues,” 15-16.
stay there ‘til the duration of the end of the world. ...still to my heart...Sumay is my homeland and Sumay is my best place.'\textsuperscript{161}

While Guzman feels “bad” about his exile from Sumay, it is interesting to note his responses to the U.S. use of those lands and how that has changed his connection to them. He notes,

\begin{quote}
Before, it’s not contaminated. Now that it is used by the US government, I’m sure it’s contaminated. But I like the young generation to remember that their grand, great-great grandparents...they suffer so much for the future generation. Even though the navy comes and take your land...they can have it. Just give me what it’s worth because I can’t go back there and plant. All their oil, their cement...the land is useless now!\textsuperscript{162}
\end{quote}

Guzman’s statements stand out in contrast to more widely held feelings of desire to return to Sumay if given the chance. He notes the contamination of land in Sumay as a result of its development as a naval base and admits clearly that the land is of little use or value to him. For Guzman, while Sumay will forever be considered as his ideal homeland for which he sustains a love and affinity, it is not a physical place that he desires to return to in the present. Guzman’s sentiments demonstrate that variations exist among the people of Sumay and their assessment of their displacement, exile, and attitudes toward the U.S. military.

Wesley points to another interesting sentiment held among some Chamorros with regard to the cost of their liberation. As she remarks,

\begin{quote}
they move the Vietnamese over here...we feed them, we help them. The Filipinos...there are more Filipinos here, but that’s nothing. Let them come. We don’t deny people...but the Americans are still doing that to us!\textsuperscript{163}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{161} Juan Toves Guzman, June 26, 2007.  
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{163} Wesley, June 25, 2007.
Wesley refers to the influx of Vietnamese refugees during the Vietnam War and the large numbers of Filipino laborers who came Guam after World War II and continue today to come to the island for work. She asserts that the people of Guam do not deny others while the U.S. continues to deny Chamorros of what they deserve or what rightfully belongs to them. Pangelinan adds, “when I pass [by Naval Station] I saw that they made more and more... put some fence. How much more they going to take? They give back Tiyan, even Nimitz Hill, even up in Santa Rita near Naval Mag...but not to us. I don’t understand.” Both women express a sense of distaste for American practices that seem to favor one group over another, despite sacrifices made by either side.

Through the varying feelings of loss, grief, anger, resentment, disgust, and ambivalence, there is one unifying factor among the people of Sumay. Their experience is one they willingly and enthusiastically share with the generations that have followed. They do so as a means of continuing their genealogy of *i taotao Sumay*, of presenting to younger Chamorros a life lesson to learn from, and of perpetuating a legacy that they leave behind. As Perez puts it, “I hope that you children will never try that experience...I was so disgusted. I’m so disgusted with the Japanese and even the Americans. They move us and we don’t know why they’re moving us.” Concepcion adds, “no more...no more people from Sumay. We are very few that are left. When I pass this world, I hope that at least one of my kids will remember where we come from, where

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164 Pangelinan, July 15, 2007. Commentary on Tiyan, Nimitz Hill, and Santa Rita refers to “excess land” that has been returned by the federal government to either original landowners or the Government of Guam. The return of federally held lands on Guam deemed “excess” by the U.S. was facilitated by Public Law 103-339 enacted by the U.S. Congress on October 6, 1994. The law provided for the return of excess lands by the federal government to the Government of Guam for public use in the form of schools, hospitals, parks, child-care centers, etc. Subsequently, *I Mina Bente Singko na Liheslaturan Guåhan* (the 25th Guam Legislature) passed Public Law 25-45 on May 24, 1999, to create the Guam Ancestral Lands Commission. The commission is tasked with passing title of federal excess land back to original landowners or heirs.

115
they come from.”(emphasis added) The people of Sumay, as Wesley puts it, have chosen, either consciously or unconsciously, to retell their history. The very experiences they have endured have shaped what and how they have chosen to remember, and perhaps more importantly, the ways they have articulated those memories to those who have come after them. These particular ways have no doubt shaped the resulting understandings of Sumay and its people’s history.

165 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
166 Concepcion, July 12, 2007.
It is clear through the statements of the people of Sumay that they yearn to return to a Sumay that existed in 1941 — the year they spent the last night in their home village and awoke one morning to the coming of war. What existed then has remained stagnant in their minds, a memory of a time passed that they go on longing for so many decades later. Nostalgic memories of Sumay and the longing they continue to feel for the village as it once existed are strong themes in the history of Sumay as it is told by its former residents. Equally strong are the selective memories that are shared, most often those centered on fond recollections and lacking in any memories of hardship, adversity, or struggle before the war. As told by Pangelinan, “even nowadays when I fall asleep and I feel like I’m dreaming, I still dream of Sumay. Like before, like what I’m doing in the past time that I’m staying Sumay, what I’m doing...I still always remember that.” She goes on to note with a tone of seriousness that ended in chuckling, “I’ll never forget about it until I die...or until my mind is loose!” She said while laughing, “in case they say that we can go back, right away...we go back right now! You can drive me!”

Perez also looks back fondly on Sumay with a strong sense of longing and desire to return. “It’s never the same as when we left Sumay,” she states. “Still up to now, I miss that place. When we’re staying in Sumay, it’s not hot like this...all the time it’s cool because the wind is blowing from the sea. Every time we want to swim...whatever we want is down there. I wish I can go back everyday.”

There exist a great many scholarly works that explore the construction of memory and the ways that construction creates history. Laurence Marshall Carucci provides interesting insight in his exploration of memory in the Marshall Islands. He argues that

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“people’s recollections of the past are far narrower than their memories – that there is a sort of contextual compartmentalization in terms of which residents package and formulate their historical consciousness depending on relatively short-term symbolic ends.”170 Carucci, making clear that the formulation and packaging of historical consciousness is neither false nor politically reactionary, goes on to argue that “recollections look outward to link interpretations of the past with occurrences of the present.”171 These provide an interesting basis for considerations of Sumay and the memories that taotao Sumay choose to share.

Carucci’s argument that memories are packaged and formulated based on short-term symbolic ends relates to the people of Sumay in that those memories they choose to share achieve a very specific purpose or end result. Having endured a very traumatic displacement and exile, it is not surprising that the people of Sumay formulate and package their memories in such a way that those who receive them recognize Sumay as a place and space that existed in all the splendor and beauty of prewar Guam, a time abruptly ended and forever gone. The idyllic nostalgia with which they create and package their memories works to preserve Sumay in the present as a place of magnificence that will forever live on in such a light. This is not to say that there is no truth to the way they choose to remember Sumay or in the ways they express their recollections. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize the ways their memories have

169 Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
171 Ibid., 82.
worked to preserve Sumay in the present and how this particular memorialization of the village will foster its continuity.

Paul Connerton provides additional insight on social memory that can be applied to the Sumay experience. With regard to commemoration, he argues,

a community is reminded of its identity as represented by and told in a master narrative. This is a collective variant of what I earlier called personal memory, that is to say a making sense of the past as a kind of collective autobiography, with some explicitly cognitive components.172

The many ways in which the people of Sumay have maintained and passed on their identity as taotao Sumay truly have been heavily based on a “master narrative” and “collective autobiography” as Connerton calls them. The many commemorative ceremonies, monuments, and expressions discussed in chapter four speak volumes to the overarching story through which the people of Sumay continue to draw connections to each other. They not only manifest, but also perpetuate a collective understanding of past experiences and those things that they wish to pass on from such experiences.

Carucci and Connerton are just two of many widely recognized scholars whose work informs a deeper understanding of memory and its place in what is known as history. What brief excerpts of their work I have presented here are representative of a large discourse that demonstrates that history is truly more than just a successive series of dates, places, and names. Memory itself serves as a driving force in the development and understanding of history as a whole, and in many cases, does so far more effectively than some written texts.

The holding on to Sumay as it existed many decades ago before it was destroyed is a prevalent way in which its former residents choose to both remember it and discuss
it. This is most clearly evidenced in the ways that its former residents continue to talk about it in the present tense, as if Sumay is still there as it was in 1941 in the distance from their homes in Santa Rita. To the people of Sumay, the place and the ways they see themselves fitting into that place have not changed over all these years. Sumay continues to live on in their memory as if it was never destroyed, and they continue to see themselves as very much a part of that place. Their ways of thinking and talking about Sumay as if it still exists, perhaps, alludes to the reality that it will never cease to exist so long as those that remember it choose to keep it alive. Herein lies the power of oral history and the ways that memory breathes life into it.

*Reflections of a third-generation son of Sumay*

It was late in the afternoon of July 30, 2007, and I was scheduled to fly back to Honolulu early the following morning. I had been on Guam for the past three months having completed the first year of my MA program at the University of Hawai‘i and spending the entire summer conducting my interviews and research for my thesis, among other things. Some cousins, friends, and I had piggy-backed into Naval Station with our relatives who had military IDs to spend the day at Gab Gab Beach in Sumay, a place we spent many afternoons whenever we could sneak onto the base after Mass on Sunday or on a day when we had nothing else to do. This beach had been the site of many family parties over the years, where my grandmother would walk along the shore and tell us stories of how she had played and fished in these waters as a child, and how the large holes in the cliffs just off the shore were left from the bombs and bullets during the war.

I had slipped away for a while from the shoreline and headed down the road in a pick-up truck to take a seat on the cement stairs that led into the Sumay Cemetery, a site I had visited constantly throughout this trip home. It seemed only fitting that I ended up here on my last day in Guam after spending so much time researching and conceptualizing my thesis topic that was rooted in the very soil upon which I sat. It seemed an appropriate time to be home and researching the years just prior to, during, and after World War II on Guam. Just a few days earlier, I had celebrated the sixty-third anniversary of Guam’s liberation from Japanese occupation alongside friends and family on the parade route in Hagåtña. Village floats adorned with island flora and fauna, traditional carabao carts carrying people in native wear, entourages from various island businesses, Chamorro activists protesting, and U.S. military marching units paraded down Marine Drive — a revealing display of Guam’s history and contemporary cultural and socio-political persona.

Throughout the months I was home, public ceremonies, TV specials, masses at the sites of massacres, and other commemorative activities filled the weeks leading up to Liberation Day. It was a time when the memories of Guam’s manamko’ who endured the wartime experience took center stage. These memories voiced inspirational stories of survival and endurance, of which the generation of World War II survivors take great pride. If there were any time on Guam when people, activities, and mindsets were completely focused on the period of time I am so deeply captivated by and one that I intended to study, it was right then.

While sitting there and gazing into the graveyard, a flurry of thoughts ran through my head as I tried to soak everything in, my impending departure getting closer and
closer by the minute. As the breeze blew through the overgrown grass and the broken headstones peeked out, I felt an eerie silence wrap around me. An immense weight, which I had sensed throughout my field research but never really acknowledged, seemed to press down on me at that very moment. I had always realized the importance of this work to myself and my family, but after meeting in person with so many manāmko’ from Sumay and being blessed with a glimpse into their rich, complex, and inspirational pasts, it became clear that this work was no longer just about me and my academic pursuits. As word spread throughout Santa Rita and beyond that I was researching Sumay with the intent of producing a thesis-length history of the village and its people, expectations grew and anticipation for the finished product swelled. Even though the thesis would not be completed until almost a year later, I was constantly asked about it. “Boy, where’s your ‘book’,” my grandmother would ask every now and then referring to my thesis. “Dude, that’s solid! When we going to read it,” I was asked by many cousins and friends at barbeques in the village or over drinks in the bars. What had started off as a mission to fulfill an academic requirement for the University of Hawai‘i for very personal reasons became a responsibility to produce a work that embodied the true spirit of all those so closely connected to the history I had sought to uncover and retell.

When I decided early on in my graduate program to pursue Sumay as a thesis topic, I had done so simply because it was a history that I felt needed to be told and one that had received little attention outside of Santa Rita. I had simply sought to retell the history of Sumay as it was relayed to me by the people who once lived there, and in doing so, provide a resource for others to draw from for their own intents and purposes. The aim of this thesis has changed and evolved since then, and as I write this final
chapter it is interesting to look back on the transformations in focus and intent that occurred against what has actually made its way onto these pages.

First and foremost, this work has been my attempt to take those stories that have been told to me throughout my life and give them some level of continuity here in this written form. In the field of Pacific Islands Studies, it is a given these days that oral history is in fact a valid and effective, if not primary, way of "doing" history among the many islands and peoples in Oceania. Ethnographic approaches that promote the foregrounding of oral history accounts seem a more appropriate expression of Pacific societies than those so heavily reliant on published texts that are, more often than not, outdated and written by those from outside of the Pacific. In the words of Tongan scholar Epeli Hau‘ofa, "social realities are human creations, and...if we fail to construct our own realities other people will do it for us."¹⁷³ Hau‘ofa’s firm belief in history for and by Pacific Islanders further promotes a practice of history that reconstructs the past using those tools, methods, and epistemologies that are “our own.”

In addition to the importance of oral history as an appropriate and effective way to know and share Pacific pasts, this thesis has sought to provide a glimpse into a past that is absolutely essential to knowing the present and the future. At the Micronesian Voices in Hawai‘i conference held in Honolulu, Hawaii, a founding father of the Federated States Micronesia spoke to this notion. In his April 4, 2008, address for the conference, Andon L. Amaraich, lead negotiator for the first Federated States of Micronesia Compact of Free Association, said (loosely quoted) people get so wrapped up in today and worrying about

¹⁷³ Epeli Hau‘ofa, “Pasts to Remember,” We are the Ocean (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press), 60.
tomorrow, they forget about yesterday. Amaraich eloquently pointed out the present and future, or “today” and “tomorrow,” should not be the sole focus at the expense of “yesterday,” or the past. His wisdom speaks volumes to the history of Sumay and its people, an important history for those on Guam to know as they continue to encounter and interact with military and other federal bodies.

Throughout this thesis, I have hesitated in giving too much voice to any canonical texts, except where necessary to verify factual information. I aimed to constantly use the voices of those who call themselves taotao Sumay as my primary resources, drawing from that which they saw, heard, felt, smelled, and tasted firsthand in their experience of displacement and dispossession. Indeed, they provided richly detailed and enlightening accounts that no book could ever express. It seems ironic here to hail oral history as the superior means of knowing the past while at the same time confining these rich accounts to permanence on paper. This is, however, but one expression of many oral histories that I hope will sustain a past that, in reality, will be taken with those who witnessed it as each passes on.

Although my primary goal began with a focus on documenting oral history, and to some extent, remains the same as I near the completion of this project, I found myself pulled in many other directions throughout my writing process. I leaned toward issues related to injustices of military land acquisition and compensation, the legal and political ramifications of what happened to Sumay, the construction of memory and identity, and many other areas of focus. It became clear to me through my explorations of the oral accounts that were relayed to me that there were very specific components of these

174 Andon L. Amaraich, “Compact Negotiations, Expectations, Hopes” (Micronesian Voices in Hawai’i 124
memories and the manner in which they were told to me. Through guidance from some advisors, I began to toy with the idea of history and memory, more specifically, the construction of memory and how such constructions shaped understandings of history.

The memories of the Sumay people that I myself absorbed over many years during my upbringing shaped the ways that I conceptualized and understood my own family history and the history of my village community. I have never lived in Sumay. I have no concept of what life there was like. What is left of Sumay physically bears very minimal semblance to the village that existed prior to its destruction. There were no texts readily available that discussed Sumay at length for me to read. All I had were the memories of those in my family and community that were passed down to me. Still, those were enough to instill in me a sense of what had transpired in the past and to develop my own framework for understanding it. In 2001, I wrote the following:

Beloved Sumay

The soil our fathers once nourished gave birth to the sweet gifts that sustained us
And the sapphire sea once kissed the golden shores that encompassed us.

Now Big Navy’s barbed wire fences embrace what we once called home
And the waters that meet the sand are now stained by the entrails of your passing aircraft carriers.

When the skies turned gray that December day we ran towards the refuge of the forest canopy

conference, Honolulu, HI, April 4, 2008).
never knowing that
we’d never look back.
Then bayonets and treaties
pushed us up into the hills
looking over the
home that once was and was
never to be again.

Our bitter tears spilled
in silence.

Now orphans stolen from
the only mother we knew
a new home we had to adopt.

Decades later
an orphan passes
as each day becomes night
Faint memories
are laid to rest.

Out of sight
far beyond the sentry’s gate
in the hills accepting defeat
your red white and blue
can fly proudly now.

But never forget
that as your flag pole
pierces the ground we once
cherished
forever in our souls flies
only the spirit of
Beloved Sumay.175

To my surprise, this poem was published and became a reading component at the
University of Guam in Guam History courses, as well as in English composition and

literature courses. I thought it odd and rather unsettling for many years, wondering how any work of mine could be used by faculty in their efforts to educate. I hadn’t completed any advanced academic degrees, nor had I developed any sort of impressive background or experience that could validate me as a writer worthy of discussion in a university classroom. Moreover, the poem was based solely on what I knew of Sumay from my upbringing and was surely not based on any sort of extensive research or ethnographic inquiry. Only now, however, as I write this final chapter do I realize that the very memories I have so extensively presented through this work and have forefronted as my primary research sources not only inspired my writing, but also serve as any validation for the sentiments I expressed in the poem. The memories that inspired “Beloved Sumay” opened wide the doors to viewing a complex and captivating history within a framework that shaped my understanding of and approach to history as an academic field and career path to pursue.

Beyond my own personal journey of discovery through uncovering the history of Sumay as it is remembered by the people of the village, it is my hope that this work will serve as a useful tool for anyone who has either heard the name Sumay uttered somewhere along the way, or to any descendant of taotao Sumay who may want to know more than what s/he has so far heard. In addition to serving as a historical reference tool, it is my hope that this work will speak to Chamorros in the present about the very matters that are pressing on the island today. With announcement of the U.S. military decision to relocate thousands of marines and their dependents to Guam, questions about potential displacement and dispossession abound. However cliché or simplistic the notion of

176 “Beloved Sumay” has been used in Guam History (HI211) courses by Professor Anne Perez Hattori and
history repeating itself may be, it goes without saying that current plans to increase
military presence on Guam and the potential aftermath do bear a striking resemblance to
the acquisition and the subsequent exile of its people. To what extent will the history of
the Sumay people and their experiences resurface in the present as the U.S. military
continues to firm its grip on Guam?

Connections between the current military build up and what transpired in Sumay
hit hardest among many of the Sumay people, the memories of their eviction in the name
of military build-up still fresh. When asked if she supported plans to relocate more
military troops to Guam, Perez had this to say:

   No! I don’t like it, because we’re full already in here. I don’t know where
they’re going to put them. Somebody was asking me, if they move you
again...esta (already) I’m tired of moving! They move us from Sumay to Apla,
Apla to Manenggon, then to Agat and back to Apla...then to Santa Rita. Before
they move me again, it’s over my dead body.177

There is no way to determine whether the current military buildup will have the same
impact that it did on the Sumay people over sixty years ago. Yet there are those who
argue that newer forms of displacement and dispossession await the people of Guam and
Micronesia should the military follow through with its plans for a mass influx of troops to
the island.

In a public presentation delivered at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa,
Chamorro scholar Lola Quan-Bautista argued that the military build up would instigate a
rise in the cost of living on Guam. She further speculated that, because rent payments for
military personnel are guaranteed by the Department of Defense, landlords on Guam
would begin to prioritize military renters, preventing the local population from obtaining

in Rhetoric and Composition (EN400) courses by Christopher B. Garcia.
128
adequate housing. Quan-Bautista argues that these factors create the potential for the displacement of Chamorros and other groups residing on Guam.\textsuperscript{178} As so eloquently noted by Oelke who is referenced in chapter one, “today, our island seeks development from the promised influx of military forces; however, caution should be exercised as we move forward to becoming the ‘tip of the spear.’ The past experiences of Sumay prove that spear tips can be broken and never repaired.”\textsuperscript{179} Quan-Bautista and Oelke’s statements are telling in the caution they advise about increased military presence on Guam. Anyone with questions as to the potential impact fulfilling military interests can have on Guam need only look at the histories outlined here, as well as the many more that make up Micronesia’s history of encounters with colonialism and militarism.

It is my hope that this thesis will serve a purpose on multiple levels – whether as an oral history resource, an commentary on the relationship between memory and history, a closer exploration of what seems to be a solidified and finalized wartime history, or a tool that informs approaches and interpretations of current issues facing Guam and Micronesia. Regardless of its reception or the eventual purpose it may go on to serve, I can say with unwavering confidence that it has served one key purpose so far, that being a call to remember Sumay for what it was and what it still is today, and more importantly, the key actors in its history. As argued in the previous chapter, there are many things throughout Santa Rita’s landscape that continually memorialize Sumay and the people who call themselves taotao Sumay. At the very least, it is my hope that this thesis itself will add to the list of those things that keep Sumay alive. The day is fast approaching

\textsuperscript{177} Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, June 14, 2007.
\textsuperscript{178} Lola Quan-Bautista, “Homes, Households, and Communities among Federated States of Micronesia Residents on Guam” (Public presentation, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, November 26, 2007).
when the last member of taotao Sumay will leave this life, taking along all those memories that have been so important in keeping it alive through all these years.

But they will not do so without having left their mark for the coming generations to follow, who will thereby become taotao Sumay in their own ways. I'm reminded of a poem written by not only a former professor and mentor, but also a good friend and role model, Tarcisius Tara Kabutaulaka of the Solomon Islands. In a biography of his grandfather, and admittedly more for himself and his daughters than for anyone else, he writes:

Footprints

If I should be gone 
by the time you come,
then I leave my stories
as the footprints of my thoughts.

If I should be gone 
by the time you come,
then I leave my words
as the footprints of my wisdom.

If I should be gone 
by the time you come,
then I leave my grave
as a footprint,
to say that I was once here.

If I should be gone 
by the time you come,
then I leave my footprints
for you to continue the journey. 180

I had read this poem just weeks before returning to Guam for the summer as part of a Pacific research seminar. Even at first glance it spoke to me and the work I was

179 Oelke, "Broken Spear," 27.
setting out to complete. Although written for a man and community that seemed a completely different world and time away, Tara’s words for his grandfather so deeply impressed upon me the richness and importance of the traces left behind by those before us and the path they’ve laid out for us to follow as young Pacific Islanders. “Footprints” ran throughout my mind as I sat on those steps of the cemetery. The sun began to slowly move west in its descent into the horizon and the senna tree in the middle of the graveyard began to sway with the wind. And although it sat in quiet solace in a seemingly forgotten corner of the massive naval base, I could feel the life that this cemetery, this place called Sumay, still sustained. The stories, words, graves, and footprints left by taotao Sumay are all that are left, remnants of an invaluable legacy of wisdom and survival. Yet they pave the way for the journey that will continue—a journey that each of us, the new generation of taotao Sumay, have been tasked with carrying on.

Appendix A

Ostensible Land Owners in the Municipality of Sumay

The following is a list of landowners affected by the “Declaration of Taking” in Civil Case No. 5-49 or the “Naval Government of Guam vs. 2,471 acres or 10,000,000 square meters of land in the Municipalities of Piti, Sumay, and Agat, Island of Guam, Marianas Islands [sic], Bordallo Brothers, Inc., et al.” filed in the Superior Court of Guam on November 30, 1948. The word “ostensible” as it appears in this appendix is the word used to refer to land owners in the original court filing by the petitioners. All other table headings, names, and lot numbers appear exactly as they do on the original document. The author apologizes in advance for any errors that may have occurred due to photocopying of the original document which is significantly aged and was produced using low quality paper and printing technology.

This information is presented as a means of recognizing those individuals directly affected by the acquisition of Sumay by the U.S. military and the extent of individual properties that were lost as a result.

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<td>Bordallo Brothers</td>
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<td>Manuel B. Degracia</td>
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Appendix B
Persons Born in Sumay and Relocated to Santa Rita following World War II

The following list appears exactly as it did in the original publication. Individuals are listed in groups broken down by periods of time in which they were born. Elders within Guam’s villages are afforded notable levels of respect and prominence. Those in the most senior age groups within the community are recognized as holding the highest position of influence within families and throughout the village as whole and are afforded the highest levels of respect. The organization of individuals according to their birth years was most likely done to reflect where each individual falls within the social structure or order of elders in the community.

Names are presented as they appear in the original publication. This is not an exhaustive list of all persons born in Sumay and eventually relocated to Santa Rita. It remains, however, one of the most complete listings identifying this group. As expressed by the compiler of this list in its original publication, I too apologize for any names omitted due to circumstances beyond my control.

The following names are presented to give individual recognition to those persons displaced by the acquisition of Sumay village to the extent possible.

---

182 Pedro L.G. Roberto, *Santa Rita – Sumay Peace Memorial Dedication*, 6-11. Names are presented as they appear in the original publication.
Born between 1899-1908
Ana G. Cruz
Rosalia Taitano Camacho
Antonia S. Babauta
Antonio Concepcion Baleto
Carmen C. Guzman
Jose Camacho Quintanilla
Mariano Barcinas Santos
Francisco Camacho Quintanilla
Antonia Mendiola Perez
Ignacio Sablan Mendiola
Maria Sablan Santos
Isabel Munoz Borja
Jose Camacho
Ignacio Alcantara Cruz
Beatrice Mendiola Barczwiski
Born between 1909-1918

Juan T. Guzman
Rita T. Guzman
Jose C. Guzman
Nicolas C. Aquiningoc
Ana A. Santos
Virginia Pangelinan Perez
Delores Perez Flores
Ana E. Alcantara
Ana Perez Anderson
Juan C. Borja
Enrique P. Pinaula
Jesus C. Baleto
Ana Diaz Reyes
Guadalupe C. Diaz
Joaquina Ulloa Masaya
Engracia Perez Diaz
Oliva T. Cruz
Manuel A. Calvo
Agueda Isazaki Doyle
Jose Limtiaco Santos
Juan Camacho Cruz

Luisa Salas Crux
Jose Guerrero Mendiola
Maria Duenas Quan
Andrea Sablan Pangelinan
Maria San Nicolas Santos
Maria Leon Guerrero Concepcion
John L. Sablan
Gregorio Leon Guerrero Roberto
Joaquina Champaco Roberto
Gil M. Santos
Regina Quan Pangelinan
Felix Pangelinan
Francisca Santos
Manuel S. Sablan
Felix Torres
Maria Cruz Dydasco
Soledad Concepcion Quintanilla
Rosa Mendiola
Antonio Namauleg Perez
Mariquita Aquiningoc Perez
Emelia S. Pangelinan
Maria San Nicolas
Born between 1919-1928

Juan Namiauleg Perez
Petronila Guzman Pinaula
Francisco Concepcion Guzman
Antonia Guzman Topasna
Concepcion Crisostomo Llamelo
Maria Lizama Sablan
Francisco Sablan Pangelinan
Maria San Nicolas Pangelinan
Guadalupe Santos Viernes
Jesusa Quintanilla Duenas
Aurora L. Aguon
Manuel M. Aguon
Gregorio T. Aguon
Margarita Aguon
Encarnacion B. Aguon
Isabel A. Alvarez
Lucy Duenas Anderson
Isabel D. Aquiningoc
Thomas G. San Nicolas
Beatrice C. Atoigue
Jesus C. Babauta
Juan Santiago Babauta
Amelia San Nicolas Babauta
Pedro L.G. Roberto
Vicente P. Quintanilla
Jesusa Aguito Ascura
Justina Babauta Reyes
Isabel Diaz Babauta
Rosa Cruz Diaz

Tomasa Cruz Diaz
Santiago San Nicolas Perez
John L. Sablan
Isabel Borja Camacho
Maria Unsiog Guzman
Sabino Concepcion
Jesus Santos
Soledad Borja Salas Calvo
Francisco Concepcion
Maria Anderson Scott
Juan Lujan Anderson
Francisca Santos
Ana Perez Claveria
Tomas Quintanilla Dumanal
Daisy Borja James Lamorena
Antonio C. Quan
Maria Sarmiento Roberto
Ernestina Babauta Reyes
Andrea Sablan Borja Branch
Gregorio Baleto Aquiningoc
Euenia I. Alcantara
Guadalupe D. Duenas
Antonia T. Borja
Julian Fegurgur Topasna
Isabel D. Borja
Benito A. Wesley
Guadalupe C. Wesley
Daniel B. Sarmiento
Rita Borja Sarmiento
155
Born between 1919-1928 (cont.)

Victoriano Ulloa
Juan S. Ulloa
Isabel Crisostomo Ragasa
Delores Crisostomo Wesley
Juan P. Gumataotao
Gregorio Guerrero Mendiola
Joaquin Santiago Babauta
Delores T. Sablan
Guadalupe Limtiaco Santos
Josefa Limtiaco Santos
Engracia Diaz Pangelinan
Jesus Perez Sablan
Jose Munoz Borja
Thomas Camacho Guerrero
Maria C. Quintanilla
Dorothy Camacho Seagraves
Antonio D. Anderson
Julia Santos
Amparo R. Santos
Juan L. Santos Enrique Duenas
Carmen S. Quan
Margaret S. Anderson
Benito Iriarte Alcantara
Jose Duenas
Antonia Duenas Santos
Martha Santos
Manuela Anderson Toves
Dolores Taienao Sablan
Jose Aquiningoc
Ana Reyes
Maria Dumanal Blas
Alejandro Limtiaco Santos
Guadalupe Limtiaco Santos
Jose Mendiola Crisostomo
Florence Babauta Camacho
Rosalia Quan Aguon
Jose Guerrero Mendiola
Florence Toves Concepcion
Jose Mafnas
Luisa Sarmiento Camacho
Concepcion Mafnas Concepcion
Born between 1929–1938

Delores Camacho San Nicolas
Carmen Sarmiento Sablan
Francisco D. Quan
Joseph D. Quan
Gregorio C. Roberto
Francisco C. Roberto
Ana Q. Acfalle
Julia Cruz Aguigui
John D. Anderson
Joaquin S. Babauta
Marian Borja Babauta
Jose T. Babauta
Guadalupe C. Babauta
Galo Perez Baleto
Maria Perez Dydasco
Concepcion S. Baleto
Julia R. Quenga
Maria Arceo Juanico
Antonio Concepcion Guzman
Delfin Reyes Damian
Julita Anderson Damian
Emilesia Tolentino Anderson
Vicente Perez Duenas
Maria Borja Baleto
Jose Tolentino Cruz
Henry San Nicolas Santos
Maria Diaz Santos
Benni Garrido Baleto
Antonio T. Garrido

Ana Aquiningoc Garrido
Richard J. Rice
Guadalupe Cruz Babauta
Jose Salas Cruz
Roque Munoz Borja
Julia Duenas Borja
Julia Camacho Meno
Jose Quintanilla Guzman
Vicente C. Chargualaf
Gaily Iriarte Alcantara
William Borja James
Francisco C. Quintanilla
Maximino Garrido
Roy Gogue
Maria Camacho Gogue
Noel Peter Cruz
James Robert Cruz
June Cruz Duenas
Nick John Jr. Perez
Estalla Anderson Benavente
Florence Perez Dumanal
Rosita Concepcion Salas
Maria Munoz Guzman
Juan T. Guzman
Lydia Guzman Pangelinan
Walter Rice Santos
Juanita Wesley Surber
Mary Ann Borja Babauta
Jose Perez Guzman
Beatrice Mendiola Guzman
Born between 1929-1938 (cont.)

Regina Guzman Mendiola
Greg Munoz Borja
Luisa Guzman Borja
Anna D. Usita
Consolacion Cruz Diaz
Maria Diaz Tolentino
Feliz Cruz Dydasco
John Patricio Lizama
George Rice Morita
Joseph Mendiola Concepcion
Julia Concepcion Munoz
Dorothy Perez Williams
Jesus E. Sablan
Pablo Degracia Tolentino
Maria Diaz Tolentino
Anita Borja Santos
Arthur Borja Santos
Benny Borja Santos
Consolacion Cruz Diaz
John T. Quintanilla
Jose D. Acfalle
Henry Guzman
Florence Perez Dumanal
Augustin T. Quintanilla
Francisco T. Quintanilla
Vicente L. Isizaki
Pedro Duenas
Teresita Dydasco Santos
Alfonsina Dydasco Their

Juan Rice Santos
Eloy L. Santos
Rosa Quintanilla Cabrera
Ruth A. Garrido
Priscilla Alcantara
Philip Gogue
Jeanette Gogue Leon Guerrero
Eddie John Cruz
Mayann Cruz
Rena Espinosa Santos
Jose Lujan Anderson
Cristobal C. Hudson
Forest Mendiola Harris
Juan Quintanilla Concepcion
Oliva Leola Cruz
Ignacio T. Cruz
Tomasa Espinosa Grecia
Virginia Espinosa Babauta
Eleanor Loise Aguigui Perez
Frank Lujan Anderson
Betty Anderson Rios
Guadalupe Reyes Perez
Dean Mendiola Harris
Concepcion Mendiola Cabrera
Francisco Qu. Roberto
Francisco Borja James
Lilly Borja James
Gregorio Quintanilla Dumanal
Enrique Quintanilla Dumanal

158
Born between 1929-1938 (cont.)

Enriqueta Quintanilla Dumanal
Filipe S. Babauta
Francisca Roberto Babauta
Ignacio Santiago Babauta
Antonio Quitugua Roberto
Rosa B. Lizama
Maria B. Chaco
Alfred I. Alcantara
Ana Cruz Toves
Enrique Pangelinan Perez
Helen Munoz Guzman
Tommy Guzman
May Anderson Quintanilla
Thomas Dumanal
Charlie D. Cruz
Michael D. Cruz
Joaquin Toves
Guadalupe Perez Manglona
Juan Reyes Cruz
Lydia Pangelinan Lizama
Jose Lizama
Eloy E. Santos
Enrique Santiago Babauta
Jose B. Sarmiento
Alejo Guzman
Maria Roberto Flores
Regina Diaz Leon Guerrero
Jose R. Dela Cruz
Jesus Duenas Pangelinan

Julita Sablan Cruz
Concepcion Baleto Aguon
Patricia Sablan Charfauros
David G. Baleto
**Born between 1939-1941**

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APPENDIX C

Biographical Information of Interview Subjects

The following are brief biographies of the interview subjects whose accounts appear in this work. They are presented to provide a broader understanding of these individuals and their background. This information is by no means an exhaustive representation of each of the interview subjects. The information presented here is based solely on the interviews conducted and things that I have learned about these individuals over the years. Interview subjects are presented in alphabetical order. Of these subjects, the following were deceased at the time of my research: Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez, Juan “Ducket” Namauleg Perez, and Juan “Texas” Guzman Guzman. Information on these individuals is taken from transcribed interviews as cited in the bibliography.

**Gregorio Muñoz Borja**

Gregorio Muñoz Borja was born on January 22, 1931, in Sumay to Isabel Cepeda Muñoz Borja and Francisco Santos Borja. He is the eighth of eleven children. Borja lived in Sumay for the first ten years of his life. He had completed his education up to the third grade at Maxwell School in Sumay, but World War II broke out in Guam and he and his family were forced out of Sumay and took refuge in Apla. During the Japanese occupation of the island, Borja attended Japanese language school in the mornings and was put to work for the Japanese in vegetable fields for the rest of the day. At the end of the war, Borja returned with his family to Apla briefly and would later move to Santa Rita.

After World War II, Borja completed his education up to the eighth grade in Santa Rita, and in 1951, graduated from George Washington High School, then located in the
village of Sinajana. After graduation, Borja worked for the Department of Education as a teacher in the Santa Rita Elementary School. In 1952, he enlisted in the U.S. Army and served as an active duty engineer for two years traveling throughout the U.S. He returned to Guam and in 1955 married Louisa Reyes Guzman. Together they would have four children and raise them in Santa Rita.

After starting a family, Borja worked for the U.S. Naval Supply Depot and the U.S. Naval Ship Repair Facility in Guam. He retired in 1986 and was elected mayor of Santa Rita in 1989. He held the office up to 1997. He has been an active member of the Holy Name Society, Archdiocese Pastoral Council, Guam Amateur Baseball League, Guam Baseball Federation, the Financial Council of Santa Rita Parish, and the Southern High School Task Force. Borja and his wife currently live in Santa Rita and are active members of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. They have four grandchildren.

**Julia Duenas Borja**

Julia Duenas Borja was born on August 7, 1933, in Sumay. She is the fifth child of seventeen born to Maria Perez Perez Duenas and Jesus Duenas Duenas. Borja’s family was heavily involved in the Santa Guadalupe Catholic Church in Sumay, her mother serving as a *techa* (prayer leader) and her father assisting the parish priest with everyday affairs. Borja spent her early childhood helping her parents with their work at the church. When she was eight years old, Borja fled Sumay with her family during the Japanese invasion. They would stay in Apla during the occupation, be marched to the Manenggon concentration camp just prior to the liberation, and eventually end up back in Apla at the end of the war.
After the war Borja moved to Santa Rita. She would later marry Roke Muñoz Borja. Julia Borja is one of Santa Rita’s most visible techas and can be found in the Our Lady of Guadalupe Church almost seven days out of the week leading daily novenas, saying rosaries for the dead, or singing with the manåmko’ choir. She is also an active member of the church’s Christian Mothers organization and a participant at the Santa Rita Senior Citizens Center.

**Concepcion Taitano Mafnas Concepcion, familian Año’**

Concepcion Taitano Mafnas Concepcion was born March 2, 1923, in the area known as Atantano in Sumay village. She lived in Sumay throughout her upbringing, completing her education to the sixth grade at Maxwell School. At that time, her mother withdrew her from school as was the common practice when young girls reached adolescence. As the eldest child, Concepcion would stay at home to raise her ten younger siblings while her mother worked in the U.S. military officer’s quarters in Sumay as a maid.

At the age of sixteen, Concepcion began working in Hagåtña for the Butler family in their ice cream shop and selling akaleha (land snail) shell and pandanus woven goods to American military personnel visiting the island. She lived in the capital from Monday to Saturday, returning to Sumay on Saturday evenings to spend time with her family. When the war broke out on Guam, Concepcion was working in Hagåtña and became separated from her family. She went into hiding in a bamboo grove in Hagåtña. A month later, she would make her way back to the Sumay area, taking up refuge with her family in Apla and remaining there throughout the occupation. She was married on September 8, 1943, in Apla.
In the months just prior to the recapture of Guam by the U.S., Concepcion, her family, many of her neighbors, and numerous other groups from Agat were suspected by Japanese soldiers of serving as spies for American forces. These groups were taken to the Fena area of Santa Rita and confined there for three months. As anticipation of an American invasion of grew among Japanese occupying forces, soldiers began to lash out on the prisoners at Fena. Many prisoners became victim to torture and brutal rapes. Many more were herded into caves, after which soldiers began to throw grenades at them. Concepcion, however, was able to flee one night with some family members and other prisoners. Carrying two babies in a basket on her back, Concepcion crossed a river with other escapees, and they made their way to the concentration camp at Manenggon. They stayed there until the American capture of the island.

After living briefly in Apla following the liberation of Guam, Concepcion moved to Santa Rita. She would raise a family of eight children there with her husband, helping supplement the family income by selling her baked goods to other village residents. She now lives with one of her sons in Santa Rita and has many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Juan "Texas" Guzman Guzman

The late Juan Guzman Guzman was born the youngest of five children on July 17, 1909, in Sumay. Guzman resided in Sumay from birth to the outbreak of World War II in 1941. Guzman earned the nickname "Texas" when he was a young man after an encounter with military police. At the time, the Naval Government of Guam enforced a curfew for all civilians and punished any violators with imprisonment. One evening Guzman and some friends were caught at a Sumay store after curfew. When questioned
by military police, Guzman glanced at some photos on the wall of cowboys and told the military police that he was from Texas. From then on, the people of Sumay would jokingly call him “Texas.”

As a child, Guzman attended school in Sumay and made a living as a lanchero (rancher) as an adult. Guzman would marry the late Rita Toves Guzman of San Antonio, Hagåtña, on June 15, 1933. By the time of the Japanese invasion of Guam in 1941, they had three children. During the occupation of Guam by Japan, Guzman and his family lived in Apla. Like most other Chamorros of the time, Guzman was forced to complete hard labor cultivating fields to feed Japanese occupying forces.

As Chamorros throughout the island were concentrated toward the end of the occupation, Guzman became separated from his wife and children. Japanese soldiers took him and many other men to work on fortifying the island for the impending American invasion, transporting munitions and clearing airfields. After the island was retaken by American forces, Guzman was reunited with his wife and three children. The family moved to Santa Rita in 1945 with most of the former Sumay residents. Their family grew to include a total of eleven children after the war.

Guzman lived out the rest of his life in the Santa Rita. After the war, he had a career as a carpenter and contractor for the Government of Guam and as a custodian at the former J.P. Torres Elementary School in Santa Rita. Guzman would retire in 1972. He was an active member of the Holy Name Society and Sacred Heart of Jesus organization and enjoyed gardening and playing bâtu, a Chamorro game in which a hole is dug and players attempt to throw coins from various distances into the hole.
Juan Toves Guzman, *familiar Texas*

Juan Toves Guzman was born in 1934 in Sumay and is the eldest of eleven children born to Juan Guzman Guzman and Rita Toves Guzman. He was raised in the area known as A’ang in Sumay just across the cemetery until the age of seven when World War II began on Guam. As a young boy in prewar Guam, Guzman would ride his bicycle each morning to the village store to purchase everyday goods for the family such as rice, coffee, flour, etc., as well as work on the family lancho on the Orote peninsula raising goats, chickens, pigs, cows, and numerous types of fruits and vegetables.

The Guzman family fled Sumay on December 8, 1941, as Japanese forces initiated the invasion of the island. They eventually settled in Apla with the rest of the Sumay population and stayed there throughout the occupation. During this time, Guzman attended Japanese school just as all children on the island were required. He would attend school from 8am to 10am each day, most of the day spent on Japanese language instruction. After school, Guzman would be sent to the fields to plant and harvest various fruits and vegetables and to collect a daily quota of eggs for Japanese soldiers. As an American invasion of Guam became imminent, Guzman and his family were moved from Apla to the Fena area of Santa Rita, except for his father who would be taken by the Japanese to work elsewhere. Guzman spent a short time in Fena and was finally moved out of the area to the Manenggon concentration camp. The Guzmans stayed in Manenggon until the recapture of Guam by the U.S.

Guzman and his family left Manenggon and were to be moved to the American concentration camp in Agat. However, after receiving word that his father was still alive, Guzman and his family were instead moved to the American camp in Anigua where they
were reunited with his father. From there, the family was moved to Agat and eventually ended up back in Apla.

Guzman was moved to Santa Rita in 1945. From there he later enlisted in the U.S. armed forces. Guzman would raise a family in Santa Rita where he currently resides. He is an active member of the Guam Democratic Party and Veterans of Foreign Affairs (VFW).

**Engracia Cruz Diaz Pangelinan, familian Galaide**

Engracia Cruz Diaz Pangelinan was born in Sumay on April 16, 1925. She is one of fourteen children born to Jose Cruz Diaz and Rosa Cruz Diaz. Pangelinan spent most of her day working on the family lâncho alongside her parents and siblings. She also attended Maxwell School up to the sixth grade. After the invasion of Guam by the Japanese, the family took refuge at their lâncho in Apla. Pangelinan became subject to hard labor during the occupation. Pangelinan and her family were moved out of Apla in the early summer of 1944 to the concentration camp in Manenggon where they stayed until American forces led them out in late July. From there, they would stay briefly in Agat and Apla, finally moving to Santa Rita in 1945.

Pangelinan married the late Francisco Sablan Pangelinan, familian Kotla, of Sumay after World War II had ended. Shortly after getting married, the Pangelinans moved to the Winward Hills area of Yona, but would continue to maintain strong ties and involvement with their family and friends in Santa Rita. The Pangelinans made a living primarily through farming and would raise fifteen children together. Although Pangelinan continues to reside in a neighboring village, she and her family are very much a part of the Santa Rita community.
Juan “Ducket” Namauleg Perez

The late Juan Namauleg Perez was born on November 13, 1919, in Sumay to Ana Garrido Namauleg Perez and Antonio Concepcion Perez. He was the youngest child born to his parents. After the death of his mother, Perez’s father remarried and had two more children. Perez completed his education up to the sixth grade in Sumay. He married Maria San Nicolas Sablan in 1937 and began working as a Room Boy at the U.S. Marine Barracks in Sumay. Together they would have four children. While working at the Marine barracks, he got into an argument with an American soldier with the last name Ducket. Perez admits that he was a “very naughty boy” at the time, and as the argument became more heated, Ducket began to chase Perez around the barracks, never catching up to him. From then on, the people of Sumay gave Perez the nickname “Ducket.”

Perez later worked as a laborer and boat captain for Pan American World Airways from 1938-1941 and married Eleanor Lois Aguigui, gaining one stepchild. After World War II, Perez worked as a sanitation officer and a chauffeur for the U.S. military throughout 1945. He went on to be appointed as the Commissioner (now referred to as a mayor) of Santa Rita from 1945-1948. In 1948, Perez became the first elected commissioner of the village and served multiple terms as the elected leader of Santa Rita until 1952. From 1952, Perez worked as a civil service employee until a reduction in workforce occurred in 1970. From 1970 to 1972, Perez worked for the Commercial Port as a transportation superintendent. He was later elected as commissioner of Santa Rita in 1972 and would hold the office up to 1984. From 1990 to 1993, Perez worked as a Community Liaison Officer for Senator Tony Blaz. Perez has since passed away, but is
remembered by many residents of Santa Rita as an active member of the community and contributor to the establishment of the village.

**Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez, *familian Kotla***

Maria Sablan Pangelinan Perez was born on November 27, 1921, in Sumay to Pedro Borja Pangelinan and Christina Sablan Pangelinan. She is the seventh child of nine. Perez grew up in Sumay helping her family tend to her father's general merchandise store and other businesses. She resided in Sumay until December 8, 1941, when World War II began on Guam. During the occupation Perez lived at Apla with her mother and siblings until they were marched to the concentration camp in Manenggon. Unlike other Chamorros at the time, Perez was spared forced labor during the occupation. With the assistance of an interpreter from Saipan who happened to be related to her, Perez was granted permission to stay at home to care for her aging mother, only having to perform forced labor in the fields when one of her siblings was unable to for illness or other reasons.

After the war, Perez returned briefly to Apla with her family until they were moved to Santa Rita. She married Antonio Borja Perez, *familian Ginza*, of Hagåtña in 1945 who was then an enlisted sailor with the U.S. Navy. The Perez's would be stationed throughout the western part of the U.S. continent over many years in states such as Nevada, California, and Hawai'i. They finally returned to Guam in the early 1960s. Maria Perez was a housewife and helped supplement the family income through craftwork and baking. Together they have eight children, twenty-nine grandchildren, and thirty-two great-grandchildren. The Perezes now reside in the Talisay area of the Santa Rita and are among the oldest living residents in the village.
Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez, *familian* Kotla

The late Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez was born on April 3, 1909, in Sumay. She is the eldest of nine children born to Pedro Borja Pangelinan and Christina Sablan Pangelinan. Perez attended Maxwell School in Sumay up to the sixth grade and worked as a domestic helper in her father’s retail store thereafter. She later became a housewife after marrying Joaquin Diaz Perez, *familian* Gollo, of Yigo on June 9, 1928. Together they would have six children. Perez and her family lived in Sumay up until 1941 when the war broke out on Guam. From there, they lived in the northern village of Yigo on the *lâncho* of Perez’s husband’s family. They would travel as frequently as possible between Yigo and Apla, however, as Perez’s children wanted to be with their maternal grandmother.

Perez and her family were eventually moved from Yigo to the concentration camp in Manenggon toward the end of Guam’s occupation. Once Americans had secured the island, they were moved to Agat and eventually to Apla. After a few months of living in Apla, they were among the first families moved to Santa Rita village. Perez continued to work as a housewife after moving to Santa Rita. She was an active member of the Parent-Teacher Association in the Santa Rita school and the Christian Mothers organization at the Church. She was widely known for her needlework, gardening, sewing, and baking talents. Perez was also widely known for hosting the building of an annual *lâncho kotpus* at her home, one of three decorated shrines throughout the village at which a procession of participants stops to pray and sing hymns during the Corpus Christi celebration each June. Perez’s family continues to build a *lâncho kotpus* each year welcoming participants in the procession.
Perez died in November of 1993. She is survived by her children and many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

**Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes, familian Miget**

Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes was born on December 8, 1923 in Sumay village to Miguel Gumataotao Santos and Carmen Castro Sablan Santos. She is the youngest of ten children. During her childhood, Viernes worked on the lâncho and in the ocean with her parents and siblings, tending to crops and livestock, fishing, and completing other subsistence activity. Following her father’s death in 1939 and the complete destruction of the family’s home after a massive typhoon in 1940, Viernes and her family moved to the capital city of Hagåtña to reside with an uncle’s family. When the war began on Guam, the family moved to a relative’s lâncho in Barrigada where they remained throughout the occupation. From there they would be marched to a concentration camp in Talofofo and finally to Manenggon just prior to the liberation. After the war, Viernes and her family briefly resided in Apla and were eventually moved to Santa Rita.

Viernes worked for the U.S. Civil Service as a file clerk and laundress in the late 1940s. In 1950, she married the late Andres Agustin Viernes, born in Ilocos Norte, Philippines, and raised on a sugar plantation in Kekaha, Kauai, Hawai‘i. Together they would have two sons and raise them in Santa Rita. The Vierneses then moved to Waipahu, Hawai‘i, in 1986. In 1992, the couple moved to California to join their sons and their families. It was around that time that Guadalupe Viernes completely lost her sight after living the majority of her life with glaucoma. Her blindness failed to prevent her living relatively independent, and she is widely known for her ability to wash clothes,
cook, and get around her home despite her handicap. She moved to Hayward, CA following the death of her husband in 2004 and lives with her eldest son and his family. She has four grandchildren and four great-grandchildren.

**Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley**

Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley was born on October 30, 1925, in Sumay. She is one of six children born to Juan Mendiola Cruz and Maria Pascua Reyes Cruz. Wesley grew up next door to Maxwell School which provided the village’s children with the compulsory education up to the sixth grade. She resided in Sumay until she fled during the World War II bombing and invasion of Guam. Wesley and her family took refuge in Apla during the course of the occupation. She was initially excused from performing forced labor for the Japanese to care for her sickly mother and assist her grandmother in tending to the younger children of the family. This arrangement did not last long, however, and Wesley was soon put to work for Japanese occupying forces on vegetable plantations, making salt, coconut oil and soap, cutting and carrying *tangantangan* for firewood, and covering exposed pipes.

Wesley and her family were marched to the Manenggon concentration camp during the early part of the summer of 1944. They remained there until the return of American forces and the recapture of Guam. As American soldiers arrived in the Manenggon camp to lead Chamorros out of captivity, Wesley’s mother died. As American soldiers began to lead the people in the camp to safer ground at U.S.-established camps, the family had no choice but to wrap the body of Wesley’s mother in a *guåfak* (woven mat) and bury her in the camp. The family returned to the Apla area and lived there briefly until they were moved to Santa Rita.
After being moved to Santa Rita, Wesley continued her education to the eleventh grade in the high school established in Hagåtña. She was then asked by a school administrator to teach in the Santa Rita elementary school. Despite opposition by her grandmother to Wesley being employed outside of the home, she began teaching at the elementary level in Santa Rita. Many residents of Santa Rita who went to school during the 1950s and 1960s remember Wesley as a strict disciplinarian, although she has been recognized by many of them as their favorite teacher.

Wesley is currently retired and lives in Santa Rita. She is an active member of the Our Lady of Guadalupe parish and Santa Rita Senior Citizens Center.

**Dorothy Perez Williams**

Dorothy Perez Williams, fondly known as “Dolly,” was born on January 15, 1930, in Hagåtña to Joaquin Diaz Perez and Virginia Sablan Pangelinan Perez. Williams was raised in Sumay across the street from Maxwell School. She resided in Sumay until the start of World War II on Guam. After the war began, Williams would spend the occupation moving back and forth between Aplá and Yigo, where her father’s family had a lâńcho. The family moved back and forth between Aplá and Sumay, primarily to evade Japanese forces and to be with Williams’ grandmother in Aplá. Williams, unlike many other Chamorros her age at the time, did not attend Japanese school, nor did she perform forced labor because they were constantly on the move.

As American forces began their recapture of Guam, Williams and her family took shelter in a bokongo’ (underground bomb shelter) in Yigo. Mistaking this shelter for a Japanese hide out, American planes opened fire on the bokongo’. Williams and her family survived the attack and proceeded to the Manenggon concentration camp with
other Chamorros. Once Guam had been secured by American forces, the family was
moved to the Agat concentration camp and then to Apla. They were later moved to Santa
Rita.

Once things settled down after the war, Williams returned to school graduated
from high school. She went on to leave the island to attend the University of Hawai`i,
but would return home shortly after due to homesickness. Williams, however, was
awarded a scholarship by the School Sisters of Notre Dame and left Guam again to attend
Mount Mary College in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She would become the first female from
Santa Rita to graduate from college and return to Guam. Williams married Francisco N.
Williams and they have six children. She had a successful career as a high school home
economics teacher in the Guam public school system. Williams is now retired and
resides in Santa Rita.
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