NEGOTIATING MANHOOD: CHAMORRO MASCULINITIES AND US MILITARY COLONIALISM IN GUAM, 1898-1941

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By

James Perez Viernes

Dissertation Committee:

David Hanlon, Chairperson
Anne Perez Hattori
Margot Henriksen
Geoffrey White
Ty P. Kāwika Tengan
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James Perez Viernes

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ABSTRACT

The 1898 ceding of Guam by Spain to the United States ushered in a markedly new posture for the indigenous Chamorro people of the island, not merely as subjects of yet another colonial administration, but wards of a military colonial administration in particular. The US Navy’s governance of the island instigated monumental cross-cultural encounters between Americans and Chamorros – encounters that remain largely underinterrogated and fundamentally misunderstood. In particular, Chamorro men and their historical agency in this colonial history remain intensely obscured. This ambiguity of indigenous men as historical agents is not unique to the history of US colonialism in Guam, and it reflects a larger problem of the historiographical canon across different colonialisms in which Chamorro men’s place is meager at best. These written histories have fashioned indigenous men as largely absent from the island’s past and as mere victims of successive colonialisms by Spain, Japan and the United States. Those Chamorro men who have survived this historical erasure are those who either mirror the foreign men who came to dominate them or who became complicit with colonial institutions and ideologies imported to Guam.

This study offers a more careful and critical investigation of negotiations of US military colonialism in Guam by Chamorro men during the US Navy’s first administration of the island (1898-1941). In particular, this study examines the social construction of Chamorro masculinities through the sights of American education, economy, military, politics, and popular culture in Guam. Employing careful textual and discourse analysis, as well as ethnographic interactions, this study seeks to uplift Chamorro men out of historical obscurity and illuminate
their masculinities as layered, complex, and largely hybridized manifestations of the interplay between native men and historic and ongoing US colonialism and militarism in Guam.
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CHAPTER 1

“TIME TO MAN UP”: CHAMORRO MASCULINITIES AND US MILITARY COLONIALISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

On July 27, 2012, US military officials and Guam’s elected leaders gathered at the Nimitz Hill headquarters of Joint Region Marianas alongside Micronesian regional leaders, US Federal officials, international diplomats, and members of the island community at large.¹ They gathered to begin the esteemed Change of Command Ceremonies at which Rear Admiral Paul J. Bushong was relieved of his duty as Commander of Joint Region Marianas, the entity tasked with providing the necessary support services, policies, and resources to sustain US Navy and US Air Force operations in Guam. Bushong had served in this post over two separate tours of duty spanning four and a half years.² As his tenure as commander drew to a close amid much media coverage and fanfare, Bushong began his farewell address by reflecting on the many speeches he had delivered during his time in Guam, highlighting the wide range of topics those public addresses tackled. He shared with the day’s audience his deliberations over potential topics that might serve as the focal point of this, his final speech to be delivered at the height of a momentous milestone in his career. For this particular address, Bushong declared that his departing words to Guam would center on the island’s history and his perspective on that history.³

¹ Commander, Joint Region Marianas, “History,” Joint Region Marianas, http://www.cnic.navy.mil/regions/jrm/about/history.html (accessed December 21, 2012). Joint Region Marianas emerged in 2009 out of the historical partnership between the US Navy and the US Air Force in Guam. It was the result of the 1998 reduction in Navy operational forces and the realignment of shore services to support those forces. While the US Naval Base and Andersen Air Force Base in Guam maintain their own commanding officers that oversee their respective mission assignments and operations, the commander of Joint Region Marianas serves as Commander, US Naval Forces Marianas and US Defense Representative to Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia.
In the several minutes that followed Bushong’s initial remarks, the outgoing commander offered what he believed was a thorough narrative of the island’s past, and as promised, provided his personal insights on that past. In Bushong’s summation, Guam’s history began with the 1898 arrival of the US Navy as an administering power after Spain ceded the island as a colony via the Treaty of Paris, ultimately positioning Guam to serve “…a unique strategic role in the Pacific for over 100 years.”

Bushong took extra care to assert that, despite this military intervention in Guam’s past, “The United States of America never made Guam a colony…It never stripped any resources from Guam, the most obvious sign of any colonization effort…” Further, the commander dismissed grievances about Guam’s historical and ongoing political relationship with the US and condemned discussions of political self-determination, noting that “Any of the current talk of the US colonization of Guam or meetings of the Decolonization Committee is [sic] insulting to those of us who serve in the United States military.”

Commander Bushong placed notable emphasis on contesting the notion of ongoing US colonialism in Guam, expressing his frustration and confusion over current efforts among Guam’s native inhabitants to pursue self-determination. By his own admission, “…it puzzles me when I hear current talk of self-determination since, by my reading of history, that self-determination was made sixty-five years ago [with the 1950 signing of the Organic Act of Guam by the US Congress].” That act ultimately upheld the island’s political status as an

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4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
“unincorporated territory” of the United States. Overall, the commander deemed discussions about decolonization as historically inaccurate and efforts toward self-determination as misguided acts of futility spearheaded by a radical, activist minority.

Much of Bushong’s departing address continued in the spirit of upholding the US military presence in Guam as a regime of generosity and progress throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Bushong acknowledged the existence of beliefs contrary to his historical perspective, but he was swift to dismiss such ideas, as well as objections to the ongoing militarization of Guam as misinformed and sensationalized “rhetoric” fueled by “a few activists.” In Bushong’s estimation, “At times, the rhetoric has made it seem that it was an us versus them mentality with the military working against the Guam community.” The commander diffused any potential divisiveness between the military and civilian communities of the island noting that, “Now, when I look around I don't see a Navy community separate from the Guam community...the military is part of the community! Guam is our community, too.”

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8 The United Nations (UN) Charter of 1945, in part, recognized self-determination as the inherent right of a people to decide their political fate. That right was further endorsed in UN General Assembly Resolution 1514, also known as the “Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.” Although the 1950 passage of the Organic Act of Guam by the US Congress resulted in a civilian government for the island and US citizenship for its people, the act upheld the provisions of the Insular Cases of 1901 which stipulated that the US Constitution did not necessarily apply to Guam, that US Congress would retain plenary powers over Guam, and that the island would be classified as an unincorporated territory of the US. Consequently, US citizenship in Guam is not guaranteed and is subject to various limitations, and the US Congress continues to hold complete oversight over the Government of Guam. These issues, and many others, as well as the passage of the Organic Act without the consultation of the people of Guam have been argued to be an exercise in furthering US colonial authority over the island rather than fulfilling self-determination for the island’s people. See Anne Perez Hattori, “Righting Civil Wrongs: Guam Congress Walkout of 1949,” Kinalamten Politikåt: Siñenten i Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective, Hale’-ta series (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 68.


10 Ibid.

11 Bushong, “Joint Region Marianas Change of Command.”
Bushong concluded his lesson in Guam history by speaking to present-day debates over proposals to further increase the US military presence on the island despite persistent opposition to such plans. Relative to this opposition and in light of the history lesson Bushong had just provided, he left his audience, and indeed his tenure in Guam, with one clear message: it was not only time for Guam’s leaders to finally step up and lead, but as Bushong phrased it, it was “time to man up,” accept the military presence in Guam, and support its ongoing objectives on the island.

Bushong’s parting words to Guam struck various chords on numerous levels. The Marianas Variety, one of just two daily newspapers in Guam, published the editorial “Man Up and Lead!” The paper’s editor adequately characterized the farewell address as “strong stuff,” noting that “Generally these command changes are pretty perfunctory, with platitudinous speeches that don’t make any waves. Not so, this admiral’s speech.” Indeed, Bushong’s speech made waves that swelled in response to the staunch posture asserted on contested issues such whether Guam was or wasn’t/is or isn’t a colony of the US, whether Guam has or hasn’t achieved self-determination, the effectiveness of the island’s elected leadership, and the manner in which the people of Guam should respond to the proposed military buildup. Reaction to the

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12 In 2005, the US Department of Defense made public for the first time to residents of Guam plans to relocate an estimated 7,000 US Marines from Okinawa, Japan to Guam. Since the initial announcement, the estimated number of Marines to be transferred has increased to include their dependents and other personnel in excess of 80,000. In addition to the estimated influx of residents to Guam, the US Army has expressed plans to build a missile defense system on the island. The US Air Force followed suit and indicated plans to increase the number of drones on island, and the US Navy expressed plans to remove 2.3 million square feet of healthy reef ecosystem to allow nuclear-powered aircraft carriers to dock at Guam. These plans and many others, collectively referred to in Guam as “the buildup,” have generated heavy public debate between those in support of the realignment as a means of improving Guam’s economy, employment opportunities, infrastructure and security, and those resistant to the buildup and the potential socio-cultural and environmental impacts it presents. The buildup itself, as well as its specific size and the timeline by which it is to implemented have fluctuated over the years with both the US and Japanese governments teetering in their commitments to execute of the proposed realignment of US military forces to Guam.

13 “Command Change.”


Although reactions to Bushong’s parting words to Guam varied, the commander’s perspective on island history and of larger issues concerning US-Guam relations proved no new addition to the growing historical record of colonialism in Guam. His words echoed a longstanding, deeply entrenched, and monotonous discourse promulgating US military interventions in Guam as philanthropic and benevolent. His rhetoric of negation with regard to concerns about Guam’s historical and contemporary colonial status and its unresolved quest for self-determination mirrors discourses that conceal these contested issues and instead position indigenous Chamorros as loyal American patriots who should be grateful for the US administration of the island. Further, and perhaps more provocatively, the commander’s address reverberated an embedded, albeit less interrogated, understanding of Guam and its people as fundamentally emasculated. Bushong’s call for Guam to “man up” suggested that to date, the island, its leaders, and its people in general have failed to do so, and that the manner in which they could “man up” was through complicity with US military objectives in Guam.

In his \textit{New York Times} column “On Language,” Ben Zimmer addresses the nuances of the idiom “man up,” exploring its original, more literal roots and considering the ways in which it has assumed less denotative meaning in its contemporary associations with gender. Originally attributed to a literal call to secure the necessary individuals to fill required posts (i.e., “man
your stations”), the term “man up” has taken on a more idiomatic meaning that is most closely associated with a call for behavior that qualifies as manly or masculine. In this regard, Oxford English Dictionary definitions of “man up” include “To make manly or courageous” and “To invest with manly qualities or appearance; to make manlike.” Given this definition and prevalent understandings of the term in this regard, Bushong’s directive to the people of Guam to “man up” begs the questions, are Guam and its people lacking in qualities deemed manly or masculine, and what informs the notion that viable men, manliness, and masculinities are achieved through embracing US militarization and colonialism in twenty-first century Guam?

**Manning Up: Engaging Chamorro Masculinities and US Military Colonialism**

Discourses positioning Chamorro men in Guam’s past and present as emasculated or even absent altogether resound through the historical canon, and calls for the remasculization of the island landscape and Islander men via the adoption of foreign scripts or norms of masculinity are prevalent. This research concentrates on Guam during the first era of United States military colonialism (1898-1941), re-evaluating dominant discourses about Chamorro men and masculinities. In doing so, the chapters that follow reconsider Chamorro masculinities beyond the dominant narratives in the island’s historiography that often frame indigenous masculinities as either entirely reflective of or resistant to dominant American masculinities. This work seeks to interrogate early twentieth century Chamorro masculinities, specifically in the context of the newly embedded systems of American education, economy, military service, civil service, and

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popular culture as sites through which Chamorro men navigated potential proving grounds for their evolving masculinities within a previously unchartered colonial setting.

Although the term masculinity is commonly understood as that which is associated with men, manliness, and manhood, its singularity implies the existence of a universal truth governing what constitutes men, manliness, and manhood – an implication to which I am not willing to concede. As John Beynon asserts, masculinity encompasses many masculinities. In this regard, and in the example of gender scholars at large, I elect to employ the term “masculinities” in its plural form to refer to the broad attributes, attitudes, behaviors, and values of the men to be discussed in this research. This work embraces a definition of Chamorro masculinities as the socially constructed, produced, and reproduced conceptualizations of indigenous men and manhood in Guam that are fluid across time and space and that exist in relations of gendered power within the American military colonial context of the island prior to World War II. This work does not simply intend to define or identify these conceptualizations, but more prominently, seeks to critically examine the material and discursive nature of such constructs.

This research situates itself within scholarship and knowledge on three levels. First and foremost, this research is intended to add to a striking dearth in the body of critical literature and discussion that deals specifically with Chamorro masculinities in Guam’s history. While the broader field of Gender Studies has embraced a growing enthusiasm for studies of men and masculinities, contemporary scholarship with regard to Chamorro men and masculinities has lagged. Second, this research seeks to contribute to what have become vigorous discussions about masculinities within the larger interdisciplinary field of Pacific Islands Studies in which Guam is thematically and historically situated. Finally, this research aims to align itself with

existing studies about masculinities as they have been articulated in relation to larger processes of US expansionism and imperialism.

This study of Chamorro men in the context of US expansion and imperialism ultimately embraces the notion of native masculinities as complex, layered, and fluid. Although this work considers indigenous men and masculinities in relation to, in resistance to, and in coalescence with notions of American men and masculinities, the scope of this work is not intended to engage in an extensive discussion of the latter. The focus on Chamorro masculinities in their intricate multiplicities, at the seeming expense of a critical discussion about American manhood and masculinities, is not meant imply that gender as it operated among Americans during the first half of the twentieth century was singular in nature or inherently constant across time and space. Indeed, American manhood and masculinities transcend the limitations of singular and essentialist models. Yet the exportation of such complex and fluid masculinities from the US to Guam during the time period under review was notably limited. The discursive and embodied forms of American masculinities most prominent on the island during the Navy’s tenure were, instead, fairly one-dimensional. Given the absence of a considerable non-military American community in Guam prior to World War II, the principal influence of and interaction with American manhood and masculinities was largely confined to the military.

This study of Chamorro men and masculinities in the context of the military presence in Guam situates itself, to an extent, within the wider academic discipline of Gender Studies. That field of study, however, has primarily been concerned with questions about women rather than men. Gender Studies in its earliest stages as a scholarly discipline arose principally out of feminist theory that historically has been advanced by women in both scholarship and public
debate.\textsuperscript{19} With regard to the academic discipline of history, gender has been employed as a viable lens through which the past might be meaningfully articulated. To a considerable extent, this approach to interrogating the past arose out of women’s dissatisfaction with their invisibility and silencing in the otherwise masculine and male-dominated field of history.\textsuperscript{20} Recognizing the rise in critical discussion centered on women and issues of concern to them as a long overdue and valuable turn in the tide of scholarship and public debate, I must emphasize that this shift has had the inadvertent effect of marginalizing men and masculinities in critical discourses on gender. Yet studies about men and masculinities are finding an ever increasing place of prominence in Gender Studies, and “Where men’s outlooks and culturally defined characteristics were formerly the unexamined norm for science, citizenship, and religion, the specificity of different masculinities is now recognized and their origins, structures, and dynamics are investigated.”\textsuperscript{21}

The scope of this research has its limitations. Perhaps most strikingly, this work’s primary limitation rests in its consideration of masculinities associated with the largely heteronormative society prompted both by successive Western colonialisms and deeply entrenched Catholicism in Guam. As R.W. Connell, Jeff Hearn, and Michael S. Kimmel assert, “The gendering of men only exists in the intersections with other social divisions and social differences.”\textsuperscript{22} Their edited volume, \textit{Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities}, includes a diverse range of contributions that explore these social divisions and differences. Each facilitates the construction of a multitude masculinities that transcend the heteronormative to include

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 3.
feminist, queer, gay, transsexual, transgender, and several other masculinities. As Beynon similarly asserts,

…while all men have the male body in common (although even that comes in a variety of sizes, shapes, and appearances), there are numerous forms and expressions of gender, of ‘being masculine’ and ‘being feminine’. Masculinity is always interpolated by cultural, historical geographical location and in our time the combined influence of feminism and the gay movement has exploded the conception of a uniform masculinity and even sexuality is no longer held to be fixed or innate.23

Native Hawaiian Anthropologist and Ethnic Studies scholar Ty Kāwika Tengan emphasizes the limitations of too narrow a focus on heteronormative masculinities. Alluding to the Gramscian-Marxist concept of “hegemonic masculinities (those dominant ideals of what men should be and how they should act),” first developed by Connell, Tengan asserts that examining such masculinities in direct contrast to “subaltern” masculinities serves to “…replicate the debilitating dichotomies upon which colonial hegemonies and authority rest as well as to miss the complexities of what actually takes place ‘on the ground’.”24 Gender scholar Margaret Jolly echoes Tengan’s caution against binary approaches to masculinities, noting that “…a rather different approach to Oceanic masculinities has emerged across diverse disciplines. This sees masculinities in the plural, in relational and historical terms, analyzing the power relations between dominant and alternative/subjugated modes of masculinities and connecting local and global ideas and realities.”25

As both Tengan and Jolly suggest, various masculinities that transcend heteronormative or hegemonic prescriptions warrant closer and more careful interrogation. My focus in this

work on masculinities associated with heteronormative society is not intended to discount the prevalence of multiple masculinities among Chamorro men in the past or present, nor is it intended to overlook the various social divisions and differences that lend to Guam’s past and present. My intent in acknowledging the heteronormative realities of prewar Guam and the masculinities that arise out of such realities is not meant to discount, subvert, or reduce to an oversimplified singularity that which transcends normative spaces. Rather, I employ this focus on the heteronormative to highlight subaltern and even hybrid masculinities, following the analytical and interpretive example of Tengan who promotes the “…need to see gendered social actors as complexly situated, located, and positioned in multiple settings and historical contexts.”

An additional limitation to this work deserving of some acknowledgement is the absence of attention to sexuality and its relationship to Chamorro masculinities. Gender scholars tend to agree on the inextricable links between male sexual desire and notions of masculinity. Ken Plummer, for example, draws from the work of Ethel Person, and both scholars contend that men’s sexuality in general and men’s heterosexuality specifically, both in their physical and symbolic forms, serve as a powerful “mainstays” in the ways that men conceptualize and perform their masculinity. Jolly similarly asserts that baseline understandings of acceptable masculinity rest on assumptions that “…conforming to a heterosexual script, desiring women is equally a mark of a proper man…”

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26 Tengan, Native Men Remade, 15.
Recognizing the weight of sexuality in the construction of male identity and its pervasive influence over the performance of various masculinities, I do not address sexuality in this work for various reasons. Firstly, there exists a major dearth of archival sources specific to the time period under review that address male sexuality directly. This leaves any analysis and interpretation of this particular issue to pure speculation. Moreover, the possibility of inquiring with Chamorro males who have relevant experience of the time period under review to support such speculation has proven difficult and even unrealistic. My personal position as a Chamorro male who is dramatically younger than the interview subjects discussed in this work compounds the limited number of Chamorro men still alive who might be able to validate or expand on any speculation. I have found that attempts to instigate any discussion of sexuality with individuals of a differing generation and among individuals with whom I do not share a long and established personal relationship was interpreted as stepping outside of the culturally acceptable norms of behavior.\(^{29}\) Thus, the efforts of this Chamorro researcher to engage in candid discussions of sexuality among an elder generation have been remarkably unsuccessful to date. Still, the role that sex and sexuality play in the construction of Chamorro masculinities is a critical space sorely in need of extensive exploration. It is my hope that this work will be one step toward that exploration at a point in time when I am more equipped to tackle what has been an elusive, but essential, fascinating, and promising component of engaging Chamorro masculinities.

In acknowledging the limitations of the scope of this research in the specific context of gender, I am further reminded of the limitations that accompany general tendencies to

approaching Guam’s past as a linear, neatly organized, and manageable succession of events and eras that obscure the complexity and richness of the island’s past. Such approaches to conceptualizing the past further uphold the fallacy that the individual periods in which Guam’s history is organized exist independently of each other and lack any connectedness to each other. This work narrows its focus to the distinct period of Guam history in the years 1898 to 1941. The specific time span under review in this work is a considerably short period within a much longer history of ongoing US colonialism in Guam, provoking questions as to the extent that this research further propagates Guam history as a series of distinct and disconnected, definable historic periods.

Acknowledging the limitations and dangers of periodizing any approach to the past, I elect to proceed with my interrogation of Chamorro masculinities situated specifically in that which is known as the first Naval era of Guam’s history. My investigation of Chamorro masculinities during these first several decades of US colonialism in Guam is meant to unpack the earliest, substantial cross-cultural encounters between Americans and Chamorros as a means of offering a foundation that might be of value to the ongoing examination of the saliency of Chamorro masculinities across time and space, both in the past and well into the present.

Indeed, Chamorro masculinities and the ways in which they engaged American military colonialism were patently shaped by gender relations prevalent in the pre-contact and Spanish colonial periods. Moreover, these intersections persisted in the aftermath of Naval administration when its administrative powers were transferred to the US Department of Interior, and they continue to persist well into the twenty-first century. To avoid the perpetuation of narrow approaches to the past as a categorical and systematic chronology of historic periods, it
becomes necessary to come to terms with the larger historical context in which this particular study is situated.

**Stepping Back: Guam’s Past in Review**

Guam, the southernmost of the Marianas archipelago, is the largest single island in Oceanic region of Micronesia. It comprises roughly twenty percent of the total land area in the region of the Pacific whose name means “tiny islands.” While ancient Chamorro cosmology credits the creation of the Marianas and its people to two sibling gods in Guam, archaeological and linguistic evidence suggest that Guam was discovered by seafaring people originating in island Southeast Asia some 3,500 to 3,700 years before the present.\(^{30}\) These early settlers to Guam and the fourteen other islands of the archipelago developed into a homogenous cultural and linguistic group that eventually came to be called Chamorro.

Chamorros of the Marianas organized themselves socially and politically through matrilineal clans based on the concept of *achafñak* (matrilineality).\(^{31}\) Historian Lawrence J. Cunningham classifies pre-contact Chamorro clans specifically as avuncuclans in which family lands, wealth, clan identity, and the right of men to hold title and positions of leadership were passed through the female line.\(^{32}\) While women held notable power due to their inherent role as mothers in the *achafñak* system that governed the distribution of wealth and power, Chamorro men too held considerable political clout. This is evident in the what has been characterized as an “elaborate division” of power, responsibility, and labor between men and women whereby

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\(^{31}\) *Achafñak* derives from the Chamorro prefix *acha’*, indicating sameness, and the word *fañâgu*, meaning to give birth. This term then translates to “of the same birth” or “of the same womb.”

familial and political clout was held by individuals awarded the titles of maga’låhi (first/leading son) and maga’håga (first/leading daughter). These titles were bestowed on the highest ranking males and females within a clan who were ascribed power and respect as a result of age, as well as life experience and accomplishment.

In addition to the organization of families into clans, society at large followed what has been deemed a two-tiered caste system. The Chamorri high caste was divided into two groupings. The first of the two was known as the Matua (or Matao), and it was out of this group that the maga’håga and maga’låhi arose. The second group called Acha’ot shared high caste status with the Matua, but could not assume the highest ranking titles or ruling powers. Both groups within the Chamorri caste worked in occupations of high stature including spiritual and medical healers, deep-sea fishermen, navigators, canoe builders, and those skilled in erecting the large stone pillars called latte.

After millennia of developing and growing, Chamorro culture and society entered into a new era on March 6, 1521 with the arrival of the expedition led by Portuguese explorer Ferdinand Magellan commissioned by Spain. Known as the first cross-cultural encounter between Pacific Islanders and people from outside of the region, Magellan’s brief three day visit to Guam was marked with violence and cultural misunderstanding between two worlds colliding

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for the first time. In 1565, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi formally claimed Guam a possession of Spain in an effort to secure a provisioning station for what was to become the historically infamous transpacific Spanish galleon route. Still, Spanish interactions with Chamorros were infrequent over the next hundred years or so, limited to the offshore trading of basic provisions needed for Spanish ships in exchange for iron pieces highly desired by Chamorros.

A fixed Spanish presence in the Mariana Islands commenced with the arrival of Father Diego Luis de San Vitores in 1668. The Spanish aristocrat turned Jesuit missionary priest established a Catholic mission in Guam with royal support from Spain’s queen regent, Mariana of Austria, after whom San Vitores named the island chain. Efforts to implant Spanish Catholicism threatened many of the practices and beliefs of the Chamorros provoking a period of intermittent conflicts that spanned nearly thirty years, known collectively as the Spanish-Chamorro Wars. The violence of the Spanish-Chamorro Wars increasingly declined toward the end of the seventeenth century, but not before a massive depopulation of the Marianas had occurred.

In an effort to limit mobility and thereby exert increased control over the Chamorro population dispersed throughout the archipelago, Spanish authorities depopulated the northern islands leaving only the two southernmost of the Marianas, Guam and Rota, occupied by Chamorros by the beginning of the 1700s. Although an estimated 20,000 Chamorros resided in

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35 Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, R.A. Skelton, trans. and ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 58-61. In the first contact that occurred in 1521, Magellan’s chronicler Antonio Pigafetta named the islands “Islas de las Velas Latinas” after witnessing the Chamorro “flying proa” canoes that moved with speed and agility the sailors had never seen elsewhere. Pigafetta, however, renamed the islands shortly after to “Islas de los Ladrones,” or Islands of Thieves, after Chamorros began taking items from the Spanish ships. The European sailors interpreted the acts as thievery, although these acts were more aptly in line with Chamorro systems of reciprocity. Following the protocols inherent to these systems, the Chamorros present at this first contact began taking items which they believed they were entitled to in return for the provisions they had just provided to the Spanish sailors. This misinterpretation of reciprocity as thievery resulted in the outbreak of violence aboard the ships and the death of several Chamorros and Spaniards.
the Marianas upon San Vitores’ 1668 arrival, only 3,143 Chamorros were alive and accounted for in Guam and Rota by the first Spanish census conducted in 1710. Canonical texts once attributed widespread death among the Chamorro population to Chamorro men specifically who supposedly perished en masse when engaging in battle with superior Spanish soldiers and their weapons. It is now largely agreed upon, however, that epidemic disease introduced by the Spanish was the primary cause of the depopulation, with warfare, other cross-cultural violence, and overall societal demoralization as secondary factors.  

Upon the successful completion of Spanish conquest in the Marianas, Guam ascended to a place of prominence for Spain as a highly important strategic provisioning station for galleons traveling between Mexico and the Philippines. In the 230 years of Spanish administration (1668-1898), more than fifty appointed military officers served as governors of the Marianas who were given authority to protect the mission, pacify the Chamorros, and safeguard Guam as a key stopover. Spain, however, entered into a period of decline as its control and wealth diminished across its vast empire. Thus, the Marianas largely deteriorated into what has been understood as a colony of neglect, especially as the galleon trade between Mexico and the Philippines came to a complete end by 1815. In looking back on Guam’s years as a stopover on the trans-Pacific galleon route, Spanish Governor Francisco Olive y García proclaimed in 1887, “If the Mariana

36 Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall: A History of Guam*, Revised Edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2011), 44; Michael J. Levin, “A Brief History of the Population of Guam from 1710 through 1897,” *Guam History: Perspectives*, Vol. 2 (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, 2005), 83; and Nicholas Goetzfridt. “Spanish Response to Chamorro Depopulation,” Guampedia. http://guampedia.com/spanish-response-to-chamorro-depopulation/ (accessed June 5, 2013). The most inflated estimate of the Chamorro population at the time of San Vitores’ arrival is 100,000, although this estimate has largely been discounted. Various sources offer differing figures to represent the Chamorro population at the time of the 1710 Spanish census, although the general agreement is that this population was in the 3,000 range. Sources also indicate that Chamorro men outnumbered Chamorro women at the time of the census, further disproving notions of warfare among men exclusively as the primary factor in depopulation.

Islands progressed or gained material improvement during the time they served as the stopping point for ships crossing the Pacific, only vestiges of ruinous public buildings and forts remain.”

The rise of whaling in the Pacific in the mid-1800s provided some respite for Guam economically, as ships from England, France, and other European countries sought provisions and refuge in Guam. But this was a temporary lifeline for Guam and the fruits of this lucrative trade in the region were short lived. As Olive y García points out, by the 1880s, “Unfortunately, nothing remains in the Marianas to mark the period of the whalers, who during a quarter of a century spent money in abundance. Only a kind of tradition lingers.”

Despite what has been characterized as a time of neglect and deterioration during the Spanish administration of Guam between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the entrenchment of Roman Catholicism and Spanish custom thrived to a sizeable extent. The evolution of Chamorro society during this time has been considered along the lines of “Hispanicization,” or the socio-historical process through which Chamorros syncretized their existing values, beliefs, and practices with the newly imposed Hispanic influence. The resulting customs, behaviors, and traditions that arose from this period of syncretism have come to be known collectively as kustumbren Chamorro. Catholicism and Chamorro culture in this regard have been discussed largely in terms that position the two as one and the same. Chamorro scholar Robert A. Underwood ascertains in his exploration of Hispanicization in Guam that the complex interactions between culture and the new Spanish order engendered an identity

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39 Ibid., 11.
“…which sees being Chamorro and Catholic as two halves of the same whole.”

He further adds that

…religion was more than simply religious. It was a socializing agency through which identity, continuity and good social order could be reaffirmed. Consequently, the Church was not just a house of worship; a place to express religious piety. It provided a framework through which all important forms of social and cultural interaction could be played out. As such, it became a symbol of culture as well as religion and to separate the two would rip the process from a context in which its true meaning can manifest itself.

As Underwood and others bring to the fore, the amalgamation of Chamorro culture and Catholicism can and should be interpreted as not so much an abandonment of indigenous culture in exchange for newly introduced European culture, but rather, as syncretic adaptations to outside influence that could translate into the existing cultural framework. As some have argued, “In many ways, the Chamorros managed to incorporate the practices of the Church into their own ways of life. It is almost as if they converted that which came to convert them.”

Indeed, as Vicente M. Diaz suggests, “…the Spanish process of reducing Natives to Catholicism was simultaneously the Chamorro process of reproducing indigenous spiritualities and values.”

The long era of Spanish colonial authority in the Marianas drew to a close at the end of the nineteenth century with signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898 to end the Spanish-American War. Spain, already having been in progressive political and economic decline for a considerable amount of time, found itself at war with the rising world power that was the United States. To end the conflict, the Treaty of Paris was signed ceding Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam to the US. Other Spanish possessions in Micronesia, including the

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41 Ibid., 5.
43 Vicente M. Diaz, Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 27.
rest of the Mariana Islands north of Guam, were sold to Germany, leading to the first of several geopolitical divisions of the Marianas that persist in the present. On December 23, 1898, US President William McKinley issued Executive Order 108-A, placing Guam under the control of the Department of the Navy and authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to form the Naval Government of Guam. Where Spain’s primary concerns in the Marianas were invested in national trade interests and the conversion of the indigenous population to Catholicism, Chamorros now embarked into the twentieth century with a new brand of military colonialism on the horizon.

On January 12, 1899, McKinley and Secretary of the Navy John D. Long issued the “Instructions for the Military Commander of the Island of Guam, Ladrones, Pacific Ocean.” The instructions proclaimed US sovereignty over Guam and asserted naval authority as supreme. They further required that “…there must be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority, to repress disturbance and to overcome all the obstacles to the bestowal of blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Island of Guam under the free flag of the United States.” The instructions concluded on a note that seemingly diverged away from the “strong arm” approach to governance. Among the closing directives in the instructions were orders that,

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44 The Treaty of Paris of 1898 instigated the first geopolitical division of the Marianas as Guam was taken as an unincorporated territory of the US and Germany became the administering power of the northern islands where populations had become exclusively concentrated on Rota, Tinian, and Saipan. Japan assumed administering power over the northern islands as part of a League of Nations Mandate in 1919 and maintained control over those islands through the end of World War II in 1944. Guam remained a US possession during this time, with the exception of Japan’s World War II occupation of the island from 1941 to 1944. Today, Guam remains an unincorporated territory of the US while the northern islands have since negotiated a covenant with the US forming what is now officially the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). Despite close political affiliations with the US sustained by both Guam and the CNMI, differing political statuses, as well as social and cultural tensions between the Chamorros of these islands that have arisen out of long histories of geopolitical separation, continue to promote division between the two groups.


46 Ibid., 2.
Finally, it should be the earnest and paramount aim of the naval administration to win the confidence, respect and affection of the inhabitants of the Island of Guam by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation...47

The Navy viewed itself and its role in governing Guam as not only benevolent, but largely paternalistic. It viewed Chamorros as fundamentally childlike and in need of rapid Americanization as a means to uplift what was seen as a “...spiritless and mongrelized population that the United States Navy was called upon to rehabilitate.”48 In spite of the paternalistic and benevolent mission assumed by the Navy to assimilate its newly acquired Chamorro subjects into American ways of life, and that there should be a “good and stable” government under the “free flag of the United States” in Guam, Naval governance of the island is aptly characterized as an autocratic dictatorship.

Appointed Naval Governors of Guam held unrestrained authority on the island and executed a series of verbal and written General and Executive Orders. These governors, oftentimes of midlevel rank, were appointed to short tours of duty in Guam and the vast majority of them were largely ignorant about the island and its people. In just over forty years, Guam fell under the purview of thirty-eight governors during the first period of naval administration. Their orders were designed to legislate compliance with the policies created to advance the Navy’s mission to rehabilitation, organize, administer, and make productive the Chamorro people. Such policies implemented American systems of capitalism, education, politics, recreation, commemoration, and more.

47 Ibid., 2.
The extent to which the Naval Government was truly benevolent, and the degree to which the Americanization of Chamorros was achieved has been a point of contention in recent discussions and many remain skeptical of endorsements of these ideas in the historiography and general historical consciousness. These contestations and skepticisms require attention to gain a more focused view of US colonialism in Guam and its impact on Chamorro society.

Upon reflecting on over half a century of Naval governance in Guam, and in preparation to hand administering powers over the island to the US Department of Interior, the *US Navy Report on Guam, 1899-1950* declared that “The responsibility [of the Naval Government of Guam] to the Guamanians was to guide them from disease-ridden medieval peonage to the dignity and demeanor of a healthy, self-reliant citizenry in the modern world.”

Maintaining that the native population was one that suffered neglect and abuse at the hand of the former Spanish administration, the Naval Government in 1950 asserted that the tutelage and care it provided to Chamorros lent to a “gradually awakened but accelerating ambition” that resulted in the natives becoming “…a cohesive and progressive people, capable of self-discipline and of adapting the instruments of modern civilization to their own advancement.”

The Naval Government of Guam’s success in achieving its mission “to rehabilitate, to organize, to administer, and to make productive” the Chamorro people was lauded in descriptions that postured the native population as friendly to the US colonial administration and welcoming to Americans. In the first of many annual reports to be produced by the Naval Governors of Guam, Naval Governor Seaton Schroeder remarked in 1901 that, “I have had occasion at various times to note and to mention to the Department that many little notions on

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49 Ibid., 8.
50 Ibid., 1.
51 Ibid., 8.
the part of natives of the Island indicate a friendly feeling for the American government, its flag, and its representatives here.”

This friendliness apparently grew from “little notions” to more pronounced assertions of patriotism over the several decades of Naval rule.

By 1934, this universal and fervent patriotism manifested itself in what one unnamed American writer coined “Guam’s greatest patriotic celebration,” otherwise known as Flag Day. Speaking to the celebration held to commemorate the first hoisting of the US flag over the government house in Guam’s capital of Hagåtña, the writer memorialized the occasion overall as a “day of rejoicing.”

As part of the many addresses delivered across the island on that day by American authorities and the indigenous elite alike, Chamorro school Principal Remedios L.G. Perez reminded her native pupils and greater audience of the benefits afforded them by the US. She emphasized that “All these kindnesses and all these improvements come to us through the American Flag, the American Government, the American People. And, does it ask for a penny in return? It does not! But it is expected of all of us to appreciate the benefits we enjoy under American rule and we should always love, honor and uphold that flag and never bring it to shame.”

Although deeply entrenched in both canonical historiography and in popular understandings of Guam’s past, numerous historians have disputed the oversimplified understanding of the US Naval administration as one of benevolence and limited assumptions of Chamorros as wholehearted and indebted patriots. Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori argues that the Navy’s mission to rehabilitate, organize, administer, and make Chamorros

54 Ibid., 213.
productive was merely philanthropic in superficial terms. She further asserts that this mission was formulated as a means of serving larger rhetorical motives of masking the military’s regard of strategic interests and self-promotion above the needs of the Chamorros it governed in Guam. Hattori further contends that Chamorros found myriad ways to resist the encroachment of the Naval Governors’ oftentimes arbitrary policy to which the native population recognized little to no legitimacy. Drawing from James C. Scott’s notion of everyday peasant resistance, Hattori identifies numerous examples of false compliance, dissimulation, foot dragging, and other forms of protest that largely contributed to the ineffective implementation of policy, and more broadly, to a lethargy in efforts to Americanize Chamorros. As Hattori convincingly argues, efforts by the Naval government to assimilate Chamorros were considerably reliant on “the goodwill of the Chamorro people,” and their compliance with only those policies they felt would benefit them.

Acknowledging the issue of Chamorro loyalty to the US as one that was “pressing and highly visible” in the 1930s, Chamorro historian Keith Lujan Camacho remains suspicious of the extent to which such loyalties actually existed. As he argues, “American efforts to garner the loyalties of Chamorros in the first half of the twentieth century were fundamentally racist, belittling Chamorros in every manner possible. …The militarist dimension of American loyalty attempted to ensure that Chamorros did not challenge the naval operations of the island in particular and the role of the American Navy in general.” Camacho notes that these racially

57 Keith Lujan Camacho, “Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands” (Dissertation: University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, 2005), 48.
motivated and informed machinations of the American administration in Guam were not devices to which Chamorros were completely oblivious.

With regard to the parade of “-zations” throughout Guam’s history to include Hispanicization, Americanization, and Japanization, Diaz encourages caution in accepting binary assumptions that assimilationist approaches to colonizing Guam were either entirely successful or wholly rejected. As he emphasizes,

In spite of (or precisely because of) nearly four hundred years of ongoing colonial domination, scholars must scrutinize the historical processes by which the natives have learned to work within and against the grain of such outsider attempts to colonize the Chamorro. We might look at the ways that the Chamorro have "localized" nonlocal ideas and practices, how they have sought to convert the dangerous into the pleasurable, the foreign into the local, the tragic into the comic.  

In this regard, and mirroring arguments offered in relation to the syncretic adaptations that occurred under Spanish rule, Hattori suggests that, “rather than viewing Americanization in the prewar era as the monolithic marginalization of the Chamorro culture, it can be argued that the navy government itself was appropriated and absorbed into the Chamorro cultural landscape.”

The Naval Government of Guam’s administration of the island was abruptly and violently disrupted on December 8, 1941 when Japan initiated its World War II occupation of the island. The brutal wartime occupation shaped forever the manner in which Chamorros would view and understand the time before and after the war, and specifically, their relationship to the United States. The return of US military forces in 1944, celebrated thereafter each July 21 as “Liberation Day,” has been interpreted as a manifestation of American military heroism and humanitarianism leading to the emergence of what Diaz has coined “Liberation Discourse.”

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discourse, enlivened in historiography, commemoration, and numerous other platforms, intersects the memories of Chamorro war survivors with those of American soldiers and the politically charged motives of the US. In doing so, both history and historiography promote an embedded understanding of Chamorros as intensely loyal, patriotic, and grateful to heroic American military men, thus solidifying – or perhaps constructing altogether – potent memories of a prewar golden era of American benevolence and a postwar legitimization of self-serving US military interventions. Though these post-war entanglements have significant implications for the evolution of Chamorro masculinities, these extend beyond the scope of this specific study. This work, however, seeks to provide a useful framework for approaching such analysis in the future.

Following the US reoccupation of Guam in 1944, the Naval Government was reinstated and remained in power up to 1950. Thereafter, oversight of Guam was transferred to the US Department of Interior. Today, Guam is governed by a locally elected Governor and Legislature, both under the jurisdiction of the US Federal Government. The people of Guam elect a delegate to the US Congress, however, that delegate does not retain voting rights in the House. Although the Navy left government in Guam, it and other branches of the US military continue to maintain a pronounced presence on the island and hold substantial influence in everyday political, economic, social, and environmental affairs in Guam.

Masculinities in Theory and Practice: Gender Studies, Postcolonialism, Militarization, and Me

Given Guam’s extensive history of engagements with foreign powers, and the ongoing American colonial context in which the island is situated, this work seeks to further the efforts of the aforementioned scholars in more critically recognizing the complexity of Chamorro encounters with colonialism. My approach to doing so rests largely in a reassessment and reinterpretation of existing historiographies. That reassessment and reinterpretation will draw largely from the work of critics and theorists of Gender Studies and perspectives of postcolonialism and militarization. The recent rise in the study of men and masculinities in the larger area of Gender Studies has suggested the value of employing such theoretical lenses in attempting to delve deeper into complex gender constructions. Moreover, these theoretical lenses prove valuable in considering Chamorro masculinities in the context of American military colonialism. Here, American notions and expectations of men and masculinity transcended national boundaries through imperialist expansion, finding their way to Guam and encountering preexisting notions and expectations of Chamorro men and manhood.

Colonialism and its effects feature prominently in approaches to Gender Studies in general, and gender as it relates to the broader interdisciplinary field of Pacific Islands Studies. Connell posits that to reconcile local masculinities, men’s gender practices need to be considered in the realm of global structures. Connell contends that, “Locally situated lives are (and were) powerfully influenced by geopolitical struggles, Western imperial expansion and colonial empires, global markets, multinational corporations, labor migration, and transnational media.”61 Connell further asserts that the interaction between the local and the global in general qualify as a “global gender order” in which “Imperial conquest, neocolonialism, and the current world

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systems of power, investment, trade, and communication have brought very diverse societies in contact with each other. The gender orders of those societies have consequently been brought into contact with each other.\textsuperscript{62}

These gender orders and the ways in which they have come into contact with each other have been largely overlooked until recently. Speaking to the practice of anthropology specifically, Robert Morrell and Sandra Swart argue that, “Anthropologists have left a rich description of the doings of men, although seldom have these been put into a conscious gender frame, and rarely have these scholars incorporated the history of colonial and postcolonial society into their ethnographic accounts.”\textsuperscript{63} Sharing that sentiment and pushing the proverbial gender and postcolonial envelope, Connell suggests transcending what has been, for the most part, an exclusively ethnographic and local conceptualization of masculinities, and rather, begin moving toward ways to understand globalization as pressing influence on gender power.\textsuperscript{64} The rich written record of the “doings” of Chamorro men which will be discussed at length in the next chapter lacks critical interrogation beyond their literal and face-value meanings. Thus, this research draws heavily from the call in Gender Studies to move beyond the literal and the local, and instead, consider the broader discursive implications of colonialism and globalization on Chamorro men and masculinities.

In considering Chamorro men and masculinities beyond the local and literal, I turn to gender scholars who have theorized the role of men and masculinities as they relate specifically to US expansionism in the late nineteenth century. Speaking to the gender norms and ideas

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 73.
\textsuperscript{64} Connell, “Globalization, Imperialism, and Masculinities,” 72.
prominent among “jingoes,” or men eager for the US to engage in what was to become the Spanish-American War, Kristin L. Hoganson suggests that, what unified these men was not so much commonalities between their class, regions, or political affiliations. Rather, “What brought jingoes together was a shared enthusiasm for war, predicated on common gender assumptions.”

Hoganson further asserts that, “As both motive and method, gender helped men from different regions, parties, and walks of life to come together to form a powerful political movement…gender worked as a motivating ideology and a political posture in debates over war and empire.” Theorizing on the complex engagement between masculinities via militarized colonialism specifically, gender scholar Cynthia Enloe posits that “Introducing masculinity into a discussion of international politics, and thereby making men visible as men, should prompt us to explore differences in the politics of masculinity between countries – and between ethnic groups in the same country.”

Drawing from the work of E. Anthony Rotundo, Gerhardt Schwab argues that “American ‘manhood’ implies a certain universality of meaning and practice at a given time.” What occurs when that universality of meaning and practice is exported and imposed upon men and masculinities in a transforming society such as Guam in the early twentieth century? This work seeks to address that very question.

This work further aspires to contribute to ongoing discussions about gender within the field of area studies committed to the Pacific Islands region of which Guam is a part. Debates

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66 Ibid., 9.
over Pacific Islander masculinities in particular have been at the fore of gender discussions in recent Pacific Islands area studies. *The Contemporary Pacific*, regarded as a premier scholarly journal of Pacific Islands Studies, dedicated a special issue in 2008 to these very discussions. As guest editor of the “Re-Membering Oceanic Masculinities” issue, Jolly rightfully highlights the fact that, “Although much has been written about men in Oceania, there has been far less theoretical interrogation of diverse and changing masculinities.” Jolly further notes that masculinities are not fixed, but rather, fluid across time and place. They manifest themselves “in relation – and sometimes in resistance – to the hegemonic forces of colonialism and contending imperial modes of masculinity.” This work seeks to pursue the spirit of Jolly’s call to interrogate not only diverse and evolving masculinities, but more provocatively, their fluidity, relationality, and resistance to hegemonic colonial forces that have been and continue to be prominent fixtures in Pacific Islands History and Pacific Islands Studies.

In addition to the field of Gender and Pacific Islands Studies, this research will draw heavily from the intellectual discourses and debates occurring in the wider field of postcolonial studies. Postcolonialism’s primary concern rests in critical analysis of the legacies of colonialism and imperialism through examination of the intricacies of knowledge production, the struggle for social and political power, and the complexities of representation all within the framework of the colonizer-colonized relationship. Gender scholars have argued for the usefulness of postcolonial theory and debates in that postcolonialism “…yokes a diverse range

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70 Ibid., 1.
of experiences, cultures, and problems” in the aftermath of the “zenith of colonialism,” regardless of the current state of that colonialism.  

Perhaps the most prominent attempt to explore relationships defined by imbalances of political, economic, and social power arose out of the Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci’s notion of cultural hegemony. In its simplest form, Gramsci’s cultural hegemony is essentially characterized as the domination of a group by a ruling class whose world view becomes the accepted norm – a norm which legitimizes the ruling class’ economic, political, and social imperatives. Although Gramsci’s theoretical development of cultural hegemony, as it was located specifically in his observations of the early twentieth century Italian peasantry seems a far cry from the relations between the Chamorro and the US Naval Government of Guam, the theoretical evolution of cultural hegemony in postcolonialism proves promising to this study.

Gramsci’s concept of hegemony informed what emerged as studies of the subaltern, or those who exist outside of the hegemonic power structures. Subaltern studies informs this particular research in their commitment to exploring what has been classified as “history from below.” E. San Juan, Jr. notes that

Subaltern classes have no history of their own in the sense that the official historical documents do not notice them, or else submerge them in the master-narrative of the conquerors. From Gramsci’s point of view, the ‘subaltern’ cannot be conceived apart from the totality of social relations at any given historical conjuncture. In contrast to conventional usage, the ‘subaltern’ is not so much an empirical fact as a theoretical element in understanding order and change in society. 

Issues of the absence and erasure of Chamorro men from the historical record which have been discussed in this chapter, and which will further be discussed in the chapters that follow, are central to this research on indigenous masculinities. Thus, the employment of subaltern studies

71 Morrell and Swart, “Men in the Third World,” 93.
72 E. San Juan, Jr. Beyond Postcolonial Theory (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 87.
in this regard will aid in the unpacking and decompartmentalizing of embedded discourses promoting the absence and erasure of Chamorro men and masculinities.

Though powerful in its call to explore the past from the vantage point of the disempowered whose voices have otherwise been subverted and silenced, subaltern studies in their purest forms have their limitations. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak addressed such limitations in her seminal essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in which she was highly critical of Western scholarship’s attempt to speak for the subaltern, ultimately leading to her conclusion that no, “The subaltern cannot speak.”73 Here, Spivak argues that the proclivity of intellectuals to fetishize the disenfranchisement of the subaltern through valorizing a tangible experience of oppression is often achieved without critical examination or awareness of the role of the intellectual as privileged and empowered in relation to the subaltern subject.74 In this sense, the otherwise conscious effort to uplift the subaltern from obscurity, but within the confines and language of the privileged intelligentsia, further diminishes the voice of the subaltern who has become an objectified subject of the intellectual elite. Spivak argues elsewhere that this uncritical positioning of the intellectual in relation to the subaltern facilitates a situation in which “A certain double standard, a certain sanctioned ignorance, can now begin to operate in the areas of the study of central and so-called marginal cultures.”75

Spivak’s cautionary sentiments provide sound direction for this particular research and its employment of the theoretical frameworks discussed thus far. The immense power of colonial domination over any given place and people cannot be underplayed. But, caution must be

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74 Ibid., 69.
exercised in avoiding approaches that rely too heavily on stagnant and uncomplicated relationships of the dominant and dominated. Such uncritical views thrust subjects of study into perpetual victimhood where they lack agency and voice. To avoid this limited approach, renowned theorist of post-colonial studies Homi K. Bhabha encourages “…the historian to get away from defining subaltern consciousness as binary, as having positive or negative dimensions. It allows the articulation of subaltern agency to emerge as relocation and reinscription.”

Rather than embracing, and thereby perpetuating, stifled and inadequate binaries between colonizer and colonized, dominant and dominated, subaltern studies have evolved toward more nuanced approaches to understanding complex relationships that arise out of histories of colonialism.

Postcolonial theorists have advanced these nuanced approaches through the lens of hybridity for which Bhabha is widely credited with conceptualizing. San Juan argues that “Postcolonial doctrine assigns ontological priority to the phenomenon of cultural difference between colonized and colonizer. The articulation of such difference in ‘in-between’ spaces produces hybridization of identities…” Bhabha’s notion of hybridity and identities of “in-between” spaces in the context of colonialism argues that

What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These ‘in-between’ spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.”

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Bhabha’s hybridity offers much in the way of working toward new transcultural gendered identities among Chamorro men within the broader site of US colonization, as well as in the particular sites of American education, economy, militarization, politics, and popular culture that this study seeks to investigate. In this regard, Chamorro masculinities can be viewed as not merely reflective of or resistant to overpowering hegemonic forces, but rather, as constantly evolving over time in the “in-between” spaces instigated by US colonialism and the importation of American gender norms into a non-American space with preexisting gender norms of its own.

Hybridized identities will fare prominently in the articulation of the findings of this research. The emergence of indigenous Chamorro scholars in the last decades of the twentieth century engendered a long overdue and much needed confrontation of the prevailing historiographies that praised benevolent Americans whose assimilationist policies achieved noteworthy success in producing a loyal and patriotic Chamorro people saved from near extinction. The self-conscious efforts of these indigenous scholars to confront these inaccurate histories, however, have facilitated the rise in understandings of Chamorros in binary opposition to Americans. In this regard, Chamorros have been fashioned as a culturally autonomous people despite the undeniably pervasive influence of ongoing colonialism in Guam.

Hattori’s argument that Chamorros only selected elements of Americanization that benefited them during the first Naval era reflects the paradigm shift between outdated Euro-American historiographies and the emergence of indigenous voices in historical articulation. In Hattori’s analysis, Chamorros are positioned as conscious historical agents who disrupt the canon’s inaccurate portrayals of them as culturally impressionable and inauthentic sell outs. This re-positioning of Chamorros in relation to Americans and US colonialism was indeed a

refreshing addition to an otherwise verbose and stifling written historical record. Some, like Underwood, have veered away sharply from the prevailing historiography arguing that prior to World War II “The Chamorro people were not Americans, did not see themselves as American-in-waiting, and probably did not care much about being American.”

The paradigm shift evident in Hattori, Underwood, and other indigenous scholars’ work indeed reflects what can be characterized as a “new kind of heroic narrative to displace that of the colonizers.” Having taught History of Guam classes at the University of Guam for the past several academic years, I have proudly incorporated this narrative in my teaching as a way of re-articulating Guam’s past in more meaningful and accurate ways. More and more, however, twenty-first century realities seem to suggest far more composite and layered Chamorro identities among the students who sit before me – identities that increasingly reflect the multiplicity and fluidity of boundaries that have otherwise been fashioned as fixed and clearly drawn. As Diaz argues

…Guam’s history does not have to be understood as the definitive Euro-Americanization of the Chamorro people at the tragic expense of indigenous culture. Nor does Chamorro culture need to be understood in terms of immutably bounded, neatly contained thing that was once upon a time characterized by essential qualities, pure and untainted, as Chamorro culture has a (a)historically been conceived and represented.

In this regard, this research embraces the notion of hybridity, not as a method of countering the groundbreaking work of historians and scholars before me, but perhaps rearticulating it in alternative ways that embrace the multitude of “in-between” spaces that Chamorro as a whole inhabit.

81 Geoffrey White, email message to author, May 15, 2015.
This research further employs the lens of militarization in considering its findings. The assignment of the US Navy as a governing power engendered a markedly unique and previously unknown posture for Chamorros, not merely as subjects of yet another colonial administration, but subjects of a military colonial administration in particular. Previously understood as the simple act of expanding or implementing military forces in a given area or time, or the act of making something military in character, the term militarization is now employed in a far more complex nature by academics. Thus, I draw from the work of Camacho, Laurel Monnig, and Catherine Lutz whose definitions of militarization focus on its discursive nature. Where Monnig and Camacho define militarization, in part, as “…a discursive process based on the representation and exchange of ideas,” Lutz likewise focuses on the discursive as a dynamic and driving factor in the legitimization of military force and policy.83

Employing definitions of militarization that privilege the discursive as an analytical lens, Camacho and Monnig assert that, “Given the history of Spanish efforts to suppress Chamorro political organization and power, Chamorro men have come to see the US military as spaces to remasculanize their emasculated images.”84 While Monnig and Camacho pose a provocative analysis of Chamorro men’s use of US military enlistment as a mechanism for remasculating themselves in the latter half of the twentieth century, this research seeks to explore the roots of this in earlier encounters of Chamorro men and militarization at the onset of military colonialism in Guam. As this research will attempt to demonstrate, Chamorro men developed hybridized

84 Ibid., 160.
gendered identities reflective of the equally composite militarized colonial context of the early twentieth century.

Beyond the theoretical, my approach to this study admittedly arises from a very personal space. As I have alluded to earlier in this chapter, and as I will expand upon more extensively in Chapter Two, a prominent understanding of Chamorro men as casualties of foreign domination permeates historiographies across various colonialisms relevant to Guam. These written records of the island’s past make overstated use of the terms annihilation, decimation and obliteration to describe the Chamorro man’s fate in history. As a graduate student of Pacific Islands History who was encountering these conclusions about the presumed death of the Chamorro male, I wondered more and more: What implications did this have for me as someone who identifies as a man, someone who identifies as Chamorro, and someone who very much identifies as alive?

Thus, just as much as this study is a scholarly undertaking that seeks to re-evaluate and contribute to existing knowledge, it is equally motivated by a desire to locate (or is it relocate?) myself, my father, my maternal grandfather, my uncles, my pâris, and other native men in my life in our own history. At times my position as a Chamorro living in Guam has afforded me opportunities to access individuals and stories that taotao sanhiyong (people from the outside/non-Chamorros) may not have had. That position, however, of the so-called “insider” has yielded some obstacles, primarily rooted in a hesitance among some interview subjects to speak openly to issues considered too personal or contentious. Their hesitance is largely informed by cultural codes of behavior in which too candid a discussion of various topics between people of differing generations can be read as taboo. Moreover, the fact that I am

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85 Pâris – in singular form, pâri is an abbreviated form of the term kompaire. Pâri is a term of endearment used by a parent to refer to the godfather his/her child. It is likewise employed by a godfather as a term of endearment to the parent of his godchild.
Chamorro did not preclude the fact that I am a scholar and was engaging individuals as a researcher aiming to scrutinize their stories through a critical lens. Thus, regardless of how much of an “insider” I am, my very position as such relegated me to “outsider” status at times. My constantly shifting positionality facilitated a need to employ an equally dual and fluid approach to this research.

Following in the example of historians before me, I rely extensively on archival materials that prove instrumental to this study. Pouring through piles of the Naval Government’s memoranda, reports, executive general orders, congressional proceedings, census data, and local print media publications have lent to reconstructing, to the extent possible, the administrative character and driving motivations of colonial officials in Guam during the first naval era. Student rhetorical and creative compositions, personal diary entries, and film from and relevant to the time have proven equally valuable as source material that informs this study. Despite the abundance of source material in the archives, I remained suspicious, as all historians should, about the reliability of such sources given their authorship and the perspectives they conveyed which often excluded Chamorro voice or only considered a minority representation of such voice.

In an effort to alleviate my suspicions of these materials, I rely heavily on ethnographic interactions. The chapters that follow incorporate several sentiments extracted from interviews with individuals who have lived experience of the time period under review in this work. I personally conducted most of these interviews with subjects that were oftentimes members of my close family, extended clan family, and village community. As is noted in the bibliographic citations of this work, several interviews incorporated in the following chapters were conducted
for a separate research project in 2007. Although such interviews were not conducted with this current work in mind, the sentiments expressed in them are absolutely relevant, speaking to the ways in which gender issues can be omnipresent, even when they are not a conscious lens (at the time) through which interactions are framed.

Overall this work reflects my attempt as an historian to place the archival in concert with the ethnographic. Ethnographic interactions have been used to add dimension, validation, and even contestation to archival sources. In much the same way, archival sources have been utilized to do much of the same for ethnographic engagements. The sources employed in this work, whether archival, ethnographic, or otherwise, have been embraced for both their overlapping similarities, as well as their divergent or contending variations. In doing so, this approach to considering the history of Chamorro masculinities in the context of US military colonialism seeks to evade the limitations of singular research methods by weaving together multiple approaches that yield a more broad view of the past and its implications for the present.

**Moving Forward: The Chapters Ahead**

The chapters that follow will consider the intersections of Chamorro and American gender constructs during the first era of US military colonialism as they relate specifically to Chamorro men and masculinities. Specifically, these intersections will be examined through the sites of education, economy and militarization, politics, and popular culture.

Chapter Two will consider the broader historical representations of Chamorro men and masculinities, interrogating both the written and oral record, as well as the space between. This chapter will provide a historical context out of which the particular intersections between Chamorro and American masculinities arise. Stepping back to the times before the US instigated
its colonial occupation of Guam, this chapter will survey Chamorro men and masculinities in the specific historical contexts of the ancient Chamorro period (circa 2,000BCE to 1668) and the Spanish colonial era (1668-1898). In doing so, Chapter Two will challenge the existing binaries associated with Chamorro masculinities that position Chamorro men either as entirely absent or obliterated as a result of Spanish conquest, or as complete reflections of their foreign dominators. Chapter Two will additionally consider the present-day state of Chamorro men and masculinities in the twenty-first century practice of history in Guam, which will speak to the value of this work as a potential contribution to the historical canon.

Chapter Three will consider the US Navy’s efforts to advance its assimilationist agenda among those that can arguably be characterized as the most influential section of Guam’s population – Chamorro children. For the first time in the island’s history, public instruction became required for all Chamorro children under US colonial administration. The American education system of pre-World War II Guam proves an ample site for the exploration of assimilationist policies and curriculum that were patently gendered with particular emphasis on molding young Chamorro boys into acceptable men. Chapter Three further considers American education as not only a gendered vehicle of assimilation, but one that lent to the solidification of distinct socio-economic class lines with the English language as a pervasive force in determining on what side of the class divide Chamorro men would occupy.

Chapter Four traces the trajectory of Chamorro males in the aftermath of their encounters with American education and its gendered curriculum. This chapter specifically explores US capitalist economic development policies and projects, as well as American notions of productivity and industriousness. In particular, this chapter considers such notions as they came
into conflict with existing philosophies on productivity and industriousness among adult Chamorro men accustomed to a subsistence economy. Socio-economic class continues to fare prominently in this chapter, with particular emphasis on those Chamorro males who fell on the lower end of the class structure. Ultimately, Chapter Four examines the capitalist economic development project instigated by the US Navy as one that ultimately engendered the militarization of Chamorro masculinities within the non-elite circles of the class system, compelling young Chamorro men with limited economic prospects to seek out the solidification of their gendered identities through US military service.

Where Chapter Four examines the flow of Chamorro men, largely from the lower end of the socio-economic class spectrum, into military service as a result of economic development projects and their discursive effects, Chapter Five will examine the ways in which the men of Guam’s socio-economic elite became active agents in the American democratic political sphere. Chamorro masculinities will be explored here through the specific context of the Guam Congress, an advisory board of Chamorro men formed by the US Navy in 1917. Chapter Five will examine the men of the Guam Congress toward challenging binary understandings of native men as mirror images of their American superiors. Rather, Chamorro men in the context of the public domain will be examined for the various boundaries that they crossed and the implications that such crossings have for understanding Chamorro masculinities in the context of American democracy (or lack thereof) in Guam.

Chapter Six steps beyond the more formal spaces and institutions of the US. colonial administration in Guam and considers the implications of American popular culture for understanding Chamorro masculinities. Through a critical and close exploration of the specific
mediums of film, stage performance, and literary arts, this chapter examines encounters between Chamorro men and American popular culture as far more complex, nuanced, and indigenized than the historical record has acknowledged. Socio-economic class remains a prominent thread in this chapter, and proves a useful lens through which the nuanced modes of consumption, appropriation, reimagination, and rejection of American popular culture by a range of Chamorro men might be understood and more meaningfully speak to the notion of evolving masculinities.

Finally, Chapter Seven will draw together the findings of this research, with particular emphasis on the implications of this study on Chamorro masculinities as a viable site of inquiry for the twenty-first century practice of history amid ongoing US colonialism and militarization in Guam.
CHAPTER 2
ON THE MARGINS OF MANHOOD: RE/READING CHAMORRO MASCULINITIES IN ORAL TRADITION AND CANONICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY

The written historical record about Guam, although voluminous, proves problematic in providing a clear narrative of the past. As is the case in the larger realm of Pacific Islands History, writing itself as a form of narrative is a relatively new concept in the broader context of the human past in which people have been writing for several millennia. For Chamorros specifically, this approach to documenting the past has only existed for about five hundred years in a past that exceeds several thousand. Further, the introduction of writing to Guam through the processes of imperialism has fostered a situation in which the direction of the historical narrative has rested largely in the hands of those in power, who until quite recently, have been those of Euro-American origin. Thus, their perspectives dominate the historiographical canon and, in many ways, position Guam and Chamorros in an inferior position. As the late Tongan scholar Epeli Hau’ofa reminds us, “People with powerful connections have presented us in certain ways, which have influenced our self-perceptions, and the ways in which we have been perceived and treated by others.” He further cautions that “…all social realities are human creations, and that if we fail to construct our own realities other people will do it for us.” To a large extent, this has been the legacy of Euro-American ways of doing and appropriating History in the Pacific.

Yet despite the problems of written history, especially within a historical and ongoing colonial context such as Guam’s, let us not throw out the proverbial baby with the bath water. As historian David Hanlon proposes, “The decentering (or is it recenterings?) of history in Oceania is in part, then, about making the writing of history, …but one of many possible

forms of historical expression in the region.” Indeed, rather than denouncing the Western written historical tradition in its entirety, it is far more productive to heed the advice of historian David Chappell who advocates for a “multi-vocal middle ground” on which all practitioners, whether “insider” or “outsider,” might find a meaningful space from which to articulate the past.

Early written accounts prove contradictory in their descriptions of Chamorro men. At once, they praise these men for their physical prowess and beauty, wit, competitive edge, impressive skill, hardworking nature, and affectionate and hospitable disposition. At other times, observations have veered toward images of these men as barbaric, godless, lazy, unruly, and lewd. Thus, these early written accounts present some difficulty in providing a solid framework from which to understand indigenous masculinities across space and time. Still, a diligent survey of these records will prove useful.

**Between the Written and the Oral: Chamorro Men as Ig/Noble Savages**

The first European to stay in the Marianas for an extended period of time and provide a detailed account of Chamorro society was Fray Antonio de los Ángeles, a Franciscan Discalced friar who lived in Guam from 1596-1597. He described Chamorro men as a physically healthy, robust, and attractive people who were mild-tempered, hospitable, and happy.

According to his account, Chamorro men were

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89 The first European to survive a prolonged stay in the Marianas was Gonzalo Alvarez de Vigo, a crewman who deserted the *Trinidad* in 1522 to become the first beachcomber of the Marianas. Although de Vigo provided valuable information about the Marianas in 1526 when the Juan García Jofre de Loaysa expedition reached Guam, the intelligence offered did not provide much of a glimpse into Chamorros or their society. Rather, it related primarily to sailing conditions in the area that would lead Spain to securing the Marianas as a “stepping stone to the Philippines.” See Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, Revised edition, 11-12.
…very healthy; they are well-shaped and many of them look like giants. …They are accustomed to bring presents when they go visiting; he who bring the bigger gifts gets more honor. The guests are made welcome with warm water to wash themselves, and they are given something when they leave…They are happy people who love jokes. They rarely get angry; rather, if they are given an occasion to get angry, they laugh it off.90

Fray Antonio’s sentiments were mirrored in a fellow Franciscan’s account in 1602. Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora became the second missionary to engage in a prolonged stay in the Marianas. Aboard a ship en route from Mexico to the Philippines in 1602, Fray Juan Pobre jumped ship with the desire to convert the natives at Rota just to the north of Guam. There, he encountered a Spanish survivor of the previous year’s Santa Margarita wreck named Sancho who had been living in Guam. Fray Juan Pobre’s account arises out of the seven months he spent in Rota and from information provided by Sancho based on his stay in Guam during the previous year.

Fray Juan Pobre and Sancho’s account describes Chamorro men as hard workers who frowned upon sloth and passed on their skill and knowledge to younger men in a loving and nurturing manner. As the account states, “They are not lazy and they do not like the lazy ones either.”91 Further, in describing Chamorro men as accomplished sailors and divers, Fray Juan Pobre remarks, “They teach their children from the time they are four or five years old to go to sea …and they become so skilled at it that when the son becomes 14 years old he knows as much as his father and when they reach 16 or 18 the sons go out alone…”92 As Sancho declared, the

92 Ibid., 175.
love with which the men teach their sons was “...so great that I would need much space to extol it as it really is.”

Sancho provided descriptive accounts to Fray Juan Pobre that highlighted a seemingly high regard for wit, intellect, and competitiveness among Chamorro men. Sancho notes that “One gets up and begins to debate and to throw verses and tell witticisms in their style against whomever is in front of him or against the other town and after he has finished another from the opposite side begins to debate against the former one.” Competition was not limited to the stylized use of wit in debate. It extended to contests of physical prowess during which Sancho notes a relatively friendly and even affectionate spirit of competition. As he pointed out, “Boys from the time they are small challenge one another...they make the stones out of mud and they blunt their small spears or bars and they carry out their skirmishes and they meet and give battle. Sometimes they knock one another down but once the fight is over they embrace one another with great love.”

Caution should be exercised in accepting the Franciscans’ observations wholesale. Although they provide an early glimpse into Chamorro men and some of their behaviors, they are overlaid with exceedingly romantic qualities focused only on pleasing physical attributes, non-threatening competition, and exaggerated affection. Thus, the Chamorro male of early cross-cultural encounters only exists as an uncomplicated, idealized, and inherently good “noble savage” who lives in blissful simplicity, and perhaps oblivion, given that he has not been corrupted by the ills of the more complex and progressive outside world. It would not be too

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93 Ibid., 179. Sancho’s account of fathers and sons is provided here to illuminate early observations of Chamorro men specifically, but it should be noted that Sancho indicates in the account that the same love is present in the relationship between mothers and daughters.
94 Ibid., 180.
95 Ibid., 180.
long, however, before the noble Chamorro savage would fall from grace in the written historical record.

The Franciscan friars were followed by members of the Society of Jesus, more commonly known as Jesuits. Led by Guam’s most notorious missionary, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, the Jesuits would take an active role in crafting a distinct written historical record about Chamorro men. Upon their arrival in 1668, San Vitores and his fellow missionaries painted a picture of Chamorro men as fun loving, comedic, and generous. Fr. Francisco García, for example, noted that, “The men get together to dance, to play with lances, to run, leap, wrestle, and to test their strength in various ways, and amid these entertainments they retell with great laughter their stories or fables, and they generously share rice cakes, fish, fruit, and a beverage composed of atole, rice, and grated coconut.”

García’s perception of Chamorro men quickly deteriorated from his impression of them as rambunctious men of leisure to barbaric and cowardly boys who lacked civilized government, law, and religion. In despair, he lamented, “I do not know what to say about their religion and government. At least I can say that they are a people without a God, without king, without law, and without any kind of civil policy.” The Spanish Jesuit’s descriptions of Chamorro men are heavily invested in younger men whom he viewed with contempt calling the uritaos (young unmarried males) “indecent” due to the perceived sexual licentiousness they enjoyed. Further, these young men were cowardly in that “They are warriors of a barbarous kind, easily aroused

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96 Francisco García, S.J., The Life and Martyrdom of Diego Luis de San Vitores, S.J., Margaret M. Higgins, Felicia Plaza, M.M.B., and Juan M.H. Ledesma, S.J., trans. (Mangilao: Micronesian Area Research Center, 2004), 170. Atole is a corn-based porridge or hot beverage with origins in Mexico and Central America. Given that corn had not yet been introduced to the Marianas at this point, San Vitores likely attributed the name atole to a Chamorro porridge or hot beverage of similar consistency or flavor.
97 Ibid., 172.
98 Ibid., 170.
and easily appeased, hesitant to attack and prompt to flee.”

Adulthood promised no improvement for these young men’s station in life. In his discussion of adult men’s roles and prestige as fathers and husbands, or lack thereof, García declared

In each family the head is the father or elder relative, but with limited influence. Thus, a son as he grows up neither fears nor respects his father. As with brute animals, the father has this advantage: he has the place where he gives them their food. In the home it is the mother who rules, and the husband does not dare give an order contrary to her wishes or punish the children, because if the woman feels offended, she will either beat the husband or leave him.

Where Fray Antonio and Fray Juan Pobre’s accounts seem to reveal a curiosity and endearment with Chamorro men, García’s admiration for these Islanders is notably short lived. The Chamorro man who is at once represented as a noble savage suddenly becomes that which is associated with the “ignoble savage” who lives an appallingly primitive existence, and thereby is in need of white, civilized, and Christian society to assume the role of saving the heathen from himself. Speaking specifically to inconsistent perceptions of Chamorro men offered by early Jesuit visitors to Guam, Laurel Monnig argues that the priests’ momentary esteem for indigenous men sharply spirals into scorn only upon the emergence of Chamorro male resistance to missionaries in the earliest stages of the Jesuit’s conversion effort. That scorn, and the pitiful state of the Chamorro male served as justification for the Spanish Catholic missionaries’ foreign presence in Guam. It further prioritized the saving mission that was to be advanced by the forced imposition of Catholicism on the island and its people. Thus, the account offered by García is

99 Ibid., 171.
100 Ibid., 172.
101 Laurel Monnig, “Proving Chamorro: Indigenous Narratives of Race, Identity, and Decolonization in Guam” (Dissertation: University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2007), 70.
not so much an account of the Chamorro people of Guam, but rather, an account of the
missionaries of Guam and their political and spiritual imperatives.\textsuperscript{102}

García’s negative view of Chamorro men did not merely justify a foreign presence in
Guam and legitimize his civilizing and Christianizing mission. I posit that his apparent
obsession with Chamorro boys rather than their adult male counterparts infantilizes Chamorro
men as an added means of justifying the conversion effort. Here, the Chamorro male is not
simply primitive and heathen, but fashioned as an inferior and childlike delinquent in need of
paternal discipline and guidance. His disempowerment alongside his wife leaves him
emasculated and without a defined or prominent stature in a familial and social setting, thus
facilitating the need for civilized, foreign father figures to intervene.

Conflicting accounts of Chamorro men in the earliest days of contact with the West pose
an obstacle for this research that seeks to investigate the intersections between Chamorro
masculinities and US colonialism in the twentieth century. Those intersections cannot be
thoroughly considered without first attempting to identify, even broadly, what constituted
Chamorro masculinities prior to the onset of colonialism. Recognizing the myriad forms that
history takes, especially within a traditionally oral culture that continues in Guam, I commit here
to explore and interrogate thoroughly the oral narratives of Guam’s past as they might relate to
indigenous men and masculinities as a means of supplementing that which may be lacking in the
written record. Although there are inherent limitations to oral retellings of the past, as there are
with any other form of historical narrative, my focus here is to uncover that which unites the oral
and written, rather than that which divides them. It is in these overlapping similarities that we

might be able to pinpoint a general criteria for understanding Chamorro masculinities prior to the arrival of Westerners in the Marianas.

Chamorro oral tradition is replete with narratives that allude to pre-contact constructions of manhood and masculinities. Recognizing that the oral tradition itself is hugely varied in its retellings across generations, the overarching similarities and larger themes embedded in them are useful in attempting to identify attributes associated with pre-contact Chamorro masculinities. The origin story of the Chamorro people in which sibling gods Puntan and Fu’una worked hand in hand to create the universe and to populate the planet with life provides a compelling example. Although human life directly emerges from Fu’una, it is her brother, Puntan, whose body yields the Earth and the cosmos. Here, Puntan is positioned in a somewhat balanced union with his sister. He alone did not create the world or life, but rather, shared an intimate and reciprocal relationship with his sister, a union that oftentimes supersedes that of husband and wife in a Chamorro clan context. Fu’una’s use of Puntan’s physical body to create the Earth, sun, moon, rainbows, and other elements of nature places the Chamorro people as a whole into an intimate relationship with the land and nature. Here, the indigenous people descend directly from the land itself, which in turn, descends directly from their first male ancestor, Puntan.

The importance of Chamorro men as brothers manifests in the role they played in the pre-contact guma’uritao, or bachelor’s house. Upon reaching puberty, the uritao (young unmarried men) were sent to live with their mother’s clan. They would reside in the guma’uritao where their mother’s brothers would look after them and provide them with the necessary guidance and instruction in all the necessary skills, values, and practices associated with manhood. These
included hunting, fishing, farming, canoe sailing, tool making, warfare, and even competency in Chamorro customs and values encapsulated in the Chamorro guiding philosophy of *inafa’maolek* which dictates that an individual’s behavior embody interdependence, selflessness, and humility.

The *guma’uritao* also served as a space in which the *uritao* were allowed free sexual license with other unmarried youth as a means of acquainting themselves with “the facts of life.” Although the *guma’uritao* does not exist at present in the same sense that it did prior to the arrival of Westerners, it provides a telling glimpse of pre-contact Chamorro men and the role they played as uncles. 103 In this capacity, they fulfilled a significant role in nurturing future generations of men who would protect the clan, preserve and enhance its resources and prestige, and perpetuate the continuity of values, practices, and the clan identity itself in emulating the knowledge and values passed on to them.

Pre-contact Chamorro masculinities entailed far more than the roles men played as brothers. Oral tradition abounds with Chamorro male protagonists whose masculinities were conceptualized and performed through demonstration of their supernatural powers, superhuman strength, physical robustness, adept competitiveness, and emulation of Chamorro values associated with *inafa’maolek*. Popular retellings of a battle between two *maga’låhi*, Gadao from the south and Malaguaña from the north, illustrate this. As the story goes, a jealous and quick-tempered Malaguaña, having heard of the skill and strength of Gadao, challenges his rival to a

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103 Free sexual license afforded in the *guma’uritao* often resulted in pregnancies outside of formal marriage and did not necessarily lead to marriage after the fact. The children born of such unions were celebrated rather than scorned, as this only meant an increase in clan wealth via the addition of a new generation. Viewed by early visitors to Guam as dens of ill repute where young adults engaged in unlimited and shameful debauchery with the full consent of their parents, the *guma’uritao* became among the first physical, social, and cultural institutions to be eradicated by zealous missionaries in their attempt to embed Catholicism. Although the *guma’uritao* no longer exist, physically or institutionally, in its original precontact sense, many spaces have been carved out since its eradication that fulfill the same purpose of transmitting knowledge, skills, and values from older generations of men to younger generations of men. These include the *låncho* (family ranching lands), the cockfight, and more recently, dance, chant, navigation, and other cultural groups.
competition of strength. Upon entering Gadao’s village, Malaguaña approaches a villager requesting to be taken to the local maga’låhi. Unbeknownst to Malaguaña who had never met Gadao in person, the villager is actually Gadao himself. Never revealing his true identity, Gadao plays host to Malaguaña offering him food and beverage while in the process demonstrating extreme physical strength and ability with ease. Upon witnessing this, Malaguaña attempts to flee the village, fearing that if this common villager had such strength, the maga’låhi of this village must be profoundly stronger.

Both men in the narrative are described as physically robust and possessing superhuman strength. Likewise, both demonstrate a willingness to engage in inter-village or inter-clan competition without fear. Indeed, the qualities of corporeal strength, physical robustness, and fearlessness surface as fixtures of idealized Chamorro masculinities. Yet, as the narrative demonstrates, it is Gadao who ultimately arises victoriously in the oral tradition. In addition to his demonstration of strength and fearlessness, Gadao prevails over his opponent by using sheer wit in a seemingly effortless way to fool Malaguaña into cowering from competition. Moreover, Gadao surfaces elsewhere in the oral tradition, and in each of these narratives, emulates a strong sense of inafa’maolek which lends to his place of prominence in oral tradition. In a written retelling of one story, “Gadao was a good man, who put the needs of others ahead of his own needs…you could always count on Gadao. He put his strength to the job that needed to be done, yet he was never boastful of his great strength.”

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104 Dottie Wintterle, Nana’s Legends of Guahan, Vol. II (Hagåtña: Irensia Publishing, 2001), 43. Recognizing the issues that arise in the transcription of oral traditions into writing and from one language to another, I employ the written English-language source as referenced here to provide some level of textual support of the analysis I offer.
Defeat as a result of one’s inability to exude acceptable qualities associated with Chamorro masculinities is illustrated in yet another narrative from oral tradition known as *Puntan Pātgon* (Child’s Point). In a popular written retelling of this narrative about a boy and his father, it is said of the latter that

His strapping body and prodigious feats of strength are to this very day recalled in awe by people. But, with all of his physical power, he was truly a weak man. For this man permitted his mind to be ruled by intolerable conceit. This man actually believed that it was not possible for another man to be as powerful as he. His greatest pleasure in life was the admiration that his fellow man had for him. Also, he enjoyed knowing that they feared him.\(^{105}\)

The man became father to a son who grew to possess strength and physical stature to which his father’s paled in comparison. In a fury of jealousy and rage, the father set out to murder his son, chasing him through Guam’s jungles to the island’s northernmost point. Here, the young boy gathered all his strength, and being free of malice, he was able to miraculously jump northward all the way to the island of Rota lying over fifty miles to the north. His enormous footprint can still be found on the ground in Guam’s northernmost point, known today as *Puntan Pātgon*.

Where both father and son possess the physical stature, strength, and bravery upheld as idealized elements of Chamorro masculinities throughout the oral tradition, the father’s ultimate defeat rests in his inability or unwillingness to carry himself with *inafa’maolek*. His inability to successfully eliminate his greatest competition rests largely in his vanity, jealousy, unrestrained anger, lust for competition, and impure motives, whereas his unassuming and innocent son is able to live on. The narrative further reinforces notions of Chamorro masculinities with regard to the father-son relationship as secondary to that of uncle-nephew. Given that young Chamorro

boys are property of the mother’s clan and ultimately leave their fathers to be raised by their uncles in the *guma'uritao* at the onset of puberty, the boy in the narrative is positioned as competitor rather than a beloved son whom a doting father might take pride in nurturing toward manhood. The boy in the story is never thought of in this manner as he could potentially become the father’s foe in future conflicts between their differing clans, during which the boy will side with his uncles rather than his father.

The few examples offered here from the large and living Chamorro oral tradition illustrate the qualities, values, and behaviors associated with idealized Chamorro masculinities prior to and at the initial point of contact with the West. In these contexts, a man’s physical strength and size, his intellect and humor, his fearlessness and competitiveness, as well as his ability to serve and nurture his family and community through emulating *inafa'maolek* through humility, hospitality, and hard work constitute the idealized elements associated with Chamorro masculinities. Although the oral tradition offers these qualities as the baseline criteria for Chamorro masculinities, extreme caution should be exercised in accepting this criteria as the exclusive script by which historical actors performed their masculinities. To accept these valorized qualities of manhood and masculinity wholesale runs the risk of relegating Chamorro masculinities to an unrealistic, superhuman singularity.

Indeed, the romanticized gender scripts for Chamorro men in the oral tradition are mirrored in many of the written accounts as offered by Fray Antonio and Fray Juan Pobre. Yet, just as much as these written accounts uphold the oral, other written accounts such as those offered by García depart extremely from any of the ideal scripts of masculinity identified. While viable connections between the written and the oral prove useful in constructing some type of
framework for understanding Chamorro masculinities prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Marianas, those connections are just as easily made unstable by divergent ideas of Chamorro masculinities and manhood. As will be the driving concern of this work, a more complex and multifaceted middle ground will be sought upon which Chamorro masculinities might be understood beyond binary positionings that embrace either a valorized checklist of the qualities a Chamorro man should embody or a complete condemnation of that which he lacks.

**Padre de Familia: Chamorro Masculinities in the Spanish Colonial Context**

The historiographical record is swollen with representations of Chamorro male demise and even extinction as a direct result of Spanish conquest of the Marianas. This fatalistic approach to understanding the Chamorro male and his encounter with colonialism, although an absolute fallacy, holds substantial implications for this specific study and the issue of Chamorro masculinities at large. It becomes essential here to first acknowledge that fallacy and the manner in which it has been articulated as a means of moving forward toward more enhanced understandings of Chamorro men and their interactions with the new colonial order.

In an extensive mid-nineteenth century memoir, Spanish Governor Felipe de la Corte looked back on the Spanish administration of the Marianas and spoke of Chamorro men specifically as a “completely unproductive group” that naively pursued a drawn out and violent engagement with the Spanish that would “only end in annihilation and ruin.” One of de la Corte’s successors, Governor Francisco Olive y García agreed with him remarking, “That is exactly what happened: Annihilation and Ruin.” Historians have long accepted and appropriated in the written record the ruin of Chamorro males, specifically at the hands of

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107 Ibid., 8.
superior Spanish military forces. Chamorro historian Pedro C. Sanchez, for example, claims that by 1684, the Chamorros had lost their best leaders and warriors after which the will to resist colonial domination withered if not completely vanished.\textsuperscript{108} As he contends, “…the Chamorro era of some three to four thousand years had come to an end” following the initial years of Spanish conquest at which time the Chamorros found themselves “close to the point of annihilation.”\textsuperscript{109} Where Sanchez argues that Chamorro men came close to annihilation, Laura Torres Souder argues that Chamorro men, as a result of the Spanish Chamorro Wars, were simply decimated in no less terms.\textsuperscript{110} Historian Robert F. Rogers supports Sanchez and Souder as he laments the fate of the indigenous population writing, “So ended the \textit{reduccion} of the Chamorros…The parable of the tribes was fulfilled for [them]. The Mariana Islands now entered a twilight period of 200 years of solitude until the next invasion, when new conquerors would make Guam part of a different empire.”\textsuperscript{111}

Contrary to persistent narratives of Chamorro male decimation and obliteration, these men survived the initial conquest and endured into a period during which the establishment of formal Spanish political, military, religious, and economic authority became embedded on the socio-cultural landscape. Undoubtedly, the newly introduced Catholic faith in which all things begin in the name of the Father and of the Son disrupted the matrilineal descent and inheritance system of \textit{achafñaak}, as did the enforcement of the Law of the Indies in which Spanish ecclesiastical law and civil and criminal code were synonymous. Just as the newly introduced order impacted women and their position in society, so too did the changes affect men and

\textsuperscript{108} Sanchez, \textit{Guahan Guam}, 45.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 45.
\textsuperscript{111} Rogers, \textit{Destiny’s Landfall}, Revised edition, 73.
masculinities leading both sexes to find avenues to navigate the rapidly changing parameters of gender.

Representations of Chamorro male protagonists in the oral tradition endure a notable shift in their post-contact retellings, speaking to the ways in which men and masculinities evolved through the Spanish presence. The original Chamorro telling of the narrative of Puntan Dos Amântes (Two Lovers’ Point), as told to Louis Claude de Freycinet during his 1819 visit to the Marianas, provides a case in point. As the story goes, a young man from the Matua high caste is forbidden to marry his lover, a young woman from the low Manâ’chang caste. Rather than endure life apart from each other, the two leapt to their deaths from a cliff high above Tumon Bay that today stands out as one of Guam’s most picturesque and popular tourist destinations. Retellings of the tale of the two lovers have changed over many centuries of colonial influence, however, the basic plot of two lovers forbidden to marry who take their own lives remains intact. In these popular revisionist narratives, however, the young Chamorro female protagonist is recast as a Chamorro mestiza (female of Spanish and other ancestry) who is forbidden to marry her “pure-blooded” Chamorro lover because she is betrothed to a supposedly wealthier, higher class Spanish military officer.112

The marked shift between the original telling of the two lovers’ tale and their revisions in the aftermath of colonial conquest are telling of equally significant shifts in notions of Chamorro masculinities, especially in relation to Spanish notions of gender. Where the original narrative focuses on love arising above stringent indigenous caste difference, the Chamorro male in the more recent tellings is placed in opposition to the Spanish on two levels where he is ultimately

112 Louise Claude de Freycinet, An Account of the Corvette L’Uranie’s Sojourn at the Mariana Islands, 1819, Glynn Barratt, trans. (Saipan: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 2003), 127.
unsuccessful in arising victoriously. First, his chosen love is herself part Spanish, and thus made increasingly unattainable by racial and social circumstances beyond both the young lovers’ control. Second, the Chamorro male in this retelling becomes a direct opponent of a foreign male, whose superiority is implied via his race, military rank, and social class. Chamorro humanities scholar Robert Tenorio Torres celebrates the tragic suicide of the two lovers as a bold act of defiance and resistance. As he argues,

Not only did the final act of suicide symbolize the lovers’ affirmation of each other, it also signified the native disposition against anything associated with the Spanish culture. It was the final rebellion against the imposed values and arranged systems of Spanish patriarchy that the girl and her Chamorro mother were subjected to by her Spanish father.113

I argue, however, that the shift between the original and post-Spanish era tellings largely emasculates the Chamorro male protagonist and positions the Spanish military officer as the final victor. In this analysis, it is sadly ironic that the Chamorro male must execute his own demise, and that of his beloved, as the only way to rise victoriously over his foreign male competitor who does not win the girl, but in the end goes on to live another day. In the end, the Spanish officer alone, literally and figuratively, lives to tell the tale on his own terms.

Additions to the Chamorro oral tradition that were made after the arrival of the Spanish also reveal much to consider in the way of Chamorro masculinities in relation to the Spanish colonial presence. A fine example rests in the tales of Juan Malo, the young and poor Chamorro trickster figure whose last name means “bad” in Spanish. Juan Malo’s adventures are set during the Spanish colonial period and the recurring plot in each of his stories centers on his efforts to outwit Spanish colonial officials. These supposedly refined and superior Spaniards become the

figures of ridicule in light of the successful antics of an otherwise blundering and inept poor Chamorro boy.

Tenorio upholds the emergence of the Juan Malo narratives in Chamorro oral tradition as, yet again, another manifestation of indigenous men’s resistance and contempt for the Spanish regime. In his summation, Juan Malo “…embodies the mentality of the new Chamorro who resents the power of the Spaniards. He is a symbol of resistance and an example of the Chamorro who can no longer battle physically, must defeat his conquerors by outwitting them.”

Similarly, Mavis Warner Van Peenen, an American military dependent credited for collecting and writing numerous oral legends of Guam in the early 1940s, asserts that

Physical warfare had ceased and psychological warfare needed no superior arms, but only superior wit. For the first time, the Chamorro felt on equal ground with his adversary…The Chamorros, vanquished in battle by the Spaniards, nursed in their heart a natural resentment of the conquered toward the conqueror. Too weak to again engage in physical battle, they entered into mental battle, and, in their thoughts, turned into legends, they revenged themselves upon the conqueror.

As with the narrative of Puntan Dos Amântes, I remain skeptical of hasty analyses such as Tenorio and Van Peenen’s that seem all too quick to interpret the position of post-contact Chamorro men in the oral tradition as resistant and rebellious. Although the Spanish officials of the Juan Malo narratives are indeed consistently outwitted by Juan who persistently evades punishment, the basis of these stories constantly positions Chamorro men and Spanish men on unequal ground upon which the latter assumes a dominant posture. Juan Malo’s characterization as a poor Chamorro boy infantilizes the Chamorro male as not only a child, but one that is of socio-economic inferiority in comparison to the foreign adult male characters of the stories.

114 Ibid., 26.
Further, Juan Malo’s need to resort to deception and tomfoolery diminishes any presumed acts of resistance to what is more aptly defined as deviance, underhandedness, obtuseness, and passive aggressiveness – a far cry from the contests of wit associated with Chamorro masculinities in the previously discussed texts. Moreover, Tenorio and Van Peenen seem all too quick to assume inferiority of the Chamorro male body as vanquished and weak. As Camacho and Monnig more aptly and persuasively contend, “Today, Juan Malo is a composite character who speaks to how Chamorro men have been emasculated within Western forms of colonialism; he is a figure of sarcasm and ridicule and somebody who must resort to alternative and indirect means of confrontation and resistance.”  

Despite what the oral tradition might suggest, Chamorro men of the Spanish colonial period did in fact find ways to assert their ever evolving masculinities. They did so in ways that sustained those attributes linked to masculinities that predated colonialism, as well as in a manner that engaged the changing parameters of gender and the newly introduced socio-political order. Given that the one of the primary concerns of Spanish colonialism was the conversion of Chamorros to Catholicism, the need to provide military forces to protect missionaries and enforce Spanish authority in Guam became absolutely necessary. Considering both the church and the Spanish military as possible proving grounds for Chamorro masculinities seems in order given the prominence of these two institutions in Spanish colonial history and its omnipresence on the landscape of Guam in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Spanish military forces arrived in Guam with San Vitores in 1668. Most of these soldiers were of mestizo (a man of Spanish and other ancestry) Mexican and Filipino stock. Although the violent Chamorro rebellion to the Spanish presence was largely quelled by the start of the

eighteenth century, the need for a military presence in Guam persisted owing to the continual necessity to keep law and order on the island, as well as the need to fortify Guam as a base from which to secure the galleon trade route from piracy, privateering, and other threats. Though the Spanish had recruited Chamorro men to participate in military activities since the earliest days of the colonial presence, formal enlistment of indigenous men in the Spanish military did not begin until much later. A local militia was formed in 1771 by Governor Mariano Tobías, made up of Spanish officers and Filipino noncommissioned officers to supplement the numbers of official Spanish troops, as well as to contribute to increasing agricultural and public works projects.117 Since the formation of this first militia, numerous other units formed and enlistment in them had grown beyond exclusively Spanish, Filipino, or Mexican soldiers to include Chamorro men themselves.

Enlistment numbers in the local militia fluctuated over time from a mere couple of hundred men in its earliest days of inception to what has been estimated as over half the male population in the century that followed.118 The militia provided a space in which Chamorro men could attempt to elevate themselves socially and economically through participating in the exclusively masculine Spanish military. Service in the Spanish militia entitled soldiers to a cash salary and authority over civilians within their patrol districts, which in turn resulted in an overall elevation of socio-economic status. Spanish archivist Omaira Brunal-Perry maintains that as Chamorro men of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries observed Spanish officers and

117 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, Revised edition, 79.
118 de Freycinet, An Account of the Corvette L’Uranie’s Sojourn in the Mariana Islands, 206. Freycinet estimated the number of armed forces in Guam in 1819 to be 112 “regular troops” and up to 145 men if discharged officers and the disabled were included. Freycinet further estimates that at its highest, the militia was made up of no more than 3/5 (60%) of the total male population.
militiamen reaping these benefits of enlistment, they too increasingly sought a place in the militia.\textsuperscript{119}

Given the active enlistment of many Chamorro men in the Spanish militia, the question remains as to whether these Chamorro men and their masculinities became fully implicated in or complicit with the Spanish colonial agenda. Chamorro historian Fr. Eric Forbes, affectionately known in Guam as “Pale’ Eric,” encourages vigilance in reading this enlistment as an expression of Chamorro militiamen’s loyalty to the institution or compliance with the Spanish crown.\textsuperscript{120} He cites the 1884 assassination of Spanish Governor Angel Pazos Hidalgo in plain sight in front of the Palåsyo (Palace) by Chamorro members of the Compañía Dotación (Patrol Company) as a case in point that positions Chamorro militiamen as “…not always the most loyal or dependable.”\textsuperscript{121} Further, Pale’ Eric reminds us that the Chamorro men of the militia did not necessarily equate to a fair representation of Chamorro men of the time. In his survey of the 1837 roster of militiamen, Pale’ Eric notes that the vast majority of Chamorro men enlisted were mestizo. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of them were from the island’s capital city and colonial urban center of Hagåtña and presumably of elevated socio-economic class standing.\textsuperscript{122}

That the vast majority of the militiamen were of mixed Chamorro (and presumably Spanish) ancestry, and that the majority of them were of the capital city of Hagåtña, suggests the eminence of both race and class as a pervasive influence on the evolution of Chamorro masculinities during Spanish colonial era. The ability to claim a direct bloodline to a Spanish

\textsuperscript{119} Omaira Brunal-Perry, in discussion with the author, January 7, 2014.

\textsuperscript{120} Pale’ Chamorro adaption of the Spanish “Padre” used as a title equivalent to the English “Father” when addressing or referring to a Catholic priest.


ancestor afforded Chamorro men access to opportunities to climb the ranks within an exclusively masculine Spanish administration. Further, their ancestral and/or residential ties to the colonial center of Hagåtña afforded them close proximity to the Spanish and their material wealth, values, attitudes, and practices to a marked degree over their counterparts in the outlying rural villages. With regard to class and race as a pathway to upward mobility for Chamorros, Underwood argues that under Spanish administration,

A kind of aristocracy was established, with admittance to it being based on extraordinary ability, extraordinary deeds and a family lineage to *peninsulares* (those born on the Iberian coast). It was possible for someone to have upward mobility based on extraordinary service which would then be rewarded or on an individual’s ability as perceived by Spaniards. However, the easiest way to establish a claim on social position was to ‘prove’ Spanish lineage.\(^\text{123}\)

Despite the prominence of race in the formation of an elite aristocracy in Guam, Underwood reminds us that “Being Spanish was something to aspire to, but something [Chamorros] could not really become,”\(^\text{124}\) Along these lines, it may be argued that Chamorro men and their masculinities became entangled in what is best characterized as a no-win situation of ambiguity in which they found themselves never fully accepted despite assertions of Spanish ancestry or socio-economic affluence.

Chamorro masculinities would confront this similar dilemma of race and class in the domain of the Catholic Church. Where opportunities of upward mobility via militia enlistment may have been available primarily to the *mestizo* elite of Hagåtña, the Church, in which God is believed to love all good Christians equally regardless of race and socio-economic class, stands out as an appropriate site of inquiry in considering possible avenues for Chamorro masculinities to be proven. Given that Catholicism has been established as fundamentally and inextricably

\(^{123}\) Underwood, “Hispanicization as a Socio-Historical Process in Guam,” 2.  
\(^{124}\) Ibid., 2.
linked to Chamorro culture, one might assume that the Church provided yet another proving ground for Chamorro masculinities, especially due to its patriarchal organization.

Although Chamorro men today feature prominently in the Catholic Church in Guam, their ascent to formal roles of participation and authority in the Church occurred long after the introduction of Catholicism in 1668. Such was not the case in other areas of Oceania where indigenous Islanders were trained and utilized as missionaries in relatively close proximity to the introduction of Christianity in their islands. Chamorro men, on the other hand, were not used in any considerable number as catechists during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Guam, nor were they sent abroad to assist the Spanish in the spread of Catholicism. Perhaps more astonishing, in light of the pervasive power of Catholicism in the Marianas, is fact that it took nearly two centuries since the arrival of the religion for the first Chamorro man to be ordained a priest. José Bernardo Palomo y Torres became the first Chamorro priest in 1859 after completing his theological studies in the Philippines. Padre Palomo, as he is commonly called, ministered throughout the Marianas into the twentieth century until his death in 1919, and is widely recognized as an accomplished spiritual and political advocate of the Chamorro people.

That Chamorro men in sizeable numbers took no active or formal role in the spread of Christianity, and more provocatively, that Chamorro men did not pursue priesthood for almost

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125 Sione Latukefu and Ruta Sinclair, “Pacific Islanders as International Missionaries: Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands,” Polynesian Missions in Melanesia: From Samoa, Cook Islands and Tonga to Papua New Guinea and New Caledonia (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1982), 1-2. John Williams of the London Missionary Society (LMS) began his mission to spread Christianity in Oceania with his 1800 arrival in Tahiti. In 1839 he arrived in Samoa and, with the assistance of some newly ordained Tahitian missionaries, successfully spread Christianity among Samoans. In just nine years since the conversion of Samoans to Christianity, Samoan missionaries were sent throughout Oceania to spread the faith in Melanesia and parts of Polynesia and Micronesia. LMS missionaries grew to include Cook Island Maori, I-Kiribati, Niueans, Tokelauans, and Nauruans who became a significant force ”in pioneering the way for more cultured workers” to follow. By 1844, the Malua Training Institution was established in Samoa to provide formal training to Samoan missionaries, and today, continues to provide ministry training as the Malua Theological College.
two hundred years provokes questions as to why the masculine Church as a central cultural, spiritual, and political institution did not stand out historically as a viable proving ground for Chamorro masculinities. Not only did it take close to two centuries for the first Chamorro man to become a priest, but Guam did not see another Chamorro enter the priesthood for nearly eighty years after Padre Palomo’s ordination. Thereafter, entry into the priesthood among Chamorro men did increase, but not to any notably high degree.126

Spanish historian Carlos Madrid lends a valuable comparative analysis toward understanding the dearth in Chamorro vocations to the priesthood despite the entrenchment of Catholicism in Guam and its inextricable links to Chamorro custom and culture. Madrid’s research on the village of Baler in the Aurora Province of Luzon in the Philippines may be useful in understanding this seemingly contradictory historical reality.127 An elderly woman recognized as a local historian of Baler village imparted to Madrid a superstition or “non-written law” prominent in the village that “Balereños (people of Baler) could not be priests because of what happened during the early days.” As the site of the killing of two early Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century, Baler became the center of a perceived curse observed by Balereños who assumed that any attempt to enter the priesthood was invalidated as they “inherited the sin of their ancestors.”128

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126 After the ordination of Padre Palomo, the next Chamorro to enter the priesthood was Fr. Jesus Baza Duenas in 1938. Although Chamorro men entered the priesthood in larger numbers in the second half of the twentieth century, there exists in Guam today heightened concerns over what is viewed as a severe lack of Chamorro priests and a decreased interest among young Chamorro men in pursuing priesthood. Such concerns are based on fears that non-Chamorro priests who lack in linguistic and cultural knowledge of the particular brand of Catholicism practiced in Guam threaten the continuity of custom and tradition.


Notwithstanding the superstitious, Madrid speculates that Baler may offer a possible basis for interpreting the slow rise of Chamorro men into the priesthood. The death of San Vitores in 1672 at the hands of the maga’låhi Matå’pang after the Jesuit baptized the Chamorro’s daughter without permission has been a point of historical and historiographical contention. What some have characterized as the glorious martyrdom of a righteous holy man, others have called the justified reaction to a meddlesome foreigner’s provocation of a Chamorro man on his own land. The prominence of Catholicism has fueled the acceptance of the former, at least historiographically. Thus, the circumstances surrounding San Vitores’ death, which was violent no matter on what end of the historiographical spectrum one is situated, may have condemned the Chamorro people as a whole, at least for a time. This condemnation situated Chamorros as descendants of Matå’pang whose attack on San Vitores has been read as an attack on the faith and God himself. Chamorros, then, became branded for centuries as a people who “carried the sin of rejecting Catholicism” and who also carried the shame of instigating the demise of a holy man.\textsuperscript{129} Thus, Chamorros did not see positions of formal authority within the Church as stations to which they had a legitimate claim. Though current discussions surrounding the San Vitores narrative are changing in contemporary Guam, even embracing Matå’pang’s act as a valorized performance of indigenous resistance more broadly, and Chamorro men’s assertion of power to safeguard the local more specifically, the stigma of the maga’låhi’s execution of the missionary proves pervasive.\textsuperscript{130}

The potential scorn inherited by generations of Chamorros over the death of San Vitores at the hands of maga’låhi Matå’pang speaks to the overarching power of shame over Chamorro

\textsuperscript{129} Carlos Madrid, in discussion with the author, June 19, 2013.
\textsuperscript{130} For a comprehensive analysis of historical and contemporary discussions in Guam relevant to San Vitores, see Diaz, \textit{Repositioning the Missionary}. 66
males in potential attempts to assert their position in the church. Pale’ Eric contends that the lag in Chamorro men pursuing vocations in the church is most likely attributable to a pronounced and persistent fear among young men of the potential to bring shame to their families in the event that they are unsuccessful in their training for the priesthood or in the event that they are unable to remain faithful to their vows and the demands of life as a cleric. According to Pale’ Eric, the perceived shame that would result should these men not succeed as priests is so pronounced that Chamorro men who have experienced this in recent years are so affected that most refuse to even return to Guam, choosing instead to remain in the US or elsewhere secluded from their families and the larger community at home. Here, Pale’ Eric brings to the surface two key issues directly related to Chamorro masculinities. First, he reinforces the possibility of a perceived alienation of Chamorro men from the church directly related to shame. Secondly, the priest highlights the role of shame in general and the Chamorro man’s fervent desire to protect his from against dishonor. I shall return to the pervasiveness influence of shame over Chamorro masculinities shortly.

In addition to the possibility of a perceived sense of invalidation held among Chamorro men with regard to religious vocation, there existed numerous economic and logistic obstacles to preparing native men for the priesthood that Spain was either unwilling or unable to overcome. As Madrid points out, Spain did not see much sense in sending Chamorros to the closest seminary nearly 2,000 miles away in the Philippines. Additional expenses to board, educate, and repatriate potential Chamorro priests proved too exorbitant for Spanish authorities who found it more economical to send Filipino priests to Guam who could be trained at a lesser cost. These

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factors upheld what Madrid refers to as a “non-written custom” in which the recruitment of Chamorro men for the priesthood was neither encouraged nor pursued.\textsuperscript{132}

The Church as a platform on which Chamorro men could exercise power and access prestige and upward mobility proved promising for very few. This proving ground for Chamorro masculinities in the Spanish colonial context, in large part and in similar ways to that of the Spanish militia, stands out as a space to which only a minute, elite sector of Chamorro male society had access. Again, the issues of class and race arise in the ability of Chamorro men to assert their masculinities within the Spanish colonial context. Padre Palomo, the first and only Chamorro to serve as a priest during this time was himself of mixed Chamorro and Spanish ancestry and was cultivated from the very stock that defined the Chamorro-Spanish aristocracy of the nineteenth century. The priests to follow in the early American colonial period mirrored Padre Palomo in that many of them arose out of families of similar socio-economic standing.

Madrid offers an alternate way of viewing gender roles and identities in the Spanish colonial context to which Chamorro men, unlike in the militia and church, could more universally subscribe. Madrid conceives the general position of Chamorro men across race and class divisions during the Spanish colonial period as that of \textit{padre de familia}. This Spanish term, literally translated as “father of the family” or “parent” positioned men as visual representatives of the family in the public domain. As such, the forerunning men in each family were vested with the responsibility of representing, sustaining, and enhancing the overall prestige and authority of a given family in the public sphere. Contrary to the literal translation of the term, the \textit{padre de familia} did not necessarily equate exclusively to the patriarch of each family, as the

\textsuperscript{132} Carlos Madrid, in discussion with the author, June 19, 2013.
sons, nephews, and other males in the family who demonstrated leadership and commitment could be ascribed this role.

An oral narrative collected in the 1920s by Gertrude Hornbostel for the Bishop Pauahi Museum in Honolulu, Hawai‘i, and later published by museum anthropologist Laura Thompson in 1932, illustrates the pervasive role of Chamorro men as *padre de familia*. As told by 109-year-old Jose de Lizama of Hågat village,

Un taotao matata’chong gi pettan iya siha ya ha li’e màgi i asaguå-ña na ginen umo mak. Ya ma sosotta i gapotilu-ña ya ma sasadda lipes-ña. Nina’ bubu i taotao ya ilek-ña: ‘Taimamahlao, hafa na un bebendi hao?’ Ya ha hadut i gapotilu-ña ya ha utut todo ni’ i machete-ña. Ya ayu na machete tatnae ha nisisita ma guasa desde ayu.

(A man was sitting in the doorway of his house when he saw his wife coming toward him from taking a bath. She had her hair down and her skirt way up. This made the man angry and he said, “Shameless, why do you sell yourself?” And he grabbed her hair and cut it all off with his machete, and that machete never needed sharpening after this.)

Lizama, having spent the majority of his life during the Spanish colonial era, imparts a telling lesson with regard to views of the Chamorro male and his role in preserving the dignity and respect of the family. Unlike the interpretation of Chamorro men offered by García who characterizes them as disempowered, insignificant, and without respect in the home alongside their dominant wives, the man in Lizama’s narrative asserts authority in chastising his *taimamahlao* (shameless) wife.

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133 Laura Thompson, *Archaeology of the Marianas Islands* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1932), 63. The original written narrative in the source reflects the collector’s spelling and phonetic rendition. I have elected here to transcribe that written narrative into the present-day Chamorro orthography as established by the *Kumision i Fino’ Chamorro* (Chamorro Language Commission) and as adopted by the Government of Guam. I do so merely as a means of making the text more recognizable to contemporary readers of the Chamorro language to whom the initial collector’s phonetic rendition might be unrecognizable. Vocabulary and sentence construction appear here exactly as they do in the source. The English translation provided here appears exactly as it did in the original source, with the exception of the use of the word “machete.” Originally appearing as *matsete* in the source to reflect Chamorro pronunciation, I have replaced its usage with “machete” for the benefit of readers who will more readily recognize this word in English.
The overall moral of Lizama’s story beyond the literal act of exercising punishment for his wife’s impropriety further reinforces the centrality of the padre de familia. The woman in the narrative shamelessly displays parts of the body that should be concealed, and thereby, threatens the dignity of the family as a whole. Thus, her husband forcefully removes her hair, a longstanding symbol of femininity and womanhood in Chamorro and many other cultures. Here, the padre de familia profoundly demonstrates the often misunderstood role of the Chamorro male within the family. In contrast to the men of García’s account, the man as padre de familia in this narrative holds notable authority in situations in which shame is brought not only upon him as a husband, but more significantly on the family and the home as a whole.

Lizama’s narrative should not be read as necessarily reflective of male dominance over women, but of the “co-construction of equitable relationships between husband and wife, and more broadly, men and women” that exist in tandem and blur any clear delineation between the male-female, husband-wife relationship. The primary moral of the story rests in the ultimate authority of the padre de familia and the lesson he hands down which never needs repeating, as the man’s machete never again needs to be sharpened. In this sense, the padre de familia’s authority is fixed and acknowledged, indicating major shift in the realm of gender roles that seemingly contradicts the power that women held within the home and family in the matrilineal system that preceded Spanish colonialism.

Madrid’s classification of Chamorro men during the Spanish colonial period as padre de familia largely equates to men fulfilling roles as the “repository of the dignity of the family” in Western and Christian spaces. This role created a new space for men as the legitimized

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134 Sharleen Santos-Bamba, in discussion with the author, October 31, 2013.
135 Carlos Madrid, in discussion with the author, June 19, 2013.
representatives of their family’s very identity and material assets, unlike in pre-contact society in which clan identity and wealth was both owned and distributed by women through the matrilineal system. Although pre-contact men had an established responsibility to protect the clan and its assets, they now found themselves in a radically elevated posture with respect to family affairs in the greater public sphere.

Assumptions that the militia and the church provided the primary proving grounds for Chamorro masculinities given their importance in advancing the Spanish colonial agenda in eighteenth and nineteenth century Guam are limited. Class and racial boundaries served as a hindrance to the majority of Chamorro men to engage with these institutions, and thereby, with the avenues they provided to assert Chamorro masculinities. As padre de familia, however, Chamorro men regardless of their bloodline or socio-economic status, were not only afforded power, prestige, and purpose within their family, but within the larger public sphere where the boundaries created by class and race would otherwise deny their masculinities.

**Death of the Last Chamorro: Chamorro Masculinities and US Military Colonialism**

Chamorro men’s encounters with Spanish colonialism indeed instigated marked shifts in social and familial organization and gendered identities. Despite the resounding contention in the historiography that Chamorro men became extinct or, at best, an endangered species due to Spanish colonial conquest, indigenous men on Guam found various ways to navigate the changing social, political, and cultural order. They would find themselves compelled to continue to find ways of navigating similar change in the aftermath of Spain’s administration. In Monnig and Camacho’s contention,

While little is known about older, gendered traditions of Chamorro men, notions of Chamorro masculinity have been radically transformed by the onset of US colonialism in
1898. Nearly three centuries of Spanish colonialism had taken its toll on Chamorro perceptions of masculinity, and these notions of the emasculated Chamorro man were adopted and adapted by the US colonial administration.\textsuperscript{136}

But in what ways would Americans adopt, adapt, and appropriate these perceptions and for what purpose? As spoils of the Spanish-American War, Chamorros became new wards of a growing empire of the US that itself was finding its feet as a world power. Thus, the early twentieth century stands out at a time in which early American colonial officials, their wives, and many others not only formed their own perceptions of Chamorros in general, and Chamorro men in particular, but in which native men too began adapting to a newly introduced gender and colonial order.

The Navy largely viewed Chamorros of the early twentieth century as a vulnerable people due to the centuries of presumed abuse and neglect handed down by the colonial administration that preceded it. This abuse and neglect led to what the first history textbook produced by the Naval Government of Guam documented as the “death of the last pure blooded Chamorro” in April, 1826. Apart from the year of her or his death, no further information is provided as to whom this last Chamorro was or what qualified him or her as indeed the last Chamorro.\textsuperscript{137} Although this Chamorro remains a faceless and nameless addition to a timeline tucked away at the back of a textbook, her or his death informed sweeping generalizations among the American administration in Guam of Chamorros as a disappearing race.

The Naval Government of Guam, like the Spanish administration before it, viewed Chamorro men as weak and ultimately defeated. Although these Chamorro men as warriors were at once viewed as “…the superace of the Pacific, possessing an indigenous and complex

\textsuperscript{136} Camacho and Monnig, “Uncomfortable Fatigues,” 160.
\textsuperscript{137} Paul J. and Ruth Searles, \textit{A School History of Guam} (Agana: Department of Education, Naval Government of Guam, 1937), 72
civilization well-adapted to their environment...” who were willing to fight back against foreign domination, they ultimately became a “…decimated, spiritless, and mongrelized population…” after having engaged in a “war of extermination.”\(^{138}\) As the Navy saw it, this new mongrelized race of men was incapable of sustaining the development of their own island warranting the importation of foreign men from the Philippines and Mexico to pick up the slack. Presumably, Chamorro men were universally unskilled in any particular trade, living day-to-day and only concerned with their immediate needs in a state where “Every man is everything and no man is anything.”\(^{139}\)

The impression of Chamorro men as an abused, defeated, and vulnerable sort in need of American paternal guidance surfaced beyond the administration and its personnel. Those without formal roles in the governance of Guam likewise adopted distinct attitudes about Chamorro men. Van Peenen’s work has much to offer in the way of American perceptions of Chamorros during first decades of US rule. Like the early American officials sent to govern Guam, Van Peenen also came to pity the Chamorro who had endured Spanish tyranny over the centuries. In her estimate, “Very few changes were made under North American occupation. A good-natured leniency replaced the impatient cruelty of the Spaniard…”\(^{140}\) That cruelty, as Van Peenen asserts, stifled the Chamorro in his cultural and social growth and development so much so that, “These proud, intelligent people suffer the humility of never having produced one illustrious man of their own blood.”\(^{141}\) Given this supposed suppression of Chamorro cultural and social advancements after centuries of foreign European domination, Van Peenen concluded that,

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\(^{139}\) Ibid., 2.

\(^{140}\) Van Peenen, Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam, 41.

\(^{141}\) Ibid., xiv.
“...the Chamorro is understandably in a precarious cultural position. He walks the precipitous ledge of Past-Present, with the abyss of ‘Americanization’ waiting below to engulf him.”

She further asserts that “The era of the Chamorro people, as a separate ethnic entity, approaches an end.”

Diaz situates Van Peenen’s assumptions of impending doom for the Chamorro not simply within exclusively American hegemonic forces, but within larger histories of and understandings about successive Spanish, American, and Japanese colonialisms. Diaz calls attention in particular to Van Peenen’s persistent use of the “ever-present masculine pronoun” to refer to Chamorros.

This can be read in multiple ways. In “An Historiographic Introduction” to the 2008 republication of Van Peenen’s work, Micronesian Area Research Center Director John Peterson acknowledges the present-day sensibility to “deplore the male gendering of an entire people” and acknowledges that Van Peenen’s work is “marred by a patronizing tone and sexist references.”

Still, Peterson calls upon readers to overlook the racism, sexism, and elitism of the writers of old and instead celebrate their work and excuse them as writers who are victims of their times.

Although Peterson’s sympathy for racist, sexist, and elitist writers as “victims” of their times provides little consolation to those peoples who continue to fall “victim” to those writers and their sentiments, we must acknowledge the likelihood that writers of different eras employed standardized language (e.g., the “he” rather than “one” or the use of feminine pronouns for ships or countries) which may be deemed largely sexist in the present.

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142 Ibid., 48.
143 Ibid., 42.
146 Ibid., ix-x.
In spite of Peterson’s historiographical analysis and his absolution of Van Peenen’s condescending, racist, and sexist work, her perspective and the manner in which it has been articulated does not represent an isolated or unique example of a written narrative gone awry. Rather, it aligns itself alongside a larger body of written works related to Guam. Camacho provides a thorough and compelling review of militouristic discourses that emerged during the first era of Naval rule in Guam. He contends that such discourses fashioned the island landscape as feminine through a process of familiarization, a process that would transform the island into a suitable possession worthy to fall under the US flag. In his master’s thesis “Enframing i Taotao Tano’: Colonialism, Militarism and Tourism in 20th Century Guam,” Camacho considers US discourses that feminized Guam’s landscape, and in turn its people, as a mechanism for furthering the larger colonial agenda.147

In his examination of the feminization of the island landscape, Camacho cites Mary Augusta Channell, a missionary of the American Board who in 1901, equated the natural beauty of the island with that of its native women. She wrote that “the quiet water reflecting the green foliaged banks [of the Hagåtña River] is a pretty picture, the beauty of which is heightened by the native women in all varieties of dress.”148 Junius B. Wood, an American contributor to The Guam Recorder, wrote that Guam “has all the beauties and charms of the tropics and few of their ills and annoyances. Life should be easy for those to whom it is home and it could be a restful paradise for any who want to escape the noise and dirt and struggle of the busier outside world.”149 Where Channell fashions the island as a quietly beautiful and picturesque place

148 Qtd. in Camacho, “Enframing i Taotao Tano’,” 93.
149 Qtd. in Camacho, “Enframing i Taotao Tano’,” 96.
complimented by (or perhaps synonymous to) the island’s native women, Wood likewise upholds the island as a place where life is easy and one might find relaxation and escape.

Camacho further identifies the “norm of hospitality” as a fixture in militouristic discourses. This invented norm constructed Guam and Chamorros as tremendously feminized through their representation as hospitable in providing for Americans a sense of ease and comfort in their newfound surroundings, assuring foreigners “…the island and people are essentially non-threatening and subservient to outside forces.”\footnote{Camacho, “Enframing i Taotao Tano’,” 157.} Additionally, Camacho asserts that the island’s landscape was feminized through colonially imposed representations of Guam as enticing, exotic, and even erotic. In what was fashioned a tropical paradise full of hospitable and beautiful native women ripe for the picking largely translated into one where Chamorro men were literally absent. As Hattori argues, “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 as space available for the colonial penetration of a masculinized naval establishment.”\footnote{Anne Perez Hattori, Colonial Dis-Ease: US Naval Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 93.}

Hattori goes on to argue that the absence of men in the historiography and on the landscape facilitated the privileging of Chamorro women as the primary survivors of colonial domination, who are then further positioned as the perpetuators and preservers of the indigenous race holding absolute power within the social and familial setting. Consequently, this has worked to marginalize Chamorro men and their roles in such settings, as well as diminished their capacities as equally contributing perpetuators and protectors of culture and language. Moreover, as highlighted by Hattori, this unsubstantiated collectivist view of Chamorro women “…implies that women are engaged in a struggle over culture against men, for if women are the
ones protecting the culture, then it must be the men who are destroying it.” Of the broader and gender biased historiographical canon as it relates to Guam, Hattori ultimately argues that

[The] privileging of women in both the colonial and indigenous histories works to emasculate the island and to validate a male-engendered colonial intervention. The historiographical erasure of Chamorro men enables historians to fill the gap, so to speak, with stories of valiant colonial men who came to Guam to rescue its beleaguered females. This work aspires to challenge these prevailing notions by moving away from what Hattori has classified as “these tired clichés” and more toward the realization of Chamorro men and masculinities as complex and omnipresent on the landscape of Guam, as well as in the social, political, economic, educational, and cultural spaces of the early twentieth century.

**Where Are We Now?: Chamorro Men and Masculinities in Twenty-First Century Histories of Guam**

Although a surge in explorations of masculinities and men has occurred in the larger interdisciplinary fields of Gender Studies and Pacific Islands Studies, such is not necessarily the case with regard to Chamorro men and masculinities in Guam which have fallen to the wayside in contemporary critical discussion and public debate. With respect to the historical record, many would find this assertion absurd and perhaps offensive. Indeed, demands to uplift the disenfranchised, invisible, and silenced out of the obscurity of male-dominated Eurocentric histories have been made by those promoting more historical attention to women, rather than men. Guampedia, an online peer-reviewed encyclopedic resource about Guam’s history, culture, and contemporary issues, responded to such demands in 2012 with its “Women in Guam History” project. At the poster unveiling ceremony, Content Editor Dominica Tolentino

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attributed the newly debuted project to an effort to rectify the alarming reality that prior to the project, of the ninety Guampedia entries classified as profiles of historically significant individuals, only three featured women.\textsuperscript{155}

Hattori reiterated Tolentino’s sentiments that women were afforded a disturbingly diminished place in Guam’s history. In her keynote address delivered at the 2\textsuperscript{nd} Annual Marianas History Conference, Hattori provided telling statistics concerning the absence of women in canonical historiography. In a survey of the four textbooks regarded as canonical and committed to narrating a comprehensive history of Guam and Northern Marianas published between 1964 and 2011, Hattori found that a mere 5\% or less of the individuals mentioned by name were women. She further established that the vast majority of women who did find their way into the written historical record were Europeans or Americans, most of whom either lived only temporarily in the Marianas or never had been to the islands at all (e.g., American anthropologists, Queen Mariana de Austria, etc.).\textsuperscript{156}

The disregard for women in general, and Chamorro women in particular, in Guam’s written history is not exclusive to the dry textbooks of old, nor is this the sole doing of Eurocentric foreigners. The \textit{Hale’-ta} series, launched in the 1990s by the Government of Guam sanctioned Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, produced various volumes with the mission of creating a more island-centered, islander-oriented glimpse of Guam’s past and contemporary issues. Each of these volumes’ contributors and editors was overwhelmingly

\textsuperscript{155} Dominica Tolentino, “Women in Guam History” (Speech: Guam Preservation Trust Historic Lujan House, Hagåtña, GU, April 27, 2012).
\textsuperscript{156} Hattori, “Chamorro Barmaids, Guam CongressMen, and the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century Doings of Marianas History, 25. Hattori’s survey included Paul Carano and Pedro Sanchez’s \textit{A Complete History of Guam} (1964), Sanchez’s \textit{Guahan Guam} (1989), \textit{The History of the Northern Marianas} (1991), and the Robert Rogers’ 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition of \textit{Destiny’s Landfall} (2011)
Chamorro, or longtime residents of Guam with established experience in the areas about which they wrote. As part of that series, an effort was launched to honor some of the island’s unrecognized Chamorro historical figures culminating in four extensive volumes of *I Manfåyi: Who’s Who in Chamorro History*. A survey of these four volumes corroborates Tolentino and Hattori’s claims that women’s presence in Guam history dramatically pales in comparison to that of men’s. In the inaugural volume of the series, 44 men’s names are mentioned and only 15 women’s names appear. For unexplained reasons, non-Chamorros found their way into the annals of “Chamorro History” beginning with Volume II. Here, the number of men mentioned jumps to 224 and women to 79. Volume III featured 77 men and 18 women, and Volume IV included 70 men and 30 women.\(^{157}\) As the numbers demonstrate in clear, irrefutable terms, men exceedingly outnumber women in terms of who’s who in Chamorro history.

Acknowledging Hattori and Tolentino’s assertion of women’s invisibility in Guam history and given this survey of the *I Manfåyi* collection, I still insist on my supposition that Chamorro men and masculinities lack sufficient and due attention in the historical record. Although men appear in apparent abundance, both in the canonical texts surveyed by Hattori and in the who’s who collection that I have reviewed, the question as to what types of men warrant historical recognition and notoriety are my concern. The introduction to Volume I of the series notes that the term *i manfåyi* “means ‘those who have wisdom.’” It describes people who used their knowledge to decide their actions. When someone is said to be ‘fåyi,’ it means he or she

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did or said something that benefited others in some way.”  \(^{158}\) But what constitutes wisdom, and what types of knowledge have guided the esteemed historical figures honored in the historical record in benefiting others?

In closely reviewing the *I Manfāyi* volumes, it becomes apparent that those recognized for their wisdom, knowledge, and contributions to Chamorro History belonged to one of two distinct categories of occupations or systems of knowledge. The men of these volumes clearly achieved historical notoriety for their contributions within the realm of what I propose can be understood as either *che’cho sanhiyong* (occupations or systems of knowledge introduced through contact with the West) or *che’cho gaisaga* (Chamorro occupations or systems of knowledge passed down from pre-contact times). \(^{159}\) My proposal of these terms in identifying the criteria for recognizing individuals is not intended to diminish the many layers of talent, wisdom, or skill that each posses. Indeed, many of the men who might fall within the *che’cho sanhiyong* category are likewise capable of the skills and abilities required for *che’cho gaisaga*, and vice-versa. Yet the *I Manfāyi* volumes do not extensively acknowledge men for the multiplicities of their contributions, but rather exclusively or predominantly situate their honorees within either *che’cho sanhiyong* or *che’cho gaisaga* categories. In many ways the selection of individuals for inclusion in *I Manfāyi* in this manner establishes a clear-cut, albeit limited or problematic, baseline for judging Chamorro men and their historical worthiness.

In general, the great majority of men recognized in *I Manfāyi* were honored for their success in the realm of *che’cho sanhiyong*. A good number of them arose out of the socio-economic elite class to include businessmen, political leaders, clergy, educators, and US military

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\(^{159}\) Literally translated, *che’cho sanhiyong* means work or occupations from the outside. *Che’cho gaisaga* equates to work or occupations connected to the land and family.
servicemen. Conversely, a minute handful in comparison had been recognized for their accomplishments in the realm of *che’cho gaisaga*, such as canoe building and navigating, farming and fishing, traditional healing, storytelling, and the arts. For Volume I, 44 men fall within the *che’cho sanhiyong* category, and 4 in the *che’cho gaisaga*. Where 213 occupy *chec’cho sanhiyong* occupations in Volume II, only 11 occupy *che’cho gaisaga* occupations. Volume III features 62 *che’cho sanhiyong* men and 15 *che’cho gaisaga*. Volume IV, in its committed focus on public servants working in the Government of Guam does not feature anyone who could be categorized definitively within the *che’cho gaisaga* category.

My intent here is not to diminish the contributions of those men classified in *che’cho sanhiyong*, nor is it my intent to imply that such occupations and systems of knowledge are not valid contributions to society. Yet, the alarmingly small number of Chamorro men recognized for their knowledge of Chamorro systems and practices speaks to larger trends in Guam and Pacific history that privilege certain individuals within indigenous society. As Hattori points out, …one of our on-going problems is that women without money, without a blue-blooded lineage, without educational achievement, and without serving in elective office are typically ignored in history. Now, for that matter, men without money, lineage, and education are also typically ignored in history…. The issue of women's invisibility in history is part of a bigger problem in the Pacific -- the relative invisibility of most islanders, male or female, in our histories.160

The current state of Chamorro men across socio-economic divisions within the larger historiography of Guam stands out as a driving concern in this study, and the chapters that follow very much seek to pick up where the existing historiographies have left off or have fallen short.

**Resetting the Margins: Chamorro Men and Masculinities Across Colonial Histories**

As this chapter has demonstrated, a re/reading of Chamorro men and masculinities in the various historical records underscores the primacy of foreign men’s interventions in the island’s past and the subsequent relegation of indigenous men and their masculinities to the margins of the written historical record. Thus, Chamorro men have occupied the periphery of historic understandings and exist primarily in relation to Euro-American men, rather than as viable historical agents in and of themselves.

Oral traditions offer a useful frame of reference for understanding some aspects of Chamorro masculinities in their pre-contact conceptions and drawing men out of the margins and into the centers of the written record. In comparison to this written record, the oral traditions reposition and reimagine Chamorro men in ways that uplift them from otherwise demeaning and devalued representations. In these spaces, Chamorro men are resituated from the margin and recast as the main protagonists of history embodying physical strength and prowess, intellect, humor, fearlessness, competitiveness, and a keen sense of inafa’maolek as they are always ready to serve and nurture the family and community through their labor, hospitality and humility. In many ways, these idealized, romantic, and even superhuman qualities in the oral accounts are reinforced by early written accounts such as those offered by Fray Antonio and Fray Juan Pobre. Relying too heavily on these conceptualizations of Chamorro masculinities, however, perpetuates the fallacy that such masculinities ever existed in a neatly organized and idealistic singularity.

Although the written accounts offered by Fray Juan Pobre, Fray Antonio, and others serve to reinforce some of the positive attributes of Chamorro men and masculinities, others tend to achieve the complete opposite. Perhaps more prominently, the written record fashions
Chamorro men as entirely divergent from acceptable scripts of masculinity and deviant in their infantile, savage, and ignorant existence. García’s accounts illustrate this tendency clearly. But rather than perpetuate the binaries that exist with regard to Chamorro men and masculinities, whether through the oral or written, the idealized or vilified, this research intends very much to work toward a new space in which Chamorro men and masculinities might be understood as complex, layered, and reflective of social and historical nuances. In this regard, indigenous men should not be regarded as either relegated to some pre-contact, idealized existence in which their indifference to the outside world was pronounced, nor should they be understood only by pitting them up against foreign men and their concepts of masculinity. Rather, this research seeks to examine the ways that Chamorro men and masculinities negotiated multiple spaces and embodied qualities that were as diverse and changing as their social, political, and historical situation.

The ways that Chamorro men engaged Guam’s first colonizing power of Spain speaks to the fluidity of indigenous masculinities in moving through multiple spaces and evolving to accommodate the ever-changing contexts in which they were situated, as well as in ways that retained their own aspects of gender and cultural identity. Spanish Catholicism, while viewed as an omnipresent and pervasive influence over Chamorro men was indeed one to which Chamorro men subscribed, but cannot be viewed as a major platform on which Chamorro masculinities found a viable space in which to assert themselves. Similarly, the Spanish military as an exclusively masculine institution became a space through which Chamorro manhood might be performed, but was largely limited to the socio-economic elite of Hagåtña. Thus, the larger and
socio-economically lower classes were all but alienated from accessing the benefits of soldiering on behalf of the Spanish crown.

Though the church and military proved influential in the socio-cultural setting of Guam during Spain’s administration, these spaces did not provide for Chamorro men a viable outlet through which their gendered identity might be performed. Rather, it was within the family and village community that Chamorro men could assert their masculinities as *padre de familia*. In this context, Chamorro men found ways in which they could retain power and prestige despite their lack of such in the public domain in which Spanish colonial authority remained superior. Moreover, as *padre de familia*, Chamorro men were not only able, but expected to contribute to the well-being and affluence of the greater extended family and community through protecting, preserving, and emulating *inafa'maolek*.

The ways that Chamorro men found to persevere as productive, contributing, and affluent members of their society during the Spanish colonial era would persist into the island’s next colonial period. The dawn of the US military colonialism in 1898 would present equally challenging barriers for Chamorro men to navigate. As American men replaced Spanish men as the figures of authority in Guam, Chamorro men did not merely retreat to the periphery and abandon spaces to which they had achieved a sense of place and prominence. Rather, they continued to carve out spaces for themselves within the new colonial order just as they had done for two centuries under Spanish domination. Their efforts to do so within a distinctly militarized colonial context prove just as complex, layered, and fluid.
On August 17, 2010, University of Guam (UOG) President Robert A. Underwood delivered an address at the annual Faculty Convocation ceremonies to commence the new academic year. Highlighting the many accomplishments achieved in the previous year and the various indicators of progress for the university, Underwood acknowledged that “serious issues” continued to hinder further improvement. Among the handful of serious issues identified by the president, an enduring gender imbalance reflected in the university’s student enrollment was of considerable concern. According to Underwood, during the 2009-2010 academic year, women made up a notable majority – 61 percent – of the entering freshman class. Male students stood out as a minority in the freshman class, and likewise represented a minority in the overall student enrollment of the university. Over the five years preceding Underwood’s address, less than 37 percent of undergraduate degrees awarded went to male graduates. Though a similar gender disparity was presenting itself across US institutions of higher learning, he noted that the imbalance was “a little more exaggerated in Guam.” In light of the sobering statistics just presented, Underwood jokingly remarked, “…we should start calling it the freshwomen class or start handing out bachelorette degrees.”

UOG’s enrollment statistics proved eye-opening for many at the 2010 ceremonies, and the issue of gender imbalance resurfaced in the years that followed. At the university’s Fall 2013 commencement exercises, Underwood addressed UOG’s graduating seniors pointing out that

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161 Robert A. Underwood, “Address by President Robert A. Underwood” (speech, University of Guam Faculty Convocation, Mangilao, Guam, August 17, 2010).
163 Underwood, “Address by President Robert A. Underwood.”
164 Ibid.
less than 40 percent of the graduates sitting before him were male and acknowledged that similar trends characterized graduating classes for the previous ten years, both at UOG and in US institutions.\textsuperscript{165} Although awareness of the disproportion between male and female students at UOG had been increasing for several years, that awareness obscured deeper disparities that lingered beneath the surface of the gender issue. Those disparities lay in the striking absence of Chamorro male pupils specifically in higher education in Guam.

In a 2008 report measuring recruitment and retention trends at UOG, it was found that “The university is not retaining male Chamorro students, in particular, in proportionate numbers. Chamorro men accounted for 14 percent of all freshmen, but a disproportionate 24 percent of all stop outs.”\textsuperscript{166} Similarly, other Pacific Islander male students from the US-affiliated island states in Micronesia composed less than 1 percent of freshmen while their stop out rate was 3 percent. Since 2008, Chamorro and other Micronesian males have continued to make up a striking minority of the total UOG student population, and their rates of leaving the university before completion of their degree programs continue to exceed their rates of enrollment. Current trends have yet to indicate that this situation is changing.\textsuperscript{167} The statistics illustrate in clear and

\textsuperscript{165} Robert A. Underwood, “Remarks” (speech, University of Guam Fall 2013 Commencement, Mangilao, Guam, December 22, 2013). “Undergraduate Enrollment,” National Center for Education Statistics, http://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cha.asp, Accessed July 1, 2014. According to a 2012 study by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), female students made up the majority of baccalaureate and post baccalaureate students in US institutions. The 2012 statistics reflected an ongoing trend since 1990 that demonstrated a steady increase of female students in institutions of higher learning in which they consistently outnumbered their male counterparts. The NCES is a federal entity located in the US Department of Education and the Institute of Education Sciences tasked with the collection and analysis of data relevant to education in the US.


irrefutable terms the lack of a sizable Chamorro male student presence in higher education at the University of Guam, and perhaps are suggestive of a larger absence of Chamorro male pupils in academic spaces at large. That absence has been taken for granted historically, both in general perceptions among Chamorros today and as pointed out by Souder who argues that education has been traditionally and is principally a woman’s domain.¹⁶⁸ Yet critical interrogation into the adequacy of that understanding or that which contributes to it remains largely limited.

Though often essentialized and underinterrogated, Chamorro culture has been viewed as one in which women hold legitimized places of prominence and power that arise out of the matrilineal system of descent and inheritance that was intact prior to colonialism. The staying power of that culture despite centuries of successive patriarchal colonialisms has been relied upon, perhaps in redundant excess, as the leading factor that has facilitated the prominence of women in education and other spaces to include the Catholic Church and the family. Underwood cautioned his audience at the commencement exercises in being too hasty in accepting such analysis. As he noted, “…we can point to all the cultural explanations that we repeat about matrilineal clan systems and female ownership of resources…,” but “for those of you who want to accept the cultural legacy of strong Pacific Island women as part of the reason for gender imbalance here at UOG, the national average is 58 percent...women are still on the ascendency around the country regardless of cultural background.”¹⁶⁹ The university president rightfully notes that, although Chamorro and other Micronesian cultures have always been relatively

¹⁶⁸ Souder, Daughters of the Island, 4.
¹⁶⁹ Ibid. Underwood’s reference to general understandings about Pacific Islander women alludes to the considerable student population at the University of Guam from the Mariana Islands, Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Marshall Islands in which the various cultures have been or are now matrilineal in structure. Since it was founded in 1952, UOG was the only institution of higher learning in Micronesia and the primary university serving such populations until the Pacific Islands Bible College of Pacific Islands University earned its accreditation for various bachelor’s degree programs in 2004. “History of Pacific Islands University,” http://www.piu.edu/about-2/history/, Accessed July 2, 2014.
hospitable to women holding positions of prominence, “culture” is an inadequate means of reconciling what the UOG statistics suggest. That the university’s enrollment and graduation figures mirror that of the US, albeit somewhat more pronounced, the ascendancy of female students in academic pursuits begs further interrogation beyond the usual suspect of culture.

While recognizing the plausibility that matrilineage may have some bearing on the ongoing dominance of Chamorro female students at UOG in comparison to that of their Chamorro male counterparts, this chapter instead seeks to consider the broader historical trajectory of Chamorro men in the American education system as it was engendered by the naval administration of the island in the first half of the twentieth century. This chapter will consider the extent to which the implementation of compulsory public education formulated for Chamorro men socially constructed spaces and scripts for their masculinities in a new and developing colonial order. It will briefly examine the Navy’s explicitly gendered curriculum, illustrating the manner in which it disrupted existing Chamorro notions of gender as they related to labor and the expected contributions of an individual to family and the community. It then considers the Chamorro male body as a site upon which the Navy attempted to inscribe the qualities of American patriotism and loyalty, thus fashioning young boys into potential vehicles through which affinities for the US might be disseminated and the colonial agenda justified. Finally, this chapter will consider the role of the education system and its English language policies in solidifying growing socio-economic class differentials – divisions that were ultimately gendered and part of a larger aspect of indigenous men’s encounters with American military colonialism in prewar Guam.
“An Educational Government:” The Beginnings of Public Instruction in Guam

Of the numerous goals outlined by the Navy in its order of benevolent assimilation, educating the Chamorro people in ways that would transform their minds and bodies was paramount. After all, it was the Chamorro children of Guam, viewed by the Navy as “…the most vital, interesting, and impressionable part” of the island population, that the administration saw as ripe for advancing efforts at Americanization. Indeed, the American occupation of the island was not merely an act of exerting US political sovereignty over the island; it was one that sought to embed American values, ways of thinking, and modes of behavior into the everyday lives of the populace. In looking back on forty years of governance in Guam, Head of the Executive Department, Lieutenant-Commander C.C. Winecoff, noted that, “The Naval Government, more than any other government under the American flag, is an educational government.” Similarly, US Navy Lieutenant-Commander and Chaplain Francis Lee Albert viewed the US Navy’s arrival as an administering power in Guam not only as the start of American governance of the island, but further as “…the dawn of a new day in the education of the children of Guam.” The island’s first appointed naval governor, Captain Richard P. Leary, issued Executive General Order (EGO) No. 12 on January 22, 1900 which, for the first time in

Guam’s history, mandated a Western form of public education in the English language for all Chamorro children between the ages of eight and fourteen.\footnote{Executive General Order No. 12, Naval Government of Guam (January 22, 1900). Executive General Order No. 163, Naval Government of Guam (January 17, 1911). The mandatory age for school attendance was changed in 1911 to require that public instruction begin at the age of six years rather than eight. The United States was not the first colonial power to introduce Western forms of education in Guam. Formal, but considerably limited, education in this regard began during the Spanish colonial era (1668-1898). The requirement that all children in Guam attend school by law, however, was first instituted by the US Naval Government. Education under the Spanish colonial government was not required for all island children and was largely inaccessible to children who did not belong to socio-economically elite families of Hagåtña who were favored by the colonial administration. Further, Spanish education by design provided very little training beyond that which was necessary to enter vocations as aides to Spanish priests. Thus, Spanish education was primarily available to Chamorro boys. While some Chamorro boys educated in Spanish schools in Guam did go on to careers in service to the Spanish colonial government, this was not commonplace.}

The education of Chamorro children became the responsibility of the Navy’s Department of Education. Under the direct authority of the naval administration, the department’s overall operations were supervised by an appointed Head of the Department and a Superintendent of Public Instruction. Children of American personnel stationed in Guam did not fall under the purview of the department as they were segregated from their Chamorro peers in ways that mirrored racial segregation policies in the US at the time. American children attended the American Private School established to ensure that they not suffer “permanent injury because of inadequate educational opportunities during their residence” on the island.\footnote{Robert A. Underwood, “American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam” (Dissertation: University of Southern California, 1987), 133-4.} Chamorro scholar Sharleen Santos-Bamba contends that the racial segregation of Guam’s school children facilitated a situation in which “Compulsory education afforded young Chamorros a free education – free but not equal.”\footnote{Sharleen Santos-Bamba, “The Literate Lives of Chamorro Women in Modern Guam” (Dissertation: Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 93.}

One of the primary obstacles to implementing public instruction was the procurement of English-speaking teachers. The first appointed Aide to the Governor of Guam, Lieutenant
William E. Safford, who would go on to serve as the island’s second appointed naval governor, first expressed concerns over the lack of trained educators in 1899 noting that the absence of adequate funds and other provisions prevented the execution of the mandates outlined in Leary’s education order.\textsuperscript{177} In particular, Safford noted that the general lack of funding available to compensate the few teachers on island compelled them to abandon their instructional duties to tend to their basic day-to-day needs. As Safford notes, “Some of the school teachers only get $3.00 Mexican a month, equal to $1.50 of our money. I shall double their wages, but even then it will be a miserable pittance. No wonder they have to suspend their teaching frequently to work in their garden-patches and corn-fields.”\textsuperscript{178}

The lack of qualified, English-speaking instructors was further exacerbated by the relatively short tours of duty in Guam for American personnel and their families that rarely ever exceeded two years. As outlined by Naval Governor Edward J. Dorn, “…(school teachers) will, very probably, leave for their homes in the United States, a very grave loss to the schools where these individuals have given excellent service.”\textsuperscript{179} The frequent departure of American teachers was worsened by the fact that “…several of the native teachers have declined to continue their arduous work at the renumeration [sic] now received…”\textsuperscript{180} Thus, concerns over the continuity of education persisted in the first two decades of public instruction on the island compelling the Navy to seek out the enlistment of native teachers who could be relied upon to reside on the island permanently. By 1909, Superintendent Albert Manley reported that twenty-nine native

\textsuperscript{177} Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 373.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 373. For several years after the US Navy’s assumption of governing powers in Guam, the Mexican peso remained a recognized currency on the island. The peso had been the official currency of Guam during the previous Spanish colonial administration. It was used in Guam for several years alongside the US dollar until Naval Governor Edward J. Dorn deemed the US dollar the only acceptable currency for the island in 1909.
\textsuperscript{179} EJ Dorn, Governor of Guam to Secretary of the Navy, January 13, 1909, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/542-896: 2, US National Archives.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid.
teachers had been enlisted for training. Throughout its administration of education, the Navy’s recruitment of native teachers became a key element in maintaining a functioning public school system.

Compounding the scarcity of English-speaking teachers, limited financial support available for the construction of school facilities burdened the education department. In his Annual Report to the Secretary of the Navy, Naval Governor George L. Dyer informed his superior that

Since the United States acquired the Island, with the exception of about a year during Governor Schroeder’s administration, there have been no schools, practically, where English has been taught. The exception referred to consisted of an average of two hundred ninety-seven pupils of both sexes in [Hagåtña] and twenty-six in Asan… The fact remains, however, that during the six years of American occupation the children of this island have been practically without schools.

In response to the concerns raised by Dyer, the Department of Education became aggressive in seeking funding from the Naval and federal governments to use toward the construction of schoolhouses and the recruitment and training of Chamorro teachers to alleviate the dearth of American teachers in Guam. By 1912, twelve schools had been constructed to serve Guam’s children beyond the capital city of Hagåtña and its neighboring village of Asan. In addition to primary school facilities, the Night School had been established in an effort to train more native

182 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 379. In 1998, i Mina’ Bente Kuåtro na Liheslaturan Guåhan (the 24th Guam Legislature) passed Bill No. 522, an act to change the spelling of Guam’s capital city of Aña to Hagåtña. Reflecting Spanish and American pronunciations of the city’s name, “Aña” had been the accepted phonetic spelling. “Hagåtña” reflects the Chamorro pronunciation of the city name as well as the current orthography in use in Guam. Although historical sources produced prior to the bill’s passage as cited throughout this work employ the spelling “Aña,” I elect for the purposes of consistency to utilize the name Hagåtña both in direct quotations and elsewhere in text. I retain the use of Aña to indicate the place of publication in footnote and bibliographic entries.
teachers and older pupils or those unable to attend school during daytime hours.\textsuperscript{183} In the following year, the total number of island schools numbered fifteen and included the Industrial School providing training in carpentry, blacksmithing, plumbing, and other vocational arts.\textsuperscript{184}

With the increase in school facilities came the need to increase the number of qualified teachers to provide public instruction. The Guam High School was established to offer Chamorros teacher training and special classes, but was largely an “intermediate school” offering junior high level education just slightly above that being offered at the primary levels in Guam.\textsuperscript{185} In 1923, teachers were required to attend the newly established Guam Normal School during the summer vacation months for professional development. In 1925, it became the Guam Evening High School and provided teacher education up to 1938.

Despite advances made by the Department of Education in constructing facilities to provide island-wide education to Guam’s pupils and some level of teacher training for natives, the department continued to struggle well into the 1920s and the 1930s during which progress continued to be “slow and tedious.”\textsuperscript{186} Continued fiscal restraints were aggravated by persistent difficulties in obtaining compliance among Chamorros with the mandates of EGO No. 12. For many, the required daily attendance of their children at school proved an unreasonable demand on the more immediate concern of surviving in the almost entirely subsistent economy of pre-World War II Guam. In a letter to the Secretary of the Navy in 1909, Dorn reported that “…it is too much to expect that children be sent to school, a distance of several miles over mountains, in

\textsuperscript{183} Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Island of Guam, Commencing July 1\textsuperscript{st} 1911 and Ending June 30\textsuperscript{th} 1912, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/883-1150:32, US National Archives.
\textsuperscript{184} Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Island of Guam, Commencing July 1\textsuperscript{st} 1912 and Ending June 30\textsuperscript{th} 1913, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/883-1150:32, US National Archives.
\textsuperscript{186} Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 385.
the torrential rains which prevail at times, for an education which, after all, is not, from the view point of their parents, a necessity.”¹⁸⁷ Superintendant Jacques Schnabel further noted in 1913 that “A vast majority of the school children can not [sic] enjoy the advantages of advanced education since necessity compels their parents to withdraw them from school before, or at the time they have completed the study of elementary branches.”¹⁸⁸

The situation of children either not attending school or withdrawing before they had completed the sixth grade as required by law compelled naval authorities to implement fines as high as fifteen cents for each day that a child failed to attend school without an acceptable excuse.¹⁸⁹ Failure to pay such fines could result in the arrest of a truant child’s guardians.¹⁹⁰

Still, absenteeism among Guam’s children due to the demands of a subsistent lifestyle was widespread to the extent that Naval Governor George R. Salisbury exempted children in 1911 from attending schools if they resided in lânchos (ranches), more than two miles from the nearest school.¹⁹¹ The demands of a subsistent economy and its bearing over education were further apparent in the designation of April and May as vacation months during “…the busiest planting season when the older children are most helpful to their parents.”¹⁹² These revisions to the existing education policy, however, did not alleviate the burdens bearing down on the department in providing the required education to island children, nor did it entirely rectify the rate of absenteeism in Guam’s schools.

¹⁸⁷ EJ Dorn, Governor of Guam to Secretary of the Navy, January 13, 1909.
¹⁹⁰ Executive General Order No. 80, Naval Government of Guam (September 3, 1904).
¹⁹¹ Executive General Order No. 163, Naval Government of Guam (January 17, 1911).
The limitations of the existing education system were addressed in 1923 by representatives of the Guam Congress, an advisory body of Chamorro men appointed by the Naval governor. In a petition to the Secretary of the Navy, twenty-seven members of the Guam Congress, asserted that

We feel that we have been sorely neglected by our generous and benevolent Government in the matter of Public Education which, after more than twenty years of occupation by the American government, is still in the crudest infancy and far behind the standards of improvement and progress, and, in our opinion, very little has been accomplished towards its advancement.¹⁹³

In an effort to address the perceived neglect by the Naval government and to gain greater local participation in the administration of education, the petition requested the formation of a Board of Directors to be composed of Guam residents who would be selected by the parents of children attending the public schools. The board was conceptualized as a body that would have the ability to confer with the Superintendent and assist him in all matters related to public instruction.¹⁹⁴ Although the specific provisions of the petition were not met in their entirety, the appeal from the Guam Congress had some bearing in Naval Governor Adelbert Althouse’s dismissal of Superintendent Schnabel and the appointment of Tom Collins to the post.¹⁹⁵

Major changes to the administration of Guam’s education system came with the appointment of Superintendent Collins. He implemented extensive changes to the administration of education rooted in his philosophy that because most children’s education ended prematurely, the prescribed course of study for the island’s pupils should be “…planned as to give these

¹⁹³ Petition to the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, March 14, 1923, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 54 A9-10 (300611) to EG L10-5 (400321), US National Archives, 1.
¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 3.
¹⁹⁵ Underwood, “Education During the US Naval Era.”
children a general education, based on a broad practical course capable of the greatest good.”

To address the short window of opportunity that Guam’s teachers had with their students before they stopped attending school and in the interest of reforming the education system in order to meet the basic educational needs of its students, the superintendent implemented a rigid system of record keeping for the island’s students, an on-site review process for island school facilities and their teachers, and requirements for the daily submission of lesson plans. Under Collins’ tenure, a Normal School was established to facilitate the continued training of native teachers, ten new schools were built between 1922 and 1926 to accommodate an increase of over 70 percent in student enrollment, and the number of native teachers grew from twenty-nine to 108.

As Collins would soon realize, the shortcomings of the Department of Education were not exclusive to larger administrative matters, but pervasive in the individual classrooms across Guam as well. The superintendent in 1924 noted that “Our pupils have not progressed properly in the past. By progress we mean the rate at which a child advances through school.” Chamorro students had not only demonstrated a lack of progress in completing the prescribed length of education, but further reflected deficiencies in performing to American standards of educational success in the time they were enrolled. In 1927, efforts were made to raise educational standards in response to the results of the first Stanford Achievement Tests. Much to

196 Thomas Collins, Superintendent of Public Instruction to Governor of Guam, March 23, 1923, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/1602-2198, US National Archives.
197 Ibid.
198 Underwood, “Education During the US Naval Era.”
the dismay of newly appointed Superintendent W. R. Hall, “It was found that the children were very backward in Comprehension of Reading and in Language, History, and Nature Study…”

The standardized tests came to be relied upon as a tool that the Navy would utilize “to weed out the undesirables.” Throughout its administration of education in Guam, the Navy observed a policy in which undesirables, defined as those “incapable of advancement,” would “…be turned over to the industrial departments with a view to instructing them in manual arts according to their ability.” Such policy underscored two separate and largely competing concerns that had persisted since the onset of public education: developing academic aptitude or developing industrial skill.

In the four decades during which the Naval Government administered public education before the outbreak of World War II in Guam, fiscal restraints, a lack of qualified teachers, and consistent struggles to raise Chamorro pupils’ academic performance to American standards plagued the Department of Education. To the constant frustration of the administration, efforts to obtain full compliance among Chamorros with student attendance policies and sluggish progress in legitimizing the primacy of the English language further complicated for the Navy its goal of streamlining and enforcing the larger goals and objectives of the educational department. Though these obstacles proved challenging for the Navy, the broader agenda of education fostered a situation in which the focus of public instruction largely shifted away from the academic training of students toward attempts to mold young pupils in ways that served the interests of assimilation.

200 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 385.
201 Ibid., 384.
203 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 382.
Schooling the Natives: En/Gendering Education

In the earliest years of the Navy’s administration of Guam, it became apparent that the government’s desire was not simply to educate Chamorro children for their intellectual advancement. Rather, education was implemented as a means of preparing Chamorro children for adulthood during which it was hoped that they would serve as a productive labor force that could support the US military in Guam. Chamorro boys in particular became integral to developing an able-bodied labor force in the areas of construction, agriculture, and general labor that would lend to the establishment of a fully functioning American colony that served US military interests. Desires to mold Chamorros at large into a viable workforce that would serve the needs of the Navy were clearly articulated in the 1904 paternalistic assertion of Acting Naval Governor Raymond Stone that “…these people must be taught, at once, to help themselves in ways to make them useful to us…, but their preliminary steps must be guided by us and they must be supplied with the means to do this.”

Attempts to train Chamorro children in ways that would be useful to the Navy were largely guided by American notions of gender that determined for Chamorro boys and girls their appropriate places in the milieu of rapid Americanization. By and large, those notions of gender dictated that girls would be primarily relegated to spaces and economies of domesticity while boys would be trained primarily for careers in manual labor. On March 27, 1905, the first Agricultural School was opened with a class of twenty-nine selected Chamorro boys. Upon completing regular exercises in reading, these boys would engage in what was referred to as “practical work” in garden patches of ten-by-fifteen feet assigned to each student. As reported in

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205 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 380.
the early stages of the Agricultural School, “The results obtained in these few months are quite satisfactory. The boys have learned the use of American tools and implements, and also the use of manure and the value of good vegetables. They begin to show their parents the different kinds of American garden crops and to take home seeds and young plants. This is the intended result.”206

Unlike the agricultural schools, the industrial schools were mandated by law to offer instruction to both girls and boys.207 In these schools Chamorro boys were exposed to various trades and received instruction while working alongside the Navy’s printers, blacksmiths, plumbers, and machine operators. Although the industrial schools lacked the necessary tools and equipment to provide advanced skills training, it was the view of the Navy that the training provided was an “efficient and satisfactory substitute.”208 Chamorro girls, while allowed entry into the industrial schools, did not receive the same training and instruction as their male peers. From the start of the industrial schools, the learning objective for Chamorro girls was “…to learn the cutting and making of garments, plain sewing, and such elementary embroidery as will be useful for articles of clothing.” Their instruction later grew to “…include the weaving of fabrics from materials grown in the Island, the figured matting, baskets, and such articles as are of practical use in their domestic economy.”209

The prioritization of industrial and agricultural training for Chamorro girls and boys over education geared toward building their academic aptitude was pronounced for much of the naval era. Although formal training in this regard was largely prevalent in the more densely populated

206 Ibid., 380.
207 Selected Documents from General Records of the Department of the Navy, 1798-1947, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/985, US National Archives
208 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 380.
209 Ibid., 380.
areas of Hagåtña, even the smallest schools in the rural villages emphasized agricultural
instruction to a considerable extent. Overall, it was the Navy’s contention that “Not only are
the elementary (and even advanced) academic subjects desirable, but of special value are the
agricultural, sewing, cooking, woodworking, etc. courses.” The special value placed on such
courses was further evident in that “There is a growing conviction in Guam that, while academic
education should not be neglected, there should be an increasing emphasis placed upon practical
vocational guidance.”

The Navy’s systematic prescription of manual labor as an acceptable, and in fact,
expected life path for Chamorro boys once they completed their education and reached
adulthood had far reaching implications. The enforcement of American concepts of gender
through education challenged existing gender norms among Chamorros. This is not to say that
Chamorro boys weren’t already being engineered to view manual labor as part of their socially
constructed gender reality, or that expectations within the Chamorro cultural framework did not
prioritize such labor for males. The Navy’s gendered curriculum, however, drew fixed and clear
lines between what was acceptable for boys and girls in the realm of labor and contributions, and
such boundaries proved contrary to the fluidity of Chamorro communal practices with regard to
labor. Chamorro economist Anthony Leon Guerrero speaks to this fluidity prior to and
persisting into Guam’s colonial periods noting that

The tasks of providing for everyone’s needs were divided along family lines. Every able-bodied
person had their own role to perform in the community. Those who were better at
fishing would gather food from the sea. Those who had a talent for growing plants would

212 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 386.
farm. Those who could hunt acquired fresh meats…Others engaged in useful activities, such as weaving mats, preparing salt, and tending to the children and the elders…

As Leon Guerrero highlights, specific roles within the extended family and community were not stringently defined by gender lines, but rather, determined by an individual’s talents, skills, and abilities. Within this skills-based division of labor, it was not uncommon for boys to take on tasks such as basket weaving or even sewing, nor was it infrequent for girls to assume some of the fishing and farming duties. The Navy’s education system, however, systematically relegated boys to instruction in agricultural and industrial arts while girls were confined to domestic training, thus ushering in a new gender order that dismissed Chamorro concepts of a balanced and even unfixed division of labor between men and women.

Over time, the Navy’s gendered curriculum facilitated the growing conception of the Chamorro male body as a valuable asset in advancing the US colonial agenda in Guam. The enforcement of American gender norms and expectations through public instruction in island schools offered young pupils training for the careers they would assume as laborers whose efforts might support the Navy’s presence in Guam and its imperatives in holding Guam as a strategic colony. Yet, the Navy’s efforts to transform the Chamorro male body into something useful would not end with merely engineering young native men into beasts of burden. Rather, these bodies became equally useful in the promulgation of American nationalism and loyalty.

The emphases placed on English language acquisition and industrial or agricultural training was accompanied by various efforts of the Department of Education to utilize the school system as a means of embedding patriotic loyalties in Chamorro children’s minds and attempts to

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Americanize their very bodies. In looking back on her own experience of education during the first naval era in Guam, retired Chamorro educator and senator Pilar C. Lujan remembers that “Success was measured by the ability to be Americanized…As part of its education before the war, the American naval government sought to instill the values of cleanliness and patriotism.” Similarly, retired Chamorro educator and civic leader Katherine B. Aguon, remembers of her time as a pupil under the Navy’s education system that “Perhaps the most disturbing aspects [sic] was the equating of education with Americanization.” Aguon goes on to note that the linkage made between education and Americanization rested in the “…assumption that real education could take place only in a [sic] American context…Under the rubric of progress, officials argued for a curriculum of American history, English (to the exclusion of Chamorro), health and vocational skills. However, the two principal emphases were on patriotic exercises and learning English.”

The education system on Guam during the Navy’s administration grew increasingly keen to the role that schools would play in cultivating patriotic sympathies in Guam’s students. “Instructions on Civic Virtues” were issued in 1928 that strongly encouraged that lifelong lessons in good citizenship be implemented in school curriculum at earlier stages so as to compel young people to aspire not only to support the growth of an American colony in Guam through development projects, but also to become American in all ways possible. As the unnamed author asserted, “Training in citizenship is the bedrock of our pupil school system, and the training

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216 Ibid., 93-4.
cannot come too early…”217 Yet instruction in citizenship for Chamorro children took on new meanings than they might have carried elsewhere in the US. In Underwood’s summation, “Self discipline and citizenship were also part of the curriculum, but was more concerned with acquiescence than criticism. One researcher noted that due to the ‘anomalous political status of Guam’ the terms good citizenship and character ‘have a different meaning from that found in the states.’”218 Chamorro children were groomed to exude their loyalties to the American flag and exert their patriotic devotion despite their lacking US citizenship, guaranteed protections under the US Constitution, and other democratic rights and privileges existing elsewhere in the US. In spite of these limitations, the education system in Guam engendered mammoth transformations to preexisting gender scripts, and the Chamorro male body became a profitable vehicle through patriotism and loyalty might be disseminated in Guam.

Posturing Patriotism: Education and the Chamorro Male Body

Integral to the American colonial agenda in Guam during the first decades of the twentieth century was the ability of the Navy to garner patriotic loyalties among its Chamorro subjects. Success in doing so would only serve to uphold American perceptions of its colonial project in Guam as benevolent and would likewise substantiate any questions that should arise as to the progress of assimilationist efforts. In a 1930 address delivered to a large audience of Chamorro adults and children gathered to celebrate the renaming of the school in the southern village of Agat, Naval Governor Willis W. Bradley assured them that, “…this wonderful American work of education of the Chamorros is intended to instill and waken in your minds the

218 Underwood. “Education During the US Naval Era.”
most grateful feelings toward our American Government.” Similarly, Head of Executive Department Winecoff contended that “The change to American ideas is being made by education…The adoption of American ideas will be successful only if the children are thoroughly educated in some things which are even more important than the academic course.”

Lessons in patriotism and national loyalty were often prioritized above academic courses. Although direct instruction sought to yield patriotic loyalties through introducing Chamorro children to American history and its valiant protagonists, attempts to instill patriotism in Chamorro children were largely situated outside of the classroom. More so, those efforts sought to impress upon Chamorro bodies first, then minds, the makings of patriotism. The Chamorro male body in particular became a much desired site for the inscription of American patriotism and a promising vehicle through which such patriotism might be disseminated. Specifically, the implementation of beautification projects, music and stage performance, and extracurricular sports worked to reimagine, reshape, and redefine the Chamorro male body in ways that would advance the American assimilationist and colonial agenda.

Beautification projects became an integral part of the daily routine for island students, and efforts to spruce up the classrooms and school grounds in ways that instilled pride in all things American were commonplace. In a recommendation to the Naval government that funds be allocated for the decoration of island classrooms, Superintendent Schnabel noted that

…in decorating the schoolroom one of the most important objects which is obtained is the lessons in patriotism which the teacher can give the pupils. The use of the flag, the use of pictures of our great men, as Washington, Lincoln and many others, and the use of their patriot sayings conveniently displayed on the walls of the school-room, will have

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220 Winecoff, “Guam Schools,” 335.
without a doubt a silent influence on the lives of the pupils and implant respect for the flag.  

Efforts to decorate the schools did not result solely in transforming island classrooms to reflect the American colonial order. They further worked to undermine a Chamorro cultural and environmental aesthetic in favor of that which was deemed appropriate to American culture. In his assessment of the school built in the rural southern village of Umatac, Governor Dorn remarked that “The school house at Umatac is but a bamboo shack with one room with matting sides, and it is not a source of pride to see the American flag flying over such a structure, as an educational institution.”

Dorn’s disdain for what he viewed as unworthy of association with the American flag can be decoded for the broader implications that the message of “de-Chamorrocizing” the appearances of schools imparted in relation to the Chamorro aesthetic and modes of production that were directly linked to the Chamorro male body. Where the use of bamboo in construction and woven mats in room décor reflected the materials and aesthetic to which Chamorros were long accustomed, Dorn’s assessment deems these unworthy of alliance with the American flag and with American education at large. The removal of matting walls, bamboo, and other native implements in schools across the island and their replacement with materials favored by an American aesthetic no doubt imparted a silent but powerful message to Chamorro children about what constituted quality education.

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221 Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Island of Guam, Commencing July 1st 1911 and Ending June 30th 1912.
Efforts across the island to mirror an American aesthetic in school facilities and construction standards fostered a situation in which Chamorro boys were systematically engineered to lay the foundation of American patriotism in Guam’s schools. In a very real way, the devaluation of Chamorro construction methods that utilized native materials articulated for Chamorro boys that their physical labor could only be validated through the use of American implements and methods. Likewise, to Chamorro girls for whom weaving had been determined as a central skill, the stripping of matted walls can be decoded as an invalidation of their skills if they were so applied with native implements. In this vein of analysis, young Chamorro male bodies offered the necessary physical labor to remodel schools into a “source of pride” befitting of an American institution.

Patriotic beautification projects transcended school buildings and manifested in the very molding of Guam’s landscape by Chamorro boys into a space that proudly proclaimed American patriotism. School gardens, though largely planted to provide agricultural training to Chamorro students, can be read as a clean slate on which American notions of progress and patriotism were inscribed. Rather than utilize gardens to cultivate native fruits, vegetables, and other plants that grew in abundance on the island and with which Chamorros were skilled at harvesting, Naval personnel mandated that “The seeds to be planted are American seeds furnished by the United States Government …”223 In addition to the school gardens, and by order of the governor, middle Fridays in October were designated as Arbor Day, and school children celebrated by planting trees to symbolize the “pleasant associations” between pupils, their teachers, and the Naval Government.224

The onus of nurturing the increasingly Americanized landscape of Guam’s school campuses and contributing to the “pleasant associations” between its Chamorro students and the Navy rested largely in Chamorro boys and their physical labor. While Chamorro girls contributed to the tending of school gardens, agricultural skill and responsibility under the Navy was principally ascribed to male students. Thus, the physical labor of Chamorro boys was central to the success of patriotic beautification projects. This sentiment was captured clearly in a proverb offered by T.E. Mayhew Jr. as a post-script to conclude a 1932 collection of editorials in the *Guam Recorder* that deliberated on the state of education in Guam. In Mayhew’s words, “A man who plants a stalk of corn is more patriotic to his community than a handful of politicians.”

In this regard, toiling toward agricultural production and cultivation of the land served as a mode of proving patriotism and loyalty for Chamorro boys in ways that far exceeded any contributions they could make politically or otherwise.

Initially, the Navy’s efforts to enforce American methods, tools, and products of agriculture were met with hesitation by Chamorro boys. This hesitation was most likely rooted in these boys’ inclination to their own longstanding practices of agriculture that they learned in the communal and familial setting of the lâncho. Naval Governor Templin M. Potts expressed concern about the initial unwillingness of Chamorro boys to adopt American methods of agriculture noting that “The Agricultural School has not been popular, although the instruction has been careful and systematic, and an attempt was made to make the boys understand the value of modern agricultural methods.” That attempt proved somewhat futile even as late as the last years of the Navy’s first era of governing Guam. As late as 1939, Chamorro boys and their

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226 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 381.
parents persistently expressed their reluctance to “…boys ‘wasting time’ in learning how to use modern implements.” Still, the Navy insisted upon school boys adhering to agricultural methods using only those tools and seeds that were commonplace in the US, underscoring the efforts of the administration to engineer the young Chamorro male body as a physical resource useful in the cultivation of patriotism.

The young Chamorro body was further employed as a site of patriotic conscription in the extracurricular activities centered on music and performance. A 1905 report boasted that “The school children have been taught and now sing well many familiar and patriotic songs…one may hear songs, very familiar to all Americans, at any portion of the day, in almost any part of the town.” Though Naval personnel were pleased that Chamorro pupils responded to musical instruction, patriotic performances were not confined to musical training in the classroom or the sporadic singing of patriotic songs in the town’s streets. By the 1920s, staged public performances by school children were widely encouraged and open to the community at large. Such performances were showcased on a bi-annual basis, but some schools featured them as frequently as once per month.

Naval Governor Henry B. Price characterized public performances by island students as “innovations” that yielded promising outcomes. In his summation, “The object of the local program has been to impress the communities with the fact that the schools are ‘their schools’ and to arouse their interest and cooperation.” Interest and cooperation were largely garnered through the conveyance of American notions of cultural and racial superiority. Moreover, the

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227 Winecoff, “Guam Schools,” 335.
228 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 380.
230 Ibid., 21.
superiority of American males became a characteristic element of such performances. The memories of the late Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes provide a case in point. As a child attending the Maxwell School in Sumay village during the early 1930s, Viernes remembers

Oh, I like when the school have a program. They make us go into different groups. My cousin…he’s already dark, so they put charcoal on his face and he’s supposed to be a colored. He jump around the platform and make us laugh. Yan i bsnun-mâmi…gos ba’chigo’. Pues ma nâ’i gue’ (And our neighbor…very slant-eyed. So they gave her)…what is that? Kimono? Ya ilek-ña (And she said), ‘ching chong ching chong.’ The one that is fair skin, they make him like Uncle Sam. Even the light complected [sic] girls…they wear a red, white, and blue dress with him. At the end we all singing “America.” I like the program because we can wear costume. Better than doing your homework.231

Viernes spoke fondly of many school programs that mirrored the preceding description in both theme and the roles cast, seemingly unaware or unconcerned with the racial and cultural implications of the performances she so enjoyed. Though her memories may provoke abhorrence in our present sensibilities for the snapshot of unapologetic and overt racist displays that they capture, they nonetheless reflect the extent to which school programs embedded American patriotism and Anglo-Saxon racial superiority into the psyche of Guam’s Chamorro populace. The casting of young Chamorro boys in the performance roles as described by Viernes is telling of the gendered lens through which the Navy sought to embed patriotism in its pupils more generally, and on the Chamorro male body in particular.

231 Guadalupe Sablan Santos Viernes, interview by James Perez Viernes, July 28, 2006, Hayward, CA. The Official Chamorro-English Dictionary/Ufisiat na Diksonårimon Chamorro-Engles (Hagåtña: Depattamenton Kaohao Guinahan Chamorro/Department of Chamorro Affairs, 2009), 44. The term “slant-eyed” is used in the parenthetical translation of the Chamorro word ba’chigo’ reflecting the definition offered in the Chamorro-English dictionary as referenced here. Although some terms drawn from the interview transcript such as “slant-eyed” and “colored” are recognized as pejorative in colloquial English in the United States and elsewhere, I retain their usage here as these terms do not necessarily carry negative connotations in colloquial Chamorro or colloquial English in Guam in which this particular reference is situated. I further retain such terms to maintain the authenticity of the sentiments expressed by the interview subject and to illustrate the racial terminology prevalent during the time period out of which her memories arise.
The awarding of the starring role of the performance to a fair-skinned boy is suggestive of attitudes that favored Chamorro male bodies that were closest in comparison to white American men. Likewise, the fair skinned ladies-in-waiting who paraded alongside Uncle Sam embodied notions of American feminine beauty and national pride as manifested in the pretty dresses displaying the national colors. Though these girls were the envy of other girls on stage made to perform in less desired roles, their roles were fashioned in subservience to the more festive and central male figure of Uncle Sam. In dramatic contrast, the darker skinned or “slant-eyed” children were cast as secondary props of ridicule. The overstated and negative racial stereotypes ascribed to such characters were performed in ways that emphasized the uncivilized or inferior state of these ethnic players in relation to the white American patriotic archetypes. The Chamorro boy in the starting role cast to represent the nationalist personification of the American government as Uncle Sam, and his placement at center stage illuminates the effort of the Navy to colonize the bodies of young men. These bodies essentially became blank canvasses on which the Navy could paint an image of itself and the US at large as benevolent and superior, an image which it hoped Chamorros would consume and appropriate. As the performance described by Viernes demonstrates, the education system became a site of the institutionalization of American national, racial, and gender superiority to which Chamorro children and community audiences were largely exposed.

Patriotism was also scripted and performed through sport and other physical activity. Supervised athletics in the schools were seen by the administration as useful in the “cultural development” of Chamorro children who were now engaging in American education and, much to the satisfaction of the Navy, were demonstrating a rapidly growing fondness and proficiency
with American sports.\textsuperscript{232} The cultural development of the Chamorro people through their participation in organized athletics was believed to “…serve as the best medium for inculcating a sense of fair play, close kin to honesty and truthfulness.”\textsuperscript{233} Moreover, sports had a direct effect on the spread of patriotism as it was believed that supervised athletics compelled participants to speak English spontaneously, more frequently, and with affection.\textsuperscript{234} In the Navy’s summation, the fair play taught to Chamorro children through sports and the ways that athletic activity encouraged usage of the English language would eventually result in a “…keen sense of honor such as the progenitors of Americans had at the time of the origin of the language and such as is practiced by the American nation at the present time.”\textsuperscript{235}

The agility and skill of Chamorro male athletes who used the English language during play came to be a notable fixture in the Navy’s reports on its presumed success in Americanizing Chamorros. In framing education at large as the basis of progress, the American press in Guam reported that “It is noticed that the boys of Guam take to baseball with enthusiasm and all the baseball terms are used in English.”\textsuperscript{236} The success of Americanization efforts were not only evident in Chamorro boys engaging in American sports with curiosity and enthusiasm. In the eyes of Americans in Guam, their crowning trophy of successful Americanization efforts rested in the ability of Chamorro boys to excel at sports and outperform Americans themselves. As Governor Smith’s noted in his 1917 annual report, Chamorro boys were not only taking to sports

\textsuperscript{234}Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{235}Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{236}“Education: The Basis of Progress,” 3.
that required the use of the English language, but were beginning to “…rival and often defeat the American teams” that taught them the sport.237

Physical activity and its usefulness in spreading patriotism was further formalized through prescribed military training and activity for Chamorro boys specifically. In describing “the most impressive sight on the Island,” Naval Chaplain Albert marveled at what he estimated to be a thousand children in the capital city executing their daily drill following “Colors.” In his description, Albert notes that

The children are well disciplined, marching quietly from their four schools and forming a hollow square around the Plaza de Espana, where they stand at attention while the Stars and Stripes are hoisted in front of Government House. Then, to the accompaniment of music by the Station Band, and under the direction of their respective teachers, they go through their calisthenic [sic] exercises. The result is at least four fold: Group coordination, rhythmic movement, physical exhaltation [sic], and patriotic training.238

While Chamorro girls participated in marching and drills to an extent and on a voluntary basis, it was Chamorro boys who were immersed in such physical activity and their participation was mandatory. In comparison to the mandated physical exercise for girls that amounted to ten minutes of basic callisthenic exercises each day, boys were required to complete one hour of physical training four days per week. That physical training was far more rigorous and was offered in military fashion. It included what were referred to as Swedish movements and coordinated military drill instruction. In schools at which boys and girls attended whole-day sessions together, boys were required to complete the callisthenic exercises prescribed for girls in addition to those required of boys.239

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239 Adelbert Althouse, Annual Report of the Governor of Guam for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1922 (Agaña: Naval Government of Guam, 1922), 12. Due to limited facilities, faculty, or other constraints, some schools during the Naval era held half-day sessions during which boys attended in the morning and girls in the afternoon.
The physical requirements imposed on Chamorro boys in their school setting illustrate the importance of the native male body as an ample site for the Navy’s efforts to propagate patriotism in Guam. Young Chamorro male bodies, as they were employed in the advancement of beautification projects, music and performance, and sport, were constructed into living repositories of patriotism and loyalty for the US Navy. Yet the Chamorro male body was not necessarily the only viable vehicle through which the American colonial agenda might progress. Young Chamorro minds proved equally beneficial in that regard. Efforts to Americanize those minds were not exclusive to making Chamorros identify with the symbols, images, practices, or pastimes of the United States. Those efforts were largely rooted in the belief that, by adopting the language of Americans, Chamorros would come to adopt a new worldview more appropriate to the Americanized world in which they were now living.

Fino’ Engles: Articulations of Gender, Class, and Educational Advancement

The Navy’s desire to employ the Chamorro male body as a site upon which American patriotism and loyalty might be inscribed was paired with distinct efforts to compel young Chamorro males to begin to think and express themselves in ways deemed appropriate, civil, and intelligent. Yet ongoing deficiencies in Guam’s classrooms as they were articulated through standardized tests reflected, in large part, the inability of the Navy to execute what was from the onset of the American occupation a matter of high priority. That matter was the aggressive implementation of the English language as the only acceptable form of communication in the public sphere. As will be demonstrated, the implementation of the English language as the official medium of communication was not solely a matter of language. Rather, the English language became the primary avenue through which a small socio-economically elite sector of

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240 Fino’ Engles – English language
Chamorro male society could ascend materially and socially within the American colonial order. Thus, English became one of several catalysts that lent to the solidification of a socio-economic class system in the American colonial context. It was in that context that a small group of Chamorro men could attain affluence and legitimacy, largely vested in their ability to speak English. Conversely, the larger masses of Chamorro men who could not speak the tongue of the Americans remained largely marginalized to the lower echelons of society. This differential proves a ripe site for inquiries into the complexities of Chamorro masculinities and American education.

The Navy enforced rigid English-only policies that made clear the administration’s philosophy on the inextricability of the English language and the larger Americanization scheme in Guam. Leary’s EGO No.12 mandated that native teachers “…cheerfully and harmoniously cooperate with the teachers of English in order that the greatest benefits may be derived by both scholars and preceptors.”241 Just one day after issuing EGO No.12, Leary ordered the enforcement of EGO No. 13 on January 23, 1900, expanding the English-only policy beyond Guam’s school houses and its teachers. The order proclaimed that

All residents are recommended to utilize every available opportunity to learn how to read, write, and speak the English language, thereby improving their own mental condition as well as preparing themselves for assisting their children who are required by law to attend school.242

The mandate of EGO No. 13 extended English policy to include parents as well, with the expectation that English language instruction would be reinforced in the home and other private spaces. Although Leary’s order, as written, was suggestive in its recommendation that

241 Executive General Order No. 12, Naval Government of Guam (January 22, 1900).
Chamorros speak, read, and write English, later legislation more explicitly banned the use of the Chamorro language in public in its entirety. On July 1, 1917, Naval Governor Roy C. Smith executed EGO No. 243 declaring that “It is hereby ordered and decreed that: English is the official language of the Island of Guam…Chamorro must not be spoken except for official interpreting.”

EGO No. 13 and language policy to follow articulated the Navy’s philosophy that English was not only useful for educational purposes, but that it lent to the betterment of the overall “mental condition” of Chamorros at large. The broader implication of such policies was that the continued use of the Chamorro language to the exclusion of English perpetuated dysfunctional mental conditions. The Navy’s fixation on promoting the use of the English language at the expense of Chamorro was rooted in the view of the administration that “The basis of progress in Guam must be the English language” and that “The limitations of the Chamorro language [would] restrict the progress that could be made with that as the only medium of communication.” Not only would progress become restricted by continued use of the Chamorro language, but as Governor Bradley contended, “…progress will become more uniform and more permanent as the use of the English language becomes more widespread throughout the island.”

As early as 1900, naval authorities began proclaiming the success of efforts to embed the use of the English language among Chamorros, and by extension, the success of the government in achieving its mission of benevolent assimilation. Speaking specifically to Chamorro children,

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243 Executive General Order No. 243, Naval Government of Guam (July 1, 1917).
244 Executive General Order No. 13, Naval Government of Guam, (January 23, 1900).
Governor Leary proclaimed that “The youth of the community are enthusiastic in their efforts to learn English.” The supposed eagerness of Chamorros at large to learn English was interpreted to mean “…that they evidently wish to learn American ways…” Despite the Navy’s praise of its seeming success with its language initiatives, the enthusiasm to learn the English language and, by extension, American ways was apparently short-lived and in most cases confined to the school setting for most. As Governor Dorn estimated in 1909,

> It is not a creditable showing that after ten years of occupation, by the United States, so little of our language is used or understood by the inhabitants of the Island: that but a very inconsiderable number of the children born during that time are able to understand even the simplest phrases in English…

Difficulties in enforcing the English language policies permeated the decades to follow. In 1929, Head of the Department of Education, Commander W.R. Hall lamented with frustration that “The teaching of English is constantly stressed that the growing generation may be better able to understand and converse in the recognized official language [of English] – but Chamorro remains the spoken language in the homes of almost all natives, even our teachers!” In his 1939 address to the Guam Teachers’ Association, Head of the Executive Department Lieutenant-Commander C.L. Winecoff, commented on the state of English proficiency among Chamorros noting that

> There is one deep-seated reason for the failure of the average Chamorran [sic] to acquire facility in speaking and understanding the English language: in forty years the Americans here have not educated the population of Guam, as a whole, into a real desire to learn anything about the European heritage of the language in which the European ideas are expressed. …Outside of an office or school, I seldom hear two Chamorran [sic] high

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248 Ibid., 379.
249 EJ Dorn, Governor of Guam to Secretary of the Navy, January 13, 1909.
250 Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 385.
school children address each other in English. They are quite able to speak English, but do not want to…\textsuperscript{251}

Where the desire to learn the English language by Chamorros had been equated with a desire to learn American ways, and by extension a desire to become American, the disinterest to do so was thus read as a refusal of the Chamorro people to fully assimilate, and by extension, the failure of the naval government’s resolve to achieve benevolent assimilation. As noted in the \textit{Guam Recorder}, visitors to the island in the 1930s were pleased with the notable cleanliness of the people, but were equally taken by the fact that English was not the dominant language of the people. Such visitors equated the infrequency of the use of the English language as “…a sad reflection on American leadership after 35 years of occupation.”\textsuperscript{252}

The Navy remained steadfast in its efforts to transform the Chamorro populace into an English speaking people representative of successful Americanization efforts and launched an aggressive campaign to suppress the Chamorro language. In particular, corporal punishment for island school children, as well as monetary fines for the population at large imposed for the public use of the Chamorro language persisted well into the mid-twentieth century. Though Guam became a ward of the US Department of Interior in 1950 and the Navy no longer held formal authority in the governance of island, the legacy of its English-only policies and efforts to suppress the Chamorro language endured. Traumatic memories arising from childhood experiences endured as late as the 1960s of physical punishment and humiliation suffered as a result of speaking Chamorro in Guam’s schools persist in the present among many.\textsuperscript{253}

\textsuperscript{251} Winecoff, “Guam Schools,” 334-5.
Chamorro language suppression schemes were not limited to the imposition of physical or monetary consequences. Perhaps the single-most systematic effort of the Navy to combat the use of the island’s indigenous language occurred in the 1922 collection and burning of Chamorro-English dictionaries as ordered by Governor Althouse. The *Dictionary and Grammar of the Chamorro Language of the Island of Guam* had been written in 1918 by US Navy Paymaster Edward von Preissig with the assistance of several Chamorros and funded by the Navy in an effort to aid Chamorros in learning the meaning of English words.\(^{254}\) In Underwood’s estimation, the burning of the von Preissig dictionary epitomized what had largely developed during the naval era and what has persisted into the present as a general perception of Chamorro as “the enemy of educational progress.”\(^{255}\)

The devaluation of the Chamorro language and attitudes about the role it would play in hindering the progress of the Chamorro people did not remain exclusive to naval authorities and other Americans who advanced the agenda of Americanization in prewar Guam. It soon saturated the mindset of a distinct class of Chamorros who began to subscribe to the tenets of the colonial order. As noted by Joaquin Torres, a Chamorro school principal and senior major of the Guam Militia, “Citizens and teachers especially who do not actually improve their everyday English are really committing a criminal deed to the public and especially to the future generations…”\(^{256}\) Torres’ denouncement of the continued use of the Chamorro language as criminal became the pervasive attitude among the socio-economic elite who sought to utilize the institutions, practices, and philosophies of the American administration to their benefit.


\(^{255}\) Underwood, “Education During the US Naval Era.”

While Chamorro continued to be the dominant language of private spaces, even among the elite, increased ability with the Americans’ language became a pathway to socio-economic mobility and success as the Americanization agenda was advanced in Guam, a path that Chamorro men had the most access to and from which they stood to benefit the most. For many Chamorro men who resided in Hagåtña, English proficiency became a viable, if not exclusive, avenue toward socio-economic elevation. Some level of fluency in the English language, no matter how limited, increasingly became a doorway to advancement in the public sphere beyond the láncho or wage-paying jobs that bore little to no hope for those seeking to improve their economic or social circumstances. As the Department of Education persistently enforced agricultural and industrial skills that largely predetermined for Chamorros their lives in manual or menial labor, it was English that became the pathway to escaping the limitations inherent to those livelihoods.

The opportunities for socio-economic advancement and mobility through education were not linked to one’s ability to demonstrate sound academic performance or a diverse range of intellectual capabilities above his peers. The currency of American education in career and economic advancement, rather, was entirely vested in one’s ability to speak, read, and write English. Even the most elementary knowledge of English provided for Chamorros of the prewar period the prospect of life outside of the farm, home, or industrial spaces of society. As argued by Pale’ Eric, “If you had a knack for picking up English, you could get a job as a teacher if you wanted one, end of story.” Lujan’s memories of prewar Guam reinforce Pale’ Eric’s assertion. As she remembers,

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there was an elite group of Chamorros who served in high-ranking roles simply because they could read and write in the English language. Their families enjoyed a standard of living far better than those families who did not learn the English language. I remember very clearly my father telling us that, although he only reached the third-grade reading level, he became a teacher and then served on the naval governor’s staff….People of my generation were made to believe that without proficiency in the English language, the chances of obtaining gainful employment were unlikely.  

The link between education more broadly and English language proficiency specifically to socio-economic class was so pervasive that, as Underwood estimates, by 1940, education as provided by the Navy became an integral “...part of the adolescent experience for the Chamorro elite.”

Though Chamorro women stand out as the pioneers that first forged space in the American education system of prewar Guam, Chamorro men in increasing numbers soon joined the ranks of their female counterparts in reaping the benefits that came with English language capabilities. Histories of education in Guam continue to celebrate the groundbreaking contributions and achievements of notorious Chamorro women to include Agueda Iglesias Johnston, Maria Arceo Ulloa, Remedios Leon Guerrero Perez, and many others. Yet, as Johnston admitted in reflecting on her distinguished career in education, “To be a school teacher

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260 Initially, it was Chamorro women who were seen by the Navy as viable indigenous agents who might be useful in the dissemination of English language capabilities. The first Chamorro to teach English in Guam was Rosa Custino. She taught in both the American Private School and in the public schools established for Chamorro children, and went on to serve as principal of the Guam High School. She became an historical heroine in the record of American educational advancement in Guam as evident in the Navy’s recognition that the some of the most prominent Chamorros to adopt and use English owed their skills to Custino’s teaching efforts. Chamorro women like Custino became the first resources drawn from in the Navy’s efforts to establish English as the exclusive language of the public sphere. The first formal English instruction offered in 1902 was facilitated with the assistance of an unnamed, “fairly competent young Chamorro woman.” In 1904, Chamorro women’s contributions to the teaching of English increased through the efforts of “three native girls who kn[e]w enough English to teach the beginners.” See Francis Lee Albert, “History of the Department of Education in Guam During the American Administration,” 378.
in those days was a rare opportunity for a girl, especially one so young.\textsuperscript{261} More so, Chamorro women outside of the capital city faced increased resistance to their presence in the educational sphere.

As illustrated in a 2007 interview with 84-year-old Concepcion Taitano Mafnas, the very nature of public education contradicted notions of propriety and communal living with regard to Chamorro females. In looking back on her educational experience with the Navy in the 1930s in the village of Sumay, Concepcion remembers

Yes, I go to school until I reach the sixth grade. And my mother get me out of school because I become a young woman. Un tungo’ háfa hu sasangan, no? (You know what I’m saying, right?). I mean when you develop, be a young lady. So stay home and take care of all my brothers and sisters while my mother goes working somewhere in the officers’ quarters. … But at that time, young girls are not like the young girls of today. The custom [before] is so different. I don’t know what happened, if it’s the too much education, too much freedom. It’s different than when I was growing up. The minute my mother look at me, I know what it means. I’m too developed to be in school with all those boys and my brothers and sisters and cousins are not with me.\textsuperscript{262}

As Concepcion entered into young womanhood, her presence in school away from the familial and community setting in which her siblings and cousins would be present did not sit well with her parents. This was common for young Chamorro girls who were not necessarily prohibited from pursuing education and career, but whose families preferred that their activity in public be alongside trusted family members or family acquaintances to assure that their morality, personal safety, and propriety not be compromised or called into question.

Similar attitudes toward the place of young Chamorro women were held with regard to careers in teaching. The late Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley also of Sumay village was recruited

\textsuperscript{261} Agueda I. Johnston, “Continuation of My Studies,” Agueda Iglesias Johnston Collection, Box 16 Folder 48, Micronesian Area Research Center.
\textsuperscript{262} Concepcion Taitano Mafnas Concepcion, interview by James Perez Viernes, June 27, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam.
to be a schoolteacher during the Navy’s post-World War II administration of Guam. She recalls feeling considerable apprehension and fear about entering into the teaching occupation remembering,

…they didn’t even ask me if I wanted to teach. They didn’t tell me why I’m going to the Department of Education in Hagåtña to an appointment. When I find out I’m going to be a teacher, I say ‘teaching? I don’t even finish school.’ My grandmother, she says no because I have to stay home. If I have to work, she says ‘why not work as a librarian in old Apra [in the village] closer to home?’

In similar fashion to the experience of Concepcion, Wesley’s experience illustrates the dominant sentiment of Chamorro families outside of Hagåtña who preferred that their daughters remain closer to home and the communal and familial setting, rather than venture out in the public sphere. Employment outside of the home was not necessarily prohibited for young women, but families preferred that their employment be close to home or alongside trusted relatives or family friends.

By and large, careers in the educational sphere became predominantly more accessible to the smaller Hagåtña elite who could speak English and who had the means to complete advanced education beyond the elementary grades. The few Chamorro men of the Hagåtña elite who were offered the benefit of advanced American education and who went on to careers in education experienced markedly increased advantages above their Chamorro female peers. Thus, education as a vehicle for socio-economic advancement was primarily a luxury for males specifically. Though Johnston, Ulloa, Perez, and many other Chamorro women who went on to careers of distinction in education were all descendants of prominent families in Hagåtña, they met difficulties that men did not in excelling in such careers. For women at large outside of

\[263\] Guadalupe Reyes Cruz Wesley, interview by James Perez Viernes, June 25, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam. Old Apra is an area of the village of Santa Rita where Wesley resided in the aftermath of World War II.
Hagåtña, as illustrated by Concepcion and Wesley who were from farming and fishing families from the rural south, prospects for educational careers were even more limited. As these examples illustrate, though women carved out a distinct place for themselves in education and reaped the benefits that came along with it, education and its benefits were largely ripe for the picking by Chamorro men.

One of the first Chamorro men to serve in a position of relative prominence in the Department of Education was Jose Roberto. As a clerk to Superintendent Manley, Roberto served as an important intermediary between the English speaking administration and the parents of Chamorro children, as well as Chamorro teachers in the schools, many of whom never acquired advanced English capabilities.264 Chamorro men soon made up a considerable number of faculty members in the Department of Education. By 1908, nine Chamorro men were teaching in Guam’s public schools making up roughly 32 percent of teachers on the island.265 By 1931, Chamorro men joined the Department of Education as teachers and even principals making up 42 percent of the school system’s faculty or administrative positions that were otherwise filled by American personnel and some Chamorro women.266

In contrast to the present-day expectation that classroom teachers at any academic level possess a considerable background in theoretical, pedagogical, and methodological training, the Chamorro men who taught in Guam’s school did not receive any such training. In looking back on his own tenure as a teacher for the US Navy which began after he completed the ninth grade, the late Carlos P. Taitano remembers entering Guam’s classrooms as a teacher in the mid-1930s without any formal instructional training. Mirroring the experience of Lujan’s father who had

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265 Ibid.
limited English proficiency and formal education, Taitano’s experience of teaching reflects the lack of instructional training and ability among Chamorro men who taught in Guam’s schools. As he remembers,

Someone said lesson plan. What the heck was that? No training whatsoever. So, the only thing I did was to say simple arithmetic, simple spelling. Cat, C-A-T. Dog, D-O-G. Two plus two is four. If somebody misbehaved, I’ll hit them with a ruler. I learned that from the other teachers. Wow, there were a lot of punishment like that. 267

As both Lujan’s father and Taitano illustrate, Chamorro men climbed the socio-economic ladder of prewar Guam primarily through their basic knowledge and adoption of the English language, rather than based on the merit of their scholarly aptitude. Both were keenly aware that they lacked the necessary qualifications, yet each embraced his profession for his own reasons. Their ability to obtain English language proficiency, as well as access to teaching careers largely rested in distinct intersections of education and class that began in the early years of the American occupation of Guam. During these years, it was observed that the most viable native population to rely on in advancing the assimilations goals of the Navy resided in the capital city. 268

Speaking to the role that the socio-economic elite of Hagåtña would play in advancing English language policy and Americanization at large, Superintendent Schnabel noted that

Owing to the fact that the native pupils living in [Hagåtña], and who are in touch with Americans and hear the language spoken at all times, it is reasonable to expect that they

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268 Hagåtña had been the administrative center of Guam during the previous Spanish occupation, and thus, its residents maintained the closest regular contact with the colonial administration. That contact facilitated not only the pronounced acculturation of Hagåtña residents to Spanish customs and practices, but further led to their socio-economic advancement given their ability to speak Spanish and gain access to Spanish educational, business, and other opportunities. In similar ways, the residents of Hagåtña under the American administration developed equally beneficial ties with the Naval government lending to increased socio-economic standing in comparison to the rest of rural Guam.
are gradually adopting and learning American customs; consequently they are in the same measure increasing in knowledge yearly. It is therefor [sic] recommended that at least two professional graduated teachers be sent out from the United States to take charge of the highest grades. If this is accomplished many pupils will be enabled to go on and up higher and higher in the acquisition of knowledge, according as circumstances and opportunities may open the way.²⁶⁹

The US Navy’s affinity for the people of Hagåtña as useful agents in advancing the larger colonial agenda was monopolized by Chamorros men and utilized as a means of asserting superiority over their counterparts in rural Guam, lending to the solidification of a distinct class differential in which education and English language proficiency were defining elements. That sharp distinction held among Chamorros between the elite classes of the capital city and those of lesser socio-economic standing in rural Guam was articulated through the social classifications of “gi Hagåtña” (at/from Hagåtña) and “gi sengsong” (at/from the village).

Eighty-seven year old Jose Mata Torres recalls the pronounced class distinctions prominent in prewar Guam. Unlike the majority of his peers, Torres was the son of a Chamorro school teacher and he went on to complete a baccalaureate level degree at a US university. Despite Torres’ father’s position as a teacher and Torres’ own academic accomplishments, he identifies strongly as gi sengsong owing to his nativity to the rural and southernmost village of Malesso’. Describing the difference between gi Hagåtña and gi sengsong Chamorros, Torres notes that

The gi Hagåtña [snickers]…because you eat bread and butter. The gi sengsong, they eat breadfruit and taro and bananas. They eat fish. The gi Hagåtña, they eat corn beef, they eat canned sardines, and they eat rice. So, oh! They’re big people, although some of them cannot even sign their names [chuckles]. In Hagåtña, they have more chances of

²⁶⁹ Eighth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Island of Guam, Commencing July 1st 1911 and Ending June 30th 1912.
making money. They have more jobs available. You could be this, or you could that. That situation you did not find in Malesso’. So the family in Hagåtña is quite different.270

As Torres’ memories imply, economic material wealth influenced a sense of otherness between Chamorros. Where gi sengsong ate only what they could produce through subsistence, gi Hagåtña had access to food imports requiring cash. Yet, economic wealth was not the sole culprit in creating the marked division between the classes. As Torres’ memories illustrate, the presumed superiority of gi Hagåtña transcended money.

In Torres’ summation, the issue of class in prewar Guam was promulgated not entirely by differences in financial resources, but rather, by broader notions of race and self-perceptions of Chamorros about their relationship to the colonial administration. In an impassioned recollection of prewar class issues, Torres remembers,

I think what brought this [class issue] about is our desire to become Amerikânos (white Americans). We love the Americans for the food they ate. Bread and butter. We love them for their skin. Chamorros claim a high regard for the color of the skin. If you want to insult somebody, you know when I was growing up, you call them åttelong (black). And they don’t like that! They want to be âpaka’ (white) like the Americans. They want to eat bread and butter. All those antics was in the capital of Guam – Hagåtña. In Malesso’, we’re ok. That’s what we been eating every day – lemai (breadfruit), chotda (green banana), mendioka (tapioca), fish, todo enao siha (all those things). But the Chamorro in the capital city is in contact with the Americans and they see. What they saw, they like. They like to be white, âpaka! Bulenchok (pointed nose). They put a premium on the size of the bridge of the nose. So you know, anybody who has less than a bulenchok nose, they mock you. They taunt you: ‘Ti bulenchok hao!’ ‘Âttelong hao!’ ‘Ti âpaka hao!’ ‘Ma heffong gui’eng-mu!’ (You don’t have a pointed nose! You’re black! You’re not white! Your nose is flat/wide-set!) This is why I hate to come to Hagåtña. All of this were fostered on the people by the leaders of Guam in those days in Hagåtña…the school teachers. They were the ones who told us we cannot speak Chamorro. It’s all fouled up [pounding table] from the beginning!271

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270 Jose Mata Torres, interview by Elyssa J. Santos and James Perez Viernes, August 14, 2014, Mangilao, Guam.
271 Ibid.
Torres’ memories are telling of the manner in which notions of socio-economic class and race became embedded in the mindset of gi Hagåtña and facilitated distinct divisions between those in capital city and the broader rural population of Guam. Education, for some Chamorro men in the colonial center, became a profitable means toward sustaining the class divide for the benefit of the English-speaking gi Hagåtña males.

Elevated socio-economic status as provided by English language capabilities and careers as teachers did not only lead to the ascendancy of Chamorro men above their counterparts in rural Guam, but further facilitated a perception among gi Hagåtña men that they were ascending to a level playing field with American men. In “A Word to the Older Boys of Guam,” American writer Daniel C. Daggett expressed his frustration for the lack of zeal Chamorro boys expressed for the English language. Expressing his disappointment, Dagget noted that

…the English language is seldom spoken outside the school room by the native born, young or old and this after thirty-five years of opportunity to acquire it. [I have] passed groups of teachers and pupils, emerging from their school rooms; groups of young men on the streets or in public places and, without a single exception, all were conversing in the Chamorro language. The Government has generously provided you with the opportunity of acquiring the official [English] language of Guam. Why not show your appreciation of the opportunity given you by adopting a more general use of a language which opens up to you the best literature of the World and places you on an equality with your American friends?272

Though inequalities inherent to any colonial situation arose in the realities of prewar Guam, Daggett’s sentiments illustrate a prevailing assumption that aligned English language proficiency with achieving equality (real or imagined) with Americans. In many ways, the efforts of the English-speaking gi Hagåtña reflected their desire to be equal with Americans, and thus in a more strategic position to enjoy the benefits that accompanied such alliances. Within Hagåtña,

and perhaps beyond, it was such that “The teaching force is highly respected by the people of the Island.”

Opportunities for socio-economic affluence arose beyond the teaching profession, but were equally vested in even the most rudimentary English speaking abilities. Chamorro men who had such abilities could look forward to prospects of careers in service to the Naval government should teaching not present itself as a viable opportunity. The Navy’s implementation of Civil Service Examinations, for example, made it so that “…the lower positions in the Government service were largely filled by high school boys who made the highest marks.”

Though the boys demonstrating elevated academic performance and English language proficiency were awarded the lowest positions in the Naval government, these provided socio-economic mobility to a marked degree over that which was available to the uneducated or minimally educated lower classes.

In many ways, education became the primary vehicle through which class advancement and elite social status might be achieved and sustained by Chamorro men. For many young Chamorro men, there became a pronounced belief that wealth, power, and affluence could be attained through the ability to speak English. In an editorial piece addressed to his fellow Chamorros, Joaquin Torres called upon his peers to “…speak the language of our foster country, the United States, one of the richest and most powerful and sympathetic countries in the world so that we can imitate the way she achieved her present attitude.”

The social construction of English and education as viable proving grounds for Chamorro masculinities that might be

performed through imitating the “present attitude” of the American foster country, however, did not necessarily translate beyond the small elite circles within which these proving grounds were most valued. For many in the lower echelons of society, such proving grounds remain relatively ambivalent spaces.

“I Can’t Learn that A.B.C.”: The Implications of American Education

Of the many American teachers whose work in Guam left a lasting impression, perhaps one of the most well known was Helen Longyear Paul, an American “Navy wife-teacher-architect-turned-photographer” remembered for training some of Guam’s most prominent educators and political leaders. 276 Paul taught at the Normal School in Hagåtña which provided teacher training to Chamorro pupils. In an extract of a letter dated September 13, 1919, one of Paul’s student-teacher pupils, Rosalia Franquez, described a brief encounter that she had with a Chamorro male child. Franquez reported to Paul that, “…as I was taking a walk, I met a little boy of about seven years old, who had just attended school, and I said: ‘Do you like to go to school, Vicente?’ The boy said: ‘Oh, teacher I can’t [sic] learn that A.B.C. and I rather die than go to school’.”277

Young Vicente’s impression of school and his own abilities in relation to education are telling of a considerable disconnect between a sizeable sector of the Chamorro male population and the mandates of the US Navy to complete compulsory education. Though surface readings of Vicente’s comments might be read as indicative of a seemingly inherent intellectual

276 Christine Taitano DeLisle, “Navy Wives/Native Lives: The Cultural and Historical Relations Between American Naval Wives and Chamorro Women in Guam, 1898-1945” (Dissertation: University of Michigan, 2008), 129-30. In addition to working as a teacher in Guam during her husband’s tour of duty as a Navy Commander, Paul is credited with playing a significant role in the design of Guam’s current flag and producing a sizable collection of photographs of the island landscape.

277 Rosalia Franquez to Helen Paul, September 13, 1919, Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center.
deficiency of Chamorro boys at the time who just couldn’t learn the most elementary lessons like the ABCs, deeper consideration of the historical, political, cultural, and social complexities of American education in Guam suggest far more. Vicente’s preference of death over school warrants more careful interpretation beyond dismissing him as an ignorant or lazy, or condemning the Navy’s educational agenda and its outcomes as entirely abysmal.

This chapter has not attempted to measure the success or failure of American education in the past or present, nor has it intended to provide any empirically justified argument as to the extent to which Chamorro men either subscribed to or rejected education. Rather, this chapter has been principally concerned with the discursive character of educational ideology and the resulting socio-cultural attitudes that emerged in relation to Chamorro masculinities through the lenses of the gendered curriculum, the Chamorro male body, and language policies and their intimate ties to socio-economic class. What these lenses have afforded are glimpses into an education system that was largely reliant on fueling patriotic sympathies among its Chamorro male pupils. That patriotism was largely militaristic in nature, and thus, the entire education system itself, like the military, was a masculine enterprise.

In his examination of US national parks in Guam that commemorate World War II, R.D.K. Herman argues that the parks serve as “…geographical sites of territorial and rhetorical nation-building” that ultimately facilitated the inscribing of empire on the Chamorro historical, cultural, and physical landscapes. In many similar ways, the Chamorro male body likewise became a site on which American empire could be inscribed. Native men in Guam proved valuable beasts of burden for the Navy’s development projects in Guam, most evident in the

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fervor with which the administration enforced agricultural and industrial training for all boys through compulsory education. That same education system further fashioned the bodies of young Chamorro men into sites on which American self-perceptions of benevolence, superiority, and patriotism might be embedded. Chamorro male bodies were not merely dormant sites on which American self-perceptions of superiority and colonial philanthropy might be entrenched. Those bodies were further employed as vehicles that could be relied upon for the dissemination and perpetuation of such ideals.

In his documentary film “Sacred Vessels,” Micronesian scholar Vicente M. Diaz offers an alternate view of canoe and navigation cultures between Polowat situated in the Federated States of Micronesia and Guam. Despite the challenges that modernity and development pose for the survival of such cultures in the present, Diaz argues that contemporary Polowatese and Chamorros serve as metaphorical vessels. As he argues, the canoes and knowledge inherent to them should not be viewed as relics of the past, but rather, as living and awaiting new vessels to posses – vessels that will forge into the future and withstand the rising tides of change.279 As Diaz poignantly aligns the people of Polowat and Guam with the metaphor of a vessel that will carry sacred knowledge, skills, and belief systems, I argue that the Chamorro male body was similarly molded into and utilized as a valuable vessel in the promulgation of American patriotism and the larger imperialist imperatives of the Navy. These bodies not only beautified Guam’s landscape or performed and competed scripts of American patriotism, but in many ways, stand out as viable vessels in which assimilations efforts in the still ongoing colonial state of Guam might be sustained and perpetuated for future generations.

279 *Sacred Vessels: Navigating Tradition and Identity in Micronesia*, VHS, directed by Vicente M. Diaz (Barrigada, Guam: Moving Island Productions, 1997).
Just as Chamorro men can be read as vessels that proved valuable in the entrenchment of American colonial authority, native men might also be read as more complex agents that navigated their changing society. This becomes manifest in Torres’ memories of the pervasiveness of gi Hagåtña and gi sengsong distinctions. The gi Hagåtña preoccupation with lighter skin, narrower noses, and material American goods such as bread, butter, and canned food collided with what seem normalized notions among the gi sengsong that darker skin, wide-set noses, and food reaped from the sea and landscapes were satisfactory. As the education system reinforced and prioritized the increasingly Americanized norms of daily life in Hagåtña, distinct scripts of masculinity for Chamorro men emerged and were principally enacted by gi Hagåtña men who sought to maintain and advance their elevated socio-economic status. The English language, looking and acting like Americans, and possessing material wealth afforded by teaching or other non-manual employment for the government sat at the core of such scripts.

Though the gi Hagåtña elite arise as enthusiastically supportive of and instrumental in the perpetuation of the American educational and colonial agenda, there remains the broader gi sengsong male population of rural Guam. Unlike their counterparts in the city, these men reflect overall an ambivalent, if not entirely resistant, posture toward education. Even those who did engage in American education quickly found that their material circumstances and career prospects remained relatively unchanged in the aftermath of their school days. Education for these men bore little to no pragmatic value, and thus, any investment in engaging with American education beyond that which was imposed on them by law proved futile for many. Torres provides evidence of this in his ongoing self-identification as gi sengong and a seemingly staunch contempt for the gi Hagåtña mentality.
Though class divisions in the prewar period were pervasive, caution should be exercised in accepting too dichotomous an understanding of such divisions. Within each of the seemingly clear-cut sectors of society, varying degrees of hierarchy and social division persisted. Torres, for example, although a proud, self-identifying gi sengong, may not necessarily be viewed as such by other gi sengsong. As the son of a teacher for the Navy and he himself having completed a baccalaureate degree at a US university, Torres becomes set apart from the conventional gi sengong male despite his nativity and residence in the rural periphery.

Just as much as class was a divisive element, it was a complex, fluid, and at certain times, unstable. Perhaps the most effective way to gaining a far more balanced understanding of Chamorro men and masculinities during the Naval period rests not in assumptions that men were either fully Americanized vessels or entirely resistant detractors permanently fixed on any one side of a singular class divide. Torres’ life experience offers a more promising avenue to understanding Chamorro men and masculinities as fluid and complex in their encounters with Americanization. At once, Torres positions himself steadfastly as a gi sengsong that rejected, and continues to reject, the class, race, and social norms of the gi Hagåtña elite that regarded those outside of the city with scorn. At other times, Torres has embraced the institution of education for his own benefit; the same institution that was instrumental in the formation and perpetuation of the attitudes he so adamantly views with contempt. In these terms, Torres represents yet another layer of Chamorro masculinities evident in the men who chose to straddle class, race, and gender divides across time and for countless reasons. Refusing to align himself exclusively with either the gi Hagåtña or gi sengsong class, race, and gender scripts, Torres
reflects the saliency of Chamorro men in maneuvering the oftentimes prescriptive nature of American education in particular and American colonialism more broadly.

While the smaller, elite classes of Chamorro men in Hagåtña actively pursued their destinies through American education and English language capabilities, a great number were instead confined to the spaces of manual labor carved out for them by an education system designed to relegate native boys to serving as beasts of burden for the Navy. By and large, the American education system offered lucrative opportunities for those boys with English speaking acumen and an affinity for American systems of knowledge. For them, the education system promised to make them men in ways acceptable to the dominant scripts of American masculinity emulated among their Naval superiors in positions of prominence and power. The vast majority of Chamorro men outside of the elite classes of the colonial center, however, would experience American education in markedly different ways and with substantially different results. In what ways could these boys be made into men? It is to these very boys and that very question that the focus of this work now turns.
CHAPTER 4
“GEE!! I WISH I WERE A MAN”: AMERICAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE MILITARIZATION OF CHAMORRO MASCULINITIES

American artist Howard Chandler Christy is remembered for bringing to life the “Christy Girl,” a character embodying an idealized image of American femininity and womanhood that graced many of his paintings. The World War I period saw the emergence of nearly forty paintings featuring the Christy Girl, each donated for use as US military recruitment posters and for other war-related campaigns.\(^{280}\) A 1917 recruitment poster, in particular, articulated the gendered lens through which the US Navy enticed new recruits. Showcasing the Christy Girl in a playful pose, sporting an alluring smile, and dressed in a sailor’s full uniform, the poster’s head text read, “Gee!! I wish I were a man. I’d join the Navy.” The concluding text that followed and the primary message of the poster was simple: “Be a man and do it.”\(^{281}\) The Christy Girl’s message resounded loudly and clearly, positioning the US Navy, and by extension the US military as a whole, as an exclusively masculine enterprise through which one could definitively “be a man” and prove, perform, and have validated his masculinity and manhood.

Marketing the US Navy as an overtly viable avenue to proving one’s manhood was not necessarily the recruitment strategy utilized by the military in garnering enlistees in Guam in the years leading up to the second world war. In late 1937, young Antonio Borja Perez of Hagåtña made a decision that mirrored that of many Chamorro men of his generation. Through a US Navy recruiter, Perez began the process of pursuing active duty enlistment in the US military. Though enlistment in the Navy prior to World War II was limited to the rank of mess attendants for Chamorros and other ethnic minorities, Perez eagerly pursued life as a sailor remembering


\(^{281}\) Ibid.
with excitement that “You join the Navy and see the world! That was the main thing. Get out of Guam and really explore what’s out there.” Similarly, Manuel Cruz Diaz of Sumay pursued that same opportunity in 1940 remembering of his time in the Navy that “I [wanted] to travel and see the world. I see Hawaii. I see the west coast. All over the east coast. I really enjoy myself.” As a teenager contemplating Navy enlistment, Jose Mata Torres remembers vividly the Navy’s enticing recruitment campaign. As he recalls, “There was this recruiting song. ‘You join the Navy and see the world!’ That’s what the song says. All word of mouth. There were no posters. Just that song. And a lot of Chamorro men heard that message.”

The distinct rhetoric employed by the Navy in recruiting young Chamorro men for military service, although not as explicitly linked to masculinity and manhood as the Christy Girl’s propaganda, was no less gendered. The growing desire among the young native male population to see the world beyond Guam was inseparably linked to the larger aspirations of these young men to prove themselves within an increasingly capitalist economy that the Navy was steadfastly implementing on the island. The promise of travel and adventure through life on Navy vessels resounded among young Chamorro men in the late 1930s and early 1940s who, like Perez and Diaz, went on to complete distinguished careers as enlisted men, many of them retiring as decorated war veterans. In the short time between the Navy’s opening of enlistment opportunities for Chamorro men in the late 1930s and the outbreak of World War II, it is estimated that anywhere between 625 and nearly one thousand of Guam’s young men had enlisted as Navy mess attendants. This represented a considerable portion of the adult population.

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282 Antonio Borja Perez, in communication with the author, December 2, 2008.
283 Manuel Cruz Diaz, in communication with the author, January 30, 2012.
284 Jose Mata Torres, in communication with the author, August 13, 2014.
285 Camacho and Monnig, “Uncomfortable Fatigues, 156 and Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 145.
Chamorro population evident in that “Virtually every Chamorro family had a family member or relatives in the mess attendant branch of the Navy.” 286

Whereas the previous chapter illustrated the ways in which American education engendered particular scripts of masculinity for Chamorro men with American patriotism, English language proficiency, and socio-economic class at their core, this chapter will consider the ways in which economic development projects further influenced the re-imagining and re-shaping of Chamorro masculinities as largely militarized. In this vein, those masculinities could be proven more fluidly through military service rather than on the farms and in the workshops that an education system preoccupied with agricultural and industrial training for boys dictated. With non-manual careers as teachers or civil servants a rarity and primarily available only to the minute socio-economically elite with English language capabilities, it was the military that offered the most lucrative life opportunities for the masses who occupied the lower rungs of the social hierarchy. The implementation of a capitalist economy and the discursive influence it yielded compelled Chamorro men to leave their farms and cultivate their livelihoods aboard US naval vessels that offered more materially profitable opportunities. In this context of Americanization and capitalist economic development, the distinct motives of Chamorro men for seeking active service in the US Navy are complex and telling as they correlate with the Christy Girl’s call to “be a man and do it.”

The Navy’s economic development agenda in Guam, as in elsewhere in its Pacific empire of the twentieth century, transcended the mere “bottom line” of dollars and cents. In reference to the successive colonialisms of the greater region of Micronesia, historian David Hanlon asserts

286 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 145.
that “As with religion and education, efforts at economic development were another vehicle through which colonial powers sought to direct Micronesian people and their resources towards the service of larger metropolitan interests.”  

Hattori reinforces this assertion with regard to Guam specifically, contending that the Navy’s economic development schemes were first and foremost self-serving in nature. In her analysis, “…part of the American colonial project was the economic transformation of the island, introducing capitalist practices in place of the subsistence lifestyle of the Chamorros” that was part of “…a larger strategy to induce commercial agriculture among the Chamorros so that the navy might have a better supply of food.”  

University of Guam history student Elyssa J. Santos furthers Hattori’s contention of economic development efforts in Guam as a broader “colonial project” in her exploration of the cash-only Guam Farmer’s Market established by the Navy. Drawing from Nicholas Thomas’ definition of “project” as a localized, politicized, and socially transformative undertaking, Santos ultimately argues that efforts to impose a cash economy through the farmer’s market were “…not simply a narrative of top-down administration, but a story of complex interaction between the Naval government and the Chamorro farmers.”

In tandem with what Hanlon, Hattori, and Santos describe as self-serving motivations inherent to colonial economic development and the broader discursive nature of such development, I posit further that the economic agenda of the Navy in Guam was a markedly gendered enterprise that worked to re-formulate and transform Chamorro masculinities in ways

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that ultimately served the larger colonial agenda of the US in Guam. In his examination of post-
World War II development discourse in the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Hanlon
borrows discerningly from Michel Foucault and “…treats development and its accompanying
tropes not so much as a measurable or quantifiable endeavor…but rather as a discourse that
possesses the power to create or recreate reality in colonized settings through acts of
representation and prescription.” Drawing from this mode of analysis, this chapter considers
the ways that Chamorro men became represented within the Navy’s economic development
projects and the ways in which the prescriptive and discursive nature of those projects compelled
such men to create and re-create their masculinities.

**View from the Ship: Competing Notions of Economic Prosperity and Productivity**

From the onset of the American occupation of Guam, notions of productivity and
prosperity between Chamorros and their newly arrived American administrators came into
conflict with each other. The Navy’s views specific to Guam’s economic value and the
Chamorro acumen for progressive development were inconsistent. At times the island was
viewed as a lush and fertile paradise that showed promise for economic development and
production. That potential development, in the eyes of many naval authorities, assured American
prosperity in their new found colony. At other times, and more prominently, naval authorities
viewed Guam with disappointment and contempt due to a perceived inability of the native
population to reap fully the economic benefits that their island had to offer. Viewing Guam and

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290 David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses Over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982*, (University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998), 8. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI) was formed as a United Nations trust in 1947 in the aftermath of World War II. The territory included the Caroline Islands, Mariana Islands (except Guam), Palau, and the Marshall Islands. Administered by the US Navy, the TTPI was formally dissolved in 1986.
its people from the outside inward, or metaphorically from the ship onto the shore, American naval authorities developed their own presumptions about Chamorro men in particular and their relationship to the larger economic agenda of the US in Guam.

On his arrival to Guam on September 15, 1899, Benjamin Havner reported to his superiors in his capacity as Master of the American schooner *Bessie E. Stevens* that, of the entire Marianas archipelago, Guam was “…the most productive and largest of the group, and, of course, the only one in which [they] might be interested.” The preoccupation with Guam among the newly arrived colonizers rested first and foremost in the island’s geographic location which the Navy sought to monopolize in strategically establishing itself as a new colonial power in the Pacific. Guam’s fertile landscape and surrounding bountiful seas proved an added perk to its strategic value. The island and the potential native labor force were viewed as ripe for various economic development projects, much to the satisfaction of concerned officials who immediately realized that Guam would be an expensive colony to administer.

Initial hopes of sustaining an expensive military colony in Guam through an agricultural industry were short lived for newly arrived Americans in Guam who encountered tremendously differing economic systems among the native population. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Charles Herbert Allen bemoaned the economic state of Guam upon his arrival in 1900 providing an abysmal summation of the island’s overall economic health noting that

They have no idea of business, or the proper value of money. …paractically [sic] none of the luxuries or necessaries of life, except of the most primitive kind, could be purchased

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291 Benj. Havner, Master of the American Schooner *Bessie E. Stevens* to S.S. Lyon, US Consul for Osaka and Hiogo, Japan, September 15, 1899, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/1-523, US National Archives.

in the Island; also that no agricultural implements, or tools for blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., could be bought there. …The financial condition of Guam is not so bad as might be supposed, although the wealth of the Island is confined to a very few. …There is little gold, and no paper money on the island. 293

Speaking to a lack of or limited supply of a viable cash crop in Guam, Naval Governor Seaton Schroeder indicated in his 1902 report that, “Not a pound of copra has been exported, and neither cacao nor coffee has been produced in sufficient quantity to quite meet the requirements of the home market…” 294 Naval Governor G.L. Dyer echoed Schroeder's concerns in a 1904 report indicating that “Neither sugar nor tobacco is grown, nor can they be grown here in large quantities. A small export of coffee and cacao might be fostered. Copra – dried cocoanut [sic] pulp – the staple of the Pacific in general, is gathered in small quantities, but the price of labor has gone up here so much, with the increase in cost of living, that it no longer pays the native to bring in his copra.” 295

Contrary to the assumption that Guam lacked a functioning economy, a longstanding and operational economy was indeed present and served to ensure both the material and cultural sustenance of the Chamorro people. Prior to the arrival of naval authorities, and in spite of their efforts throughout their administration of Guam, the island’s people lived a chiefly subsistent lifestyle. As part of late seventeenth-century efforts to achieve reducción, or “to subdue, convert, and gather pagans into Christian congregations,” Spanish colonial officials alienated Chamorro clans from their ancestral lands and forced them to reside in newly established villages with

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293 Charles Herbert Allen, Assistant Secretary of the Navy to S.D. Conner, , Purdue University Deputy State Chemist, January 26, 1900, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box 9351/1-523, US National Archives
295 Ibid., 109.
Catholic churches at their centers. The lấncho – ranch lands used to cultivate produce and livestock on a subsistent level – emerged during this time and was often located on ancestral lands to which clans maintained strong physical and emotional ties.

Beyond the practical dimensions of the lấncho that yielded the goods necessary for their sustenance or bartering needs, the lấncho allowed Chamorros to produce the food items necessary to carry out their obligations associated with chenchule’ – a pervasive custom of mandatory obligations between individuals through the exchange of gifts or services that obligates the recipient to reciprocate the giver. The island’s economy was largely comprised of this level of production and exchange. Cash was rarely, if ever, utilized unless absolutely necessary as in the payment of government taxes or the rare purchase of necessities that could not be obtained through the lấncho or through barter. Moreover, because these ranch lands were away from the village centers, they became spaces of refuge to which Chamorros could, at least temporarily, escape the presence of colonial officials, their mandates, and their influence. In these ways, ranch lands proved a significant space for the sustainability of cultural identity and practices through successive Spanish and American colonialisms. Thus, the lấncho induced a pattern of dual residency during both colonial periods in which Chamorros resided primarily at the lấncho and returned to their village homes only on weekends to attend church services and social events such as weddings, funerals, and village feasts.

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296 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, Revised edition, 40.
297 While chenchule’ in the post-World War II era has increasingly become practiced through the presentation of monetary gifts, the contribution of food items, services, and other goods continues to feature prominently in such exchanges.
298 Although certain tax obligations existed throughout the Spanish colonial period, Rogers indicates that Chamorros remained largely exempt from such obligations. Tax liabilities were for the most part imposed on Chamorros of mestizo, or mixed Chamorro-European heritage, as well as on foreigners such as Mexicans and Filipinos residing on the island. Those few Chamorros who found themselves required to pay taxes on the considerably rare occasion often fulfilled such debt through labor rather than cash payment. See Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, Revised edition, 69, 73, and 92.
Though the economy prior to the arrival of Americans provided sufficiently for the daily living and cultural exchange needs of the Chamorro population, it did so in direct contrast to the capitalist economy that Naval authorities sought to implement on the island, one that would yield excess that could be turned into profit. The dual residency pattern in which Chamorros spent so much time supposedly working at the lâncho with little to show for it beyond their basic sustenance and bartering needs lent to perceptions of the Chamorro as unproductive, lazy, and unindustrious. Likewise, the absence of commercial agricultural production among Chamorros led Navy officials to the conclusion that Guam’s very landscape was a resource untapped and underdeveloped to the detriment of both the native population and the new American colonial administration.

The absence of a cash economy proved particularly anomalous for early naval authorities, and was viewed in direct correlation with supposed Chamorro sloth. In a September 25, 1899 report authored by Lieutenant V.L. Cottman, commander of the USS. Brutus, it was conveyed that “The natives are indolent and only work enough to get something to eat.” Similar presumptions about Chamorro laziness surfaced in an October 17, 1899 request that musical instruments be sent to Guam at once in order to form a native military band based on the belief that “…as by combining pleasure with work, and making occupation a pastime, much can be accomplished to wean the native from his time honored custom of idleness and its consequent evils.” Resituating work as pleasurable rather than tedious came to be a celebrated hallmark of the American administration of Guam, believed to have brought “…civilization and industry

299 Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department to Judson Smith, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, September 25, 1899, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box 9351/1-523, US National Archives.

300 Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department to Bureau of Equipment, Navy Department, October 17, 1899, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box 9351/1-523, US National Archives.
to a people who loved ‘play’ more than ‘work,’ who were contented with their religion and languages.”

While the dominant discourse positions Chamorros as lazy and unproductive, evidence suggests that the Navy’s frustration was more directly related to the inability of the administration to monopolize Chamorro labor and production for military purposes. Naval Governor Schroeder’s 1901 annual report took note of a “…noticable [sic] trait in the Chamorro character, viz the pride and happiness in the possession of land, which results in the community being composed of a large number of small land owners…” In Schroeder’s estimation, this was “…a wholesome trait which it is hoped will hold its own against outside influences.” Although Schroeder ostensibly approved of Chamorro land use and subsistence practices, he also lamented the ways in which such practices countered larger development and production projects, and specifically, the Navy’s ability to tap a viable labor force in Guam. He notes, “The effect of [small land ownership and subsistence level production] is, of course, to minimize the amount of labor that can be hired, with the direct consequence that large land owners are rare, and that application of capital would be handicapped by the dearth of labor.”

Acting Naval Governor Raymond Stone was not as delighted as Schroeder appears to be in his characterization of Chamorro land use practices and subsistence living. Stone’s 1904 report asserted that “The people depend largely for support upon their ‘ranches’ – small,

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302 Schroeder, General Report on Matters of Importance in the Island of Guam, July 8, 1901, 5-6.
303 Ibid., 5-6.
304 Ibid., 5.
insignificant patches of land…from which they extract a scanty living.” Stone goes on to note that Chamorro “…wants are few, and they lead their lives of Arcadian simplicity and freedom from ambition or the desire for change or progress. They are like children, easily controlled and readily influenced by example, good or bad.” Given the presumed simplicity of the Chamorro people and their infantile and impressionable nature, it was Stone’s paternalistic contention that the Naval Government of Guam was vested with an obligation to teach Chamorros how they might elevate their quality of life, but in ways that “…make them useful to [the Navy]…”

Stone’s characterization of the ranches illuminates one of several fundamental differences in conceptualizations of economy, productivity, and wealth between Chamorros and the US Naval Government. Many Americans assumed that Chamorros were in a precarious position in which they lived “hand-to-mouth,” lending to an overall impoverishment of the island’s people. In the eyes of the Navy, Chamorros at large were “land rich but dollar poor.” This assumption not only fueled the Navy’s resolve to establish a more lucrative capitalist economy in Guam, but further worked to justify and naturalize the paternalistic posture of the administration whose economic agenda in particular could be fashioned as benevolent and philanthropic in nature.

The Navy’s view of Chamorro productivity and wealth collided with Chamorro notions of economic prosperity. Considering that Chamorros were exclusively concerned with their daily subsistence needs and providing for their chenchule’ obligations, their access to fertile land and seas, and their ability to cultivate what they needed from those resources stood out as a viable mark of productivity and affluence. As a husband and father of several young children

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306 Ibid., 6.
307 Ibid., 6.
during the 1930s, the late Juan G. Guzman captured the economic motivations of prewar Chamorros as well as their concepts of prosperity. As he recalled of his role as husband and father during that time,

…táya che’cho’ nai. Pues i lâncho ha’ ni apopoksaí i familian-ñiha. Gumålu, mamomoksai…todo ha’ enao siha che’cho’cho’-ñiha nai. Humânão pumesksa, humânão pumeskan hålom tâno. Ayu ha’ nai, hokog ha’ i buskan bidâ-ñiha. Lao man maolek lina’la-ñiha i familian-ñiha. Ti man ñålang sa’ eyu na lokkue che’cho’cho’-ñiha nai, gumålu yan mamoksai.”

(… there was no [salaried] work. So, it’s just through the ranch that they raise their families. Planting, raising livestock, these are the things they do. They went fishing, they hunted in the jungles. That’s all, you see, that’s all their livelihood. But the lives of their families were good. They weren’t hungry because that’s their living...farming and raising.)309

As Guzman illustrates, a Chamorro man’s productivity was largely measurable by his ability to farm, fish, and hunt for the daily needs of his family. Salaried work was not only largely unavailable, but even less preferred given that the wealth of families was measured in the overall state of their everyday lives as “good.” Moreover, Guzman underscores the weight of one not being hungry as an indicator of a good life. For Americans, however, the Chamorro man’s inability to produce excess that would generate profit measurable through cash, and thus his inability to spend cash and contribute to the stimulation of a functioning capitalist economy, reflected a lack of prosperity and productivity. Naval Governor William W. Gilmer highlighted this philosophical difference relevant to wealth and productivity between presumably “poor”

309 Juan Guzman Guzman, interview by Flora Baza Quan, May 19, 1993, interview FY93.Pxiv, transcript, Historic Resources Division, Department of Parks and Recreation, Agana Heights, GU, 13. The interview transcript referenced here provides only the original Chamorro transcription of the interviewee’s statement. The interviewer did not transcribe using the Chamorro orthography in use at present in Guam. I have elected to revise the transcript excerpt that appears here using the current orthography in the interest of accessibility for present-day readers. The English translation offered is that of the author and was verified in consultation with several native speakers of the Chamorro language.
Chamorros and their American counterparts noting that “While the native population of Guam is as a rule poor, so far as having cash is concerned, as far as I know, none of them are suffering from lack of food, shelter, or clothing, and the great majority of them are at present in a prosperous condition.”\textsuperscript{310} Similarly, an unnamed American journalist characterized Chamorros as “apparently wealthy, utterly poor.”\textsuperscript{311} These sentiments echo those of Guzman, illustrating a pervasive disconnect between American perceptions of poverty and the “prosperous condition” of Chamorros despite their lack of cash money.

**Ordered Prosperity: Legislating Capitalism for Chamorro Men**

American conceptions of productivity and wealth provoked distinct transformations in conceptions of Chamorro manhood and masculinity. Philosophical differences between American and Chamorro notions of wealth and productivity were compounded by competing notions about the value of the *chenchule’* custom as one defining characteristic of viable Chamorro masculinity. For Chamorro men in particular, the *lâncho* and the physical labor required to sustain it afforded them currency within the *chenchule’* system, and by extension, recognition as productive and contributing members of the larger community. Rogers argues that, since ancient times and into the present, “A man’s prestige was measured by the number of people who would come to his aid to reciprocate *chenchule’* when he was in need. Conversely, a man who shirked obligations would not receive aid when he needed it.”\textsuperscript{312}

Men’s prestige was often earned specifically through a man’s ability to farm, fish, and hunt to the extent that he could “afford” to be generous with those that he shared reciprocal

\textsuperscript{310} William W. Gilmer, Naval Governor of Guam to Secretary of the Navy, May 20, 1919, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box 9351/1602-2198, US National Archives.

\textsuperscript{311} Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, Revised edition , 120.

\textsuperscript{312} Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, Revised edition , 36.
obligations. Speaking to systems of reciprocal exchange throughout greater Oceania that mirror those in Guam, Rogers cites an unnamed anthropologist who characterizes economies based on such exchange as “subsistence affluence.”\textsuperscript{313} In Guam specifically, and as argued by Chamorro scholar Underwood, food production and sharing was and continues to be paramount in the socio-cultural notions of affluence. He posits that “Chamorros love to say they are more generous than anyone else, especially with food. They actually acquire more status by being more generous with food. It is a combined social strategy and value operating side by side.”\textsuperscript{314} Rogers elaborates on such social strategies and cultural values, and their incongruity with Euro-American notions of economic viability noting that “A man gained prestige not by working and selling what he produced in order to attain a higher material standard of living, but by giving away what his skill produced. That ethos was opposite to the European outlook, particularly the entrepreneurial aggressiveness of Americans.”\textsuperscript{315}

The Navy’s disparaging views of what has been coined subsistence affluence framed systems of reciprocal exchange as nothing more than a vicious cycle of indentured servitude. Acting as an aide to Naval Governor Richard P. Leary, Lieutenant William E. Safford captured the Navy’s perception of non-cash-based practices of exchange and barter in 1900. In his estimation,

The encouragement of indebtedness is of the same nature as the pernicious system of peonage, in consequence of which persons of this island have been kept for decades under the power of their creditor, being obliged to furnish him with products of the soil or

\textsuperscript{313} Ibid., 36.  
\textsuperscript{314} Robert A. Underwood, email message to the author, November 14, 2012.  
\textsuperscript{315} Rogers, \textit{Destiny’s Landfall}, Revised edition, 36.
with the labor of their hands. This is absolutely contrary to the principals of personal liberty which every subject of the United States has the right to enjoy.316

Interpretations of non-cash-based exchanges inherent to the practice of *chenchule*’ provoked the issuance of Executive General Order (EGO) No. 18 on May 12, 1900, that deemed such practices as “…one of the phases of peonage, which is prohibited by law and punishable at the discretion of the local authorities.”317 The order designated the Mexican coin or its equivalent in US dollars as the only acceptable currency to be used in settling transactions, outlawing “…the old custom of advancing money, stores, or other merchandise to be paid for with personal labor or with copra or other products of the ground not in existence at the time of purchase…”318

EGO No. 18’s reduction of Chamorro reciprocal exchange to the practice to “peonage” empowered the government to punish “offenders” as they saw fit, and established cash as the only acceptable currency for payment of goods and services. Chamorro men, as active participants in barter as a means of perpetuating the *chenchule*’ system, were thus forced to adapt to the new “cash only” system, positioning Naval administrators as chief reciprocators by virtue of their ultimate authority over money. In this context, a Chamorro man’s worth and prestige became subject, not to the demands and expectations of his family and community, but to the newly introduced cash-based economy. His masculinity, therefore, would likewise become subject to that economy and what it defined as prestigious and worthy.

317 Executive General Order No. 18, Naval Government of Guam (May 12, 1900).
318 Ibid. Although the US Dollar was eventually implemented as the only official currency in Guam, the Mexican Peso that had been the official currency under the Spanish colonial administration was in use for the first several transition years of the US administration of the island.
In an effort to break what was presumed to be a perpetual cycle of indebtedness among Chamorros, the Navy prioritized the enforcement of a cash-based economy. Indebtedness and loyalty within the reciprocal networks of Chamorros were not the only obstacles that the Navy identified to its larger economic development scheme. As Hattori contends, efforts to transition the island economy from subsistence to capitalism were part of a larger colonial project of the Navy designed to “define its power.”\textsuperscript{319} In particular, the Navy’s viewed the Catholic Church as a major obstacle to its attempts to establish the parameters of its power in Guam. The Navy’s efforts to exert authoritarian control over the economy reflected the administration’s desire to usurp the influence of the Catholic Church to which Chamorros were viewed as deeply devoted and to which much of the harvest of their lânchos was dedicated during times of religious feasting. Moreover, the Navy’s need to stimulate commercial agricultural production among Chamorros rested in the need to feed the growing American presence on the island. Indeed, the health of American military presence in Guam was almost entirely dependent on Chamorro labor and production which ultimately facilitated the “excellent” condition of the “health of the command” owing to the fact that “Fresh fruits and vegetables, products of the island, form a generous portion of the ration in the General Mess. The menus are well balanced. The mess is in excellent condition.”\textsuperscript{320}

Compelling Chamorros to produce excess agricultural products at their lânchos not only promised to keep Americans well fed in Guam, but further worked to stimulate the circulation of cash in the economy. In doing so, and in ironic contrast to the Navy’s contempt for indebtedness

\textsuperscript{319} Hattori, “Colonialism, Capitalism, and Nationalism in the US Navy’s Expulsion of Guam’s Spanish Catholic Priests, 1898-1900,” 301.
with regard to *chenchule’* and barter, the administration thus ensnared Chamorro farmers in the perpetual cycle of monetary debt. As Hattori notes, increased agricultural production yielded much needed food items, but more prominently, served as “…the only means by which landowners could make money in order to pay their taxes.” Initial efforts to obtain Chamorro participation in this economy were achieved principally through the imposition of taxes and licensing fees, many of which were exclusively applicable to Chamorro men.

Several tax laws, such as those for land, real estate, and personal property applied to both Chamorro men and women, demonstrating the Navy’s larger goal of including all native inhabitants in the cash economy. Yet, a number of additional taxing and licensing fees were implemented specifically for Chamorro men. EGO No. 38 was issued on December 24, 1901, declaring that “…there is established a Personal Tax of twelve pesos a year to [be] paid into the Treasury by each male person of eighteen to sixty years of age domiciled or having a fixed residence in this Island…” Although the order was drafted to include all male residents of Guam “without distinction of race or nationality,” the order exempted all individuals and their sons who were residing Guam as employees of the Naval Government of Guam, as active enlisted men of the US military, and all public officials in service to the Naval government.

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322 For a representative sampling of such taxes, see Executive General Order No. 10, Naval Government of Guam (January 5, 1900); Executive General Order No. 15, Naval Government of Guam (February 3, 1900); Executive General Order No. 155 (June 30, 1910); and Executive General Order No. 192 (November 30, 1915).
323 Executive General Order No. 38, Naval Government of Guam (December 24, 1901).
324 Ibid.
essence, the only men left with the burden of the personal tax in light of such exemptions were Chamorro men.325

Chamorro men consistently met obstacles in complying with the Navy’s personal tax mandate. The subsistence lifestyle to which they were accustomed continued to prove more profitable than a cash economy in gaining the currency necessary to meet their daily needs and *chenchule’* obligations and thus achieving prestige and validation as functioning men within their families and community. Indeed, and as Acting Naval Governor William E. Safford contended in 1900, a “universal theory” persisted among Chamorros which subscribed to the idea that there was little to no use in “…paying money for what you yourself can produce.”326 Moreover, the cash necessary to adhere to the tax laws remained in short supply as wage labor was rarely available. Even for those able to secure waged employment, Chamorros were systematically compensated at rates far lower than their American counterparts who worked in the same positions in both the local government and private sectors.327

Such obstacles did not hinder the Navy’s efforts to oblige Chamorro men to participate in the newly established economy. For those men either unwilling or unable to pay the required taxes, physical labor under the direction of the Chief of Public Works was enforced as a

325 The initial laws pertaining to the personal tax were revised several times throughout the Navy’s administration of Guam. Despite revisions to the law, requirements to pay personal taxes or provide physical labor on public works projects remained intact and remained exclusively applicable to Chamorro men. For revisions to personal tax laws, see Executive General Order No. 72 (December 10, 1903); Executive General Order 90, Naval Government of Guam (July 1, 1905); Executive General Order No. 101, Naval Government of Guam (November 21, 1905); Executive General Order No. 170, Naval Government of Guam (December 18, 1911); Executive General Order No. 187, Naval Government of Guam (July 10, 1914); and Executive General Order No. 376, Naval Government of Guam (May 14, 1923).
penalty. Whether through the direct payment of cash to the Naval government or through physical labor on its development projects, Chamorro men soon found themselves as active participants in the rapidly changing economy of the early twentieth century.

In addition to EGO No. 18’s mandate that Chamorro men should become taxpaying citizens, Naval economic policy further determined that they should become more productive by American standards. Among the earliest of general orders issued by the Navy upon its arrival to Guam, EGO No. 7 issued on October 4, 1899 mandated that every Chamorro man “…must plant a quantity of corn, rice, coffee, cacao, [sic] sweet potatoes, or other fruits and vegetables” to provide for the needs of himself and his family. In addition to providing for the basic necessities of his family, Chamorro men were required to “…have at least twelve hens, one cock, and one sow.”

General orders throughout the naval period sought to determine acceptable levels of production for Chamorro men, and further sought to establish the manner in which production should be accomplished, as well as what should be produced. EGO No. 316 of 1919, for example, established that “Every able-bodied male inhabitant of Guam over 16 years of age and under 60 years of age whose occupation is farming or who has no regular work will be required to cultivate at least one hectare of land. People who own no land must work for those who have land or must lease or purchase land.” The extensive order further mandated what crops should be grown dependent upon the size and location of an individual’s land, with special requirements...

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328 Executive General Order No. 38.
329 Executive General Order No. 7, Naval Government of Guam (October 4, 1899).
330 Ibid.
331 Executive General Order No. 316, Naval Government of Guam (June 25, 1919).
that crops such as beans and peas to which Americans were more accustomed be cultivated. Additionally, the order determined for the farmer the manner in which such crops should be organized on the landscape with meticulous requirements relative to the distance between plant rows. EGO No. 316, in short, determined for Chamorro men the manner and level of production acceptable under American rule with the reminder that “…all persons are urged to engage in friendly exchange of labor.”

The imposition of production quotas on Chamorro men was accompanied by the requirement of physical labor on U.S military development projects. EGO No. 16 of 1900, seeking to address “the great need of repairs” to the island’s public works, required that, “…each male resident in good health between the ages specified must either give the [15 days] labor required by law to the State or must provide and pay an ablebodied [sic] substitute who shall perform the work in his place.” In certain cases and at the discretion of the government, Chamorro men had the option of paying 10 pesos in lieu of the required labor, although this alternative was for the most part unavailable as cash was rarely in the possession of the great majority of the native population.

Though the Navy’s aggressive efforts to induce Chamorro participation in an Americanized economy indeed led to a major transformation in the island’s economic structure, Guam’s pre- and immediate post-World War II periods did not fully evolve into the exclusively capitalist economy that the US Navy had hoped for. Instead, a dual subsistence-capitalist economy prevailed in Guam up to 1950, provoking what Underwood characterizes as an

332 Ibid.
333 Executive General Order No. 16, Naval Government of Guam (March 17, 1900).
334 Executive General Order No. 16.
“entanglement” between a farming and a new wage-based economy. Wage-based employment opportunities remained limited for Chamorros during the Navy’s administration. In order to straddle the dual economy, most families in Guam assumed a strategic approach in which select members would work in wage-paying jobs, while the majority of the family remained committed to subsistence production at the lâncho. Wesley describes the duality of the prewar economy remembering her life in the village of Sumay, noting that

…the salary is so small that the family has to do extra activities, like you know, planting, raising pigs… My father, he likes to go out fishing. So, if he goes out fishing, we the kids will go up to the lâncho and feed the pigs and the chicken. That is how we live because the salary. See, my father works at the Marine barracks but it is not much of a salary. So, we put together the money from my father’s work with all the things from our ranch.

Speaking to the extent that Chamorro men specifically became entangled in the dual subsistence-capitalist economy, Underwood estimates that “…25% of the males in the first ten years of American rule worked as laborers and that by 1919, one-third had tried their hand at wage labor.”

Chamorro insistence on maintaining the economic systems to which they were accustomed perturbed Americans throughout their administration of Guam. Nearly thirty years

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335 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, Revised edition, 201; Michael F. Phillips, “Land,” Kinalamten Politikât: Siñenten i Chamorro/Issues in Guam’s Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective, Hale’-ta series (Agaña: Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 7; Underwood, “American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam.” Due primarily to extensive acquisitions of farm land and fishing grounds by the US military in the post-World War II period, agricultural production and fishing became largely impossible for many Chamorros by 1950. Initially, the US military occupied 52,000 acres of privately held land in Guam, and by the end of the 1940s, that number had grown to 85,000 acres, or 63% of the islands total land mass. These excessive land acquisitions correlated directly with the end of the dual subsistence-capitalist economy in that they compelled the great majority of Chamorros to pursue wage-paying employment in the absence of access to viable farming and fishing grounds. From the end of World War II in Guam in 1944 and the 1950 signing of the Organic Act of Guam which ended the Naval administration of the island, it is estimated that agricultural production among Chamorros had declined drastically with only 6 percent of the population engaged in agriculture.


after the commencement of attempts to transform the island into a functioning capitalist economy began, American journalist Park Brown highlighted the lack of progress made to that effect. In his 1926 estimation,

There is a complete absence of initiative enterprise. The islander today, as a century ago, is satisfied with a little farm, raising enough to feed him and his family, living in town and walking back and forth to what he calls a ranch, no matter how small the plot of ground. If he has a vocation, such as carpenter or blacksmith, it is merely a side line. If one man of a family has a job on the naval or island government payroll, all his relatives share his proceeds.\textsuperscript{338}

The apparent lack of headway made in persuading Chamorros to subscribe to an exclusively capitalist economy did not hinder the Navy’s attempt at embedding capitalism in Guam. Chamorro men in particular faced their own obstacles in asserting themselves as participating agents in that economy. With the ascendancy of both the need and desire for cash came the necessity of occupational opportunities that would afford such capital. Yet, the Navy’s position on Chamorros and their rightful place in the labor force proved limited. While it encouraged Chamorro men to become cash earners and responsible taxpaying citizens, it largely sought to confine Chamorro men to careers in commercial farming and other manual occupations. Non-manual occupations were not only in short supply, but the growing desire of Chamorro men to secure these more lucrative occupations was not beneficial to the Navy’s desire to sustain the basic needs of American personnel that the Navy sought to keep well fed.

As argued in the previous chapter, the Navy’s preoccupation with producing the necessary crops and livestock to sustain its colonial presence was manifest in the development of

compulsory public education that trained Chamorro boys specifically for lives as farmers, and to a lesser extent, industrial and general manual laborers. Curriculum that prioritized agricultural and industrial training for Chamorro boys embedded in the minds of young pupils the trajectory that their lives as working adults would follow. Though some of the socio-economically elite successfully pursued careers in government, business, and non-manual occupations, the vast majority of Chamorro boys who were subject to American education were relegated to manual occupations. Thus, Chamorro masculinities in large part became entangled with a man’s ability to profit from his physical labor and ability. Yet the manner in which physical labor and ability might be converted into more profitable currency within the American capitalist economy underwent a distinct shift.

As the discursive influences of American education in Guam persistently relegated Chamorro men to their farms or industrial shops, the coinciding economic development schemes of the Navy fostered a socio-economic mindset that enticed a growing number of men to aspire to more than a life on the farm that limited his material and social prospects in a capitalist economy. As will be demonstrated, the prospects for Chamorro men with the minimal education prescribed by law remained largely limited. Thus, the desire to transcend the limitations of their material circumstances within a capitalist economy soon worked against the confines of the American education system’s prescribed occupational futures for them.

“What Has Education Done for the Young Men in Guam?”: Prospects for Learned Men in a Capitalist Island Economy

The value of education for Chamorro men was consistently called into question during the Navy’s administration of Guam. In an attempt to address the question, “what has education done for the young men of Guam?,” an unnamed writer argued that “Education in all its sanctity
has for its purpose the systematic development and cultivation of the natural powers. It also develops [sic] breeding, culture, discipline, information, and knowledge.\textsuperscript{339} While breeding and culture may have had some bearing on those of the smaller elite classes, the value of education for the vast majority of Chamorro men living in a largely agricultural subsistence economy was patently different. Where education provided the Chamorro male elite with prospects for non-manual careers as teachers, clerks, bookkeepers, and so forth, the vast majority of Chamorro men outside of the capital city of Hagåtña were almost exclusively engineered for and limited to lives in manual labor.

The Navy persistently articulated the prominence of agricultural and industrial training for Chamorro male pupils over academic development in school classrooms and beyond. In a 1917 “Notice to Parents of School Boys,” the public was cautioned that employment prospects with the government as clerks and in other “white-collar” positions would be scarce for boys who had completed their education. The notice reminded parents that “There are no places for them and they do not help in the development of the Island. There is room for all in the manual trades. ….All parents are urged to induce their sons to engage in one of these trades.”\textsuperscript{340} This reminder mirrored an address delivered to school children by Governor Roy C. Smith who reminded them that

[Education] is not simply to give you book learning, but to make you more capable of doing your daily work in after life. …Try to be good farmers, merchants, carpenters, painters, metal workers, masons, electricians, plumbers, gardeners, foresters; and the girls good nurses, dress makers, stenographers, cooks, housekeepers. Your schooling helps you in all these directions.\textsuperscript{341}

\textsuperscript{339} “What Has Education Done for the Young Men of Guam?,” \textit{Guam Recorder}, Vol. IX NO. IX, December 1932, 163.
\textsuperscript{341} Ibid., 7.
The governor continued to prescribe for boys and girls the occupations they should aspire to, discouraging any “white-collar” aspirations they might be harboring. His address continued:

Do not attach too much importance to being bookkeepers and clerks. It may seem to you an easier life with fewer hardships. But the Island needs also young men who will help her develop her material resources. The farmers and artisans will count for more than the bookkeepers and clerks.342

The governor’s reminder that Chamorro boys should give up any hope of jobs such as bookkeepers, clerks, or the like rested largely in an ongoing debate about the role of education as it applied to Chamorro men specifically. While the Navy mandated education for all Chamorros, it was swift in reminding its male pupils that their education did not necessarily mean that they would have prospects beyond the farm or other manual labor. Americans in Guam at the time questioned the need to educate the island’s children at all, arguing that it hindered the progress of the island that was dependent on the physical labor of young native males. Education was viewed as a lure which attracted Chamorro men away from their rightful place on the farm. Expressing a fear of a potential dearth in a labor force, many Americans subscribed to the belief that “At a time when ranchers and laborers are completely ignorant, it will go against the grain of a young man of sixth grade education to become a rancher…”343

In a letter sent to the Guam Recorder by an unnamed American living in the US after having completed a tour of duty in Guam, it was argued that “For every boy you educate, you just take one more Chamorro away from the soil.”344 Proponents of this belief further emphasized the dangers of too much schooling for Chamorro boys arguing that the community at large would be “…burdened with a semi-educated class of parasites who deem it beneath their

342 Ibid., 7.
343 “Governor’s Remarks at the Teachers’ Meeting, 10 January, 1931,” 220.
dignity to engage in manual labor, and aspire only to clerical and storekeeper jobs, with the exception of a few who condescend to accept trade apprenticeships.”\textsuperscript{345} As one writer described, “The remark is often heard that by educating the native we are demoralizing the labor situation.”\textsuperscript{346}

The Navy addressed the perceived demoralization of the labor force in Guam by arguing the inextricability of basic education and physical labor through promotion of what was coined the “dignity of labor.”\textsuperscript{347} As conceptualized by Governor Willis W. Bradley, the dignity of labor rested in the philosophy that

...it is not right to say that a man can have too much education to work. It is true that it is not difficult to give him too much education to work in a community where the educational standard is low, but the remedy is not to endeavor to reduce facilities for education, but rather to endeavor to so advance the general education of the youth that within a short time the relative difference between the school graduate and the worker will have become so small that it is hardly noticeable to the young person who has just completed his scholastic course.\textsuperscript{348}

To reinforce the dignity of labor, the Navy repeatedly offered Chamorro men reminders over the decades to hone their education toward agricultural and industrial labor. An unnamed author in 1932 postulated that

After graduation, many of the young men stay around the city with the sincere hopes of a “white collar” job. Why do they do this, when Guam has hundreds of acres of virgin soil that has never known the feel of a plow. It is on the farm where the destiny of Guam lies, not in the city, the city is devoid of successful advancements in life. Perhaps there are a few jobs as teachers in the Department of Education, but that is not Guam’s only need. Guam needs educated farmers, by that I mean men who are not afraid to soil their hands, men who have reasoning power, men who can get every benefit out of the soil that there is.\textsuperscript{349}

\textsuperscript{345} “Is Guam Public Education Breeding a Parasitical Class?,” \textit{Guam Recorder}, Vol. 6 No. 7, October 1929, 125.
\textsuperscript{346} “Education,” \textit{Guam Recorder}, Vol. I No. 6, August 1924, 2.
\textsuperscript{347} “Governor’s Remarks at the Teachers’ Meeting, 10 January 1931,” 220.
\textsuperscript{348} Ibid., 220.
\textsuperscript{349} “What Has Education Done for the Young Men in Guam?,” 163.
The attributes of a man who wasn’t afraid to get his hands dirty and who acted with logic and reason became a defining script of masculinity fashioned and promoted by the US Navy.

The Navy and local American print media propagated with zeal the increasing mentality that Chamorro men who embraced an agricultural or industrial livelihood rather than life in the developing city embodied appropriate scripts of masculinity and productivity. Conversely, those Chamorro men who elected to pursue advanced education and non-manual trades were largely framed as overconfident and naïvely ambitious. In an effort to discourage Chamorro boys from investing their energies away from the farm, one editorial concluded with the statement: “A boy is never convinced that his balloon is as large as he can make it until it bursts. It is too bad he forgets his balloon experience when he grows to be a man and gets into business.”350 In short, Chamorro men who had completed their education were encouraged not to aspire to too much, lest they run the risk of bursting their balloon and being left with nothing.

Furthermore, Chamorro men who endeavored to use their education to pursue careers in non-manual labor were framed as lazy. Moreover, the Navy’s perceptions of such men as unwilling to engage in physical labor and get dirty provoked understandings of these Chamorro men as largely effeminate. In a 1930 editorial piece referring to a graduating class of Chamorro male pupils, an unnamed author postulated that “They have the idea that education means ‘No Work’ and that they are from now on, to lead a dressed up life, and refrain from soiling their

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hands and be known as ilustrados, even at the expense of their mothers and sisters taking in washing to help support the family."

The sentiments expressed in this editorial can be interpreted on various levels for the commentary they make on dominant attitudes about, and perhaps among, Chamorro men and education. The writer’s overall tone of contempt seems provoked by what s/he views as Chamorro male graduates who would rather have their mothers and sisters labor to support them, directly challenging these men’s ability or even willingness to provide for their families, a script of masculinity prominent in both American and Chamorro cultural frameworks. Further, that these Chamorro men would have their female family members work on their behalf as laundresses and other laborers while such men were preoccupied with living the “dressed up life” paints the image of these males as superficial, shallow, and lazy prima donnas who were afraid to soil their hands and break a sweat.

The editorial further captures the irony of Americanization efforts in relation to Chamorro masculinities. Naval authorities on the island persisted in efforts to embed American educational, economic, political, and cultural influences in the hopes that Chamorro men could assimilate and become American. The contempt in the editorial, however, for Chamorro men who seemed to have assimilated too much illustrates that there were limits to the how refined or educated a Chamorro man should become. In this sense, the “illustrados” had gone too far in their attempts embrace education and utilize it for their own development and advancement. In doing so, these native men began aligning themselves laterally with (and perhaps exceedingly

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ahead of) American men in Guam. That overstep ultimately resulted in the fashioning of these men as effeminate and ultimately emasculated.

The US Navy’s view that the educated man should contribute his physical rather than intellectual ability to the development of Guam became increasingly prescriptive rather than suggestive. In an attempt to answer the question, “should the farmer of Guam be a rough swain without education,” an unnamed author asserted that “…it is as necessary for the farmer, as it is for the town storekeeper, to be endowed with sufficient education…”\(^{352}\) That same author, however, asserted of Chamorro men that “…it would seem that they must go back to the farm [after completing their education] if they are to remain in Guam, and the sooner they realize this, and help to develop the product and the exports of the island, the better citizens they will be…”\(^{353}\) As this writer’s sentiments reflect, there was a growing perception that Chamorro men should not just consider farming, but that it was the only means of achieving their survival in Guam. Moreover, physically toiling in manual occupations was equated with good citizenship.

The long-term impact of gendered education on Chamorro boys is evident in a review of two of the three censuses conducted during the Navy’s administration of Guam.\(^{354}\) The 1920 and 1930 US censuses offer a clear picture of the Navy’s educational efforts as they relate to the occupations in which adult Chamorro men worked. For the purposes of this study, “Chamorro Adult Male Population” includes all those of the age of fourteen years and older identified as

\(^{352}\) Ibid., 114.
\(^{353}\) Ibid., 114.
\(^{354}\) Three formal censuses were conducted by the US Navy during its pre-World War II tenure in Guam – 1920, 1930, and 1940. At the time of this study, the 1940 census had not been transcribed in the manner that the 1920 and 1930 censuses had. Thus, 1940 has been omitted from this chapter as data collection from this census comparable to that collected from 1920 and 1930 is not possible at this time.
“Chamorro” under the census category of “Race” whose nativity is identified as Guam.\textsuperscript{355} Although the censuses do not indicate the extent to which these males completed compulsory education, all males at the age of fourteen and above were considered in the collection of this data as this was the age at which compulsory education ceased. The inclusion of all males within this age parameter is based on the speculation that the vast majority of these males completed some form of legally mandated American education and were subject at some point to the gendered curriculum that this work examines.

The occupations of each of adult Chamorro male were classified into three primary categories: Manual Workers, Non-Manual Workers, and Not Employed.\textsuperscript{356} Further, occupations within the Manual Workers category were further differentiated between agricultural workers (Agri.), industrial workers (Indus.), and general laborers/servants (Gen.). Agricultural workers include those whose occupations are identified as farmer, farm laborer, herder, gardener, or fishermen. Those in the General Laborers/Servant category were identified simply as either “laborer” or “servant” in the censuses. Industrial workers include those identified in the censuses as carpenters, blacksmiths, plumbers, foremen, machinists, and so forth. Finally, non-manual workers include those identified in the censuses as storekeepers, bookkeepers, clerks, teachers, legal professionals, district commissioners, and so on. The number of Chamorro males for each census who fall within one of the three occupational categories is reported by District Number and Municipality Name, including the names of the various subdistricts that fall within the municipalities’ official borders.

\textsuperscript{355} Those men identified as Chamorro but whose “nativity” is identified as one of the Mariana Islands other than Guam have been omitted from this study.

\textsuperscript{356} Census data categorized males in the “No Occupation” category due to no occupation being reported to Navy enumerators, and not necessarily because such individuals were without occupation.
Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the distribution of adult Chamorro males in the aforementioned occupational categories for 1920 and 1930, respectively, by district number and municipality.

Table 3 summarizes the island-wide distribution of these males for both census years.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hagåtña (San Antonio;</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Nicolas; San Ramon;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dededo Barrio; Barrigada</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrio; Sinajana Barrio;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machanao Barrio; Pago-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinajana Barrio)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hagåtña (Anigua-Agana</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City; Agana City; Tutujan;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maina)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asan Barrio; Tepungan</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrio; Piti Town; Sumay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agat Town; Umatac</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrio; Merizo Town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inarajan Town; Aga-Inarajan;</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malolos-Inarajan; Babulao-Inarajan; Talofofo Barrio; Yona</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,864</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 2: Chamorro Males in Manual, Non-Manual, and No Occupation Populations by District and Municipality (1930)\textsuperscript{358}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District 1: Hagåtña (San Nicolas)</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 2: Hagåtña (Padre Palomo)</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 3: Hagåtña (Bilibic; San Ignacio; Togae)</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 4: Hagåtña (Anigua; Julale; Santa Cruz)</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 5: Hagåtña (Barrigada, Dededo, Machanaonao, Sinajana, Tutujan, Yigo)</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 6: Agat (Chandia; Fena; Inaso; Omo; Opagat; Pasqual; Sagua; Salinas; Tumat)</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 7: Asan (Asan Town; Libugon)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 8: Inarajan</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 9: Malesso' (Malesso' Town; Umatac Barrio)</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 10: Piti (Piti Town; Sinengsong and Tepungan barrios)</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 11: Sumay</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District 12: Yona</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>2542</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{358} Bernard T. Punzalan, \textit{1930 Population Census of Guam Transcribed} (Washington: Chamorro Roots Genealogy Project, 2012). The Navy redrew its district and municipality boundaries since the 1920 census, as reflected in the increased number of districts and municipalities in the 1930 enumeration. The 1930 census includes “District 13: Naval Reservations and Ships” which I have excluded Table 2 as the occupations of Chamorro males listed in this district are not clearly defined.

\textsuperscript{359} For District 1, the total number of manual workers, non-manual workers, and those with no occupation is 447, but the total number of men above age 14 for the district is 448. This discrepancy rests in one individual’s occupation listed as “TW Swish.” The exact meaning of this term or the nature of the work it entailed is unclear and therefore not classified in the categories outlined here. See Bernard T. Punzalan, \textit{1930 Population Census of Guam Transcribed}, D1-13.
### Table 3: Chamorro Males in Manual, Non-Manual, No Occupations, and Employable Population by Census Years 1920 and 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>Manual</th>
<th>Non-Manual</th>
<th>Not Employed</th>
<th>Chamorro Adult Male Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>2,722</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>3,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>(7%)</td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>3,589</td>
<td>234*</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>4,511**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(79%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(15%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Exclusive of District 13.
** Includes one (1) individual whose occupation was illegible in the original hand-written census.

As the preceding tables indicate, occupational patterns for Chamorro men in both 1920 and 1930 reflect a relatively stable trend in which Chamorro males in manual occupations substantially outnumber those in non-manual occupations. In both census enumerations, Chamorro men were further represented to a pronounced degree in agricultural manual labor in comparison to manual labor in industrial and general labor/servant categories. Of the adult Chamorro male population reporting an occupation in 1920, roughly 91% were engaged in manual work. Of those reporting a manual trade, 68% of them were engaged in manual labor related to agriculture. For 1930, roughly 93% of those reporting an occupation were engaged in manual labor. Of those reporting a manual trade, 70% were laborers in agriculture.

By the 1930s, it had become readily apparent that after three decades of administering Guam, the Navy seemed to be enjoying the success of its gendered educational curriculum. That success was manifest in the substantially large number of adult Chamorro males working in agricultural, industrial, and other manual trades. As the Navy itself declared, “Agricultural work is inseparably attached to the educational department.”

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“Agriculture continues to be the backbone of the industry in Guam, as it is practically the sole source of income except for those employed by governmental activities. Frequent surveys indicate conclusively that the mass of the people are making serious effort to engage in agriculture on a more extensive basis.” 361 By far, the mass of people who lent their physical labor to supporting the “backbone” of industry were Chamorro men.

With regard to men engaged in agricultural labor, there was a seeming stabilization of the percentage of the population engaged in such labor. Despite a significant increase in island’s population between 1920 and 1930, the percentage of Chamorro men engaged in agricultural labor remained at roughly 56%. 362 Furthermore, the percentage of men who did not report an occupation increased from 10% to 15%. While the majority of men reporting an occupation in manual labor can be read as a mark of the Navy’s success in educating and engineering Chamorro men for physical labor, the plateau in the percentage of men engaged in such labor despite the spike in the island’s population can be read as indicative of meager or limited success. Moreover, the rise in men without an occupation further calls the navy’s attempts to compel Chamorro men to participate in a cash economy as productive participants into question.

That the principal station in life for adult Chamorro men was limited to trades that required the demonstration of physical strength and skill lent to the discursive understanding of Chamorro men as primarily physical beings whose value and success could be measured by what his physical labor produced. The prominence of physical prowess as an essential characteristic of Chamorro masculinities was not something foreign introduced by the US military presence in

361 Ibid., 146.
362 The population of Guam in 1920 was reported as 13,254. By 1930, the island’s population had increased to 18,512. There are no definitive sources that speak to this significant population increase directly. I suspect that the global influenza pandemic that began in 1918 lent to the low population figures in 1920. Conservative estimates notes that 6 percent, or roughly 858, of Guam’s population succumbed to the epidemic on island. Other estimates note the death toll in the thousands. By 1920, the island’s population was still recovering from the impact of the epidemic on the island. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall*, Revised edition, 134 and Pale’ Eric Forbes, *Pale’ Román* (Agaña Heights: Capuchin Friars, 2009), 25.
Guam and predates even the first colonial administration of the island. Indeed, acceptable scripts of heteronormative Chamorro masculinity have and continue to be rigidly tied to physical prowess as evidenced in the understanding of *che’cho’ låhi*. Literally meaning “men’s work,” *che’cho’ låhi* is most widely understood to include all work requiring physical strength, skill, and even bravery. Sanchez has characterized such attributes as central to pre-contact occupations such as navigators, deep-sea fishermen, builders, planters, and warriors. The parallels between *che’cho’ låhi* and brute physical strength and know-how persisted throughout the Spanish colonial period as observed by French explorer Louis Claude de Freycinet. In his 1819 visit to the island, Freycinet remarked that “…by virtue of his physical strength and courage, the native male was destined at birth to navigation and warfare.”

Due in part to the Spanish colonial presence, and more recently and more distinctly as a direct result of US Naval economic policies and colonial agendas, conceptualizations of *che’cho’ låhi* evolved to include expectations that Chamorro men demonstrate physical ability in other undertakings to include commercial agriculture, modern construction, blacksmithing, and so on. The discursive influence of the Navy’s overall economic development agenda did not so much introduce entirely new scripts of masculinity for Chamorro men, but rather, led to a shift in the manner in which Chamorro masculinities would be measured. In the context of persistent efforts by the Navy to enforce a capitalist economy, the value of the Chamorro men’s abilities and contributions were no longer measured solely by physical agility and robustness, or by the cultural competency and fluency he demonstrated in utilizing the fruits of his labor to uphold his prestige within the familial and communal reciprocity system. Instead, the Chamorro man’s physical labor became measurable by and large through his ability to generate excess that might

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translate into cash profits, lending to his competency in successfully participating in the increasingly capitalist, cash-based economy.

As the 1930s drew to a close, the depression years continued to weigh heavily on Guam.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{Destiny's Landfall}, Revised Edition, 140, 142. Rogers maintains that the Great Depression impacted Guam primarily through a considerable decrease in Federal funding and other resources allocated to the Naval Government of Guam during the early 1930s. Though the majority of the population of the time was engaged in subsistent living and not exclusively dependent on monetary finances, the depression weighed heavily on the island in that the administration’s financial restraints trickled down to the population.} In light of the serious financial cutbacks its administration had experienced in the early 1930s due to the global economic crisis, Governor George A. Alexander cautioned his superiors that the “…curtailment of Federal appropriations would have a tendency to lower the present accepted standard of living of the people.”\footnote{Alexander, \textit{Annual Report of the Governor of Guam, 1935}.} To offset any reduction in Federal funding to the Naval Government of Guam, and any trickle-down effect such cutbacks would have, Alexander contended that “The authorization of enlistment of a few hundred Chamorrans [sic] as mess attendants in the regular Navy would indirectly provide additional funds to their families on the Island, which in turn, would assist in bringing the Island closer to the point of becoming self-sustaining.”\footnote{Ibid.}

Though seemingly benevolent in his desire to provide Chamorro men with career prospects that would in turn benefit their families that might potentially suffer the reverberating waves of the Great Depression, Alexander’s request to allow enlistment of native men into the regular Navy warrants closer and more critical interrogation. More aptly, the governor’s recommendation could be interpreted as an indication of a growing fear of the Navy that the native population would not only become far more dependent on the already cash-strapped administration, but that the economic progress of the island instigated by the Navy would regress. In Alexander’s estimation, “Any move in this direction is strongly depreciated as it
would be a regrettable step backwards.”

Moreover, any step backward in the path to capitalist economic development would only serve to taint the Navy’s self-image as a progressive, philanthropic, and successful administration that facilitated the betterment of the Chamorro people through a supposedly superior economic transformation.

Despite the Navy’s complex and largely self-serving interests in allowing Chamorro men to enlist in the Navy, the new opportunities for the economic advancement of Chamorro men in the military proved not only lucrative materially, but promised opportunities to uphold their masculine identities. In the late 1930s, such opportunities that provided both of these highly coveted material and social benefits were largely unavailable to native men. As an exclusively masculine enterprise that offered a steady paycheck and the prospects of travel and adventure, the Navy became what seemed the only option for scores of Chamorro men representing what Naval Governor James T. Alexander described as Guam’s “healthiest and most intelligent youths.”

For many of these youths, there became engrained a dominant assumption that the pay, travel, and esteem afforded by US military service was their sole option other than a life of labor and limited material means and social affluence. As Diaz recalls, and seemingly scoffing at the alternative through laughter, “If I don’t join the Navy? I don’t know. Maybe I’ll be a farmer. (Laughs)”

**Setting Sail: New Horizons for Chamorro Masculinities and Economic Mobility in the US Navy**

The late 1930s ushered in a new era for Chamorro men who constantly found ways to address the changing socio-cultural and economic climate within which they were living. For a significant number, a primary avenue utilized in asserting their manhood in ways that

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368 Ibid.
369 Qtd. In Sanchez, *Guahan Guam*, 144.
370 Manuel Cruz Diaz, in communication with the author, January 30, 2012.
demonstrated their physical strength and capitalist earning power rested in enlistment in the US military.

The militarization of Chamorro masculinities in the context of US colonialism traces its roots well before the first wave of formal US Navy enlistment among Chamorro men in the late 1930s. As described in the previous chapter, military drilling of a sizable population of Chamorro boys began in the island’s compulsory public education system and comprised a considerable portion of their academic training.\(^{371}\) It is estimated that, from 1916 to 1918, over one thousand Chamorro boys from throughout the island engaged in at least one hour of military training under the instruction of the US Marines from Monday to Friday.\(^{372}\) The completion of one’s compulsory education did not equate to the end of his required military training, and service requirements extended well into adulthood.

In March 1917, Naval Governor Roy C. Smith formed the Guam Militia at the recommendation of and with enthusiastic support from the Chamorro political leadership formalized that same year with the convening of the advisory Guam Congress.\(^{373}\) Comprised of 920 Chamorro male volunteers, enlistees in the militia received extensive training in military marching formations and provided volunteer service as ”observers” that worked to ensure compliance with orders issued by the military commander of the island.\(^{374}\) Though service in the militia was initially voluntary, it soon became mandatory given the Navy’s longstanding belief that “…every able-bodied Chamorro in the Island could be made into a passable infantryman in time…”\(^{375}\) In an effort to solidify the militia as a “homogenous, loyal, and active


organization,” all male native inhabitants of Guam between the ages of 16 and 21 were conscripted for service in the “Active Militia.” Upon completion of such service, these Chamorro men would be transferred to the “Militia Reserve,” and their militia service would cease at the age of 25 years.

Despite the implementation of laws and penalties for non-compliance that obliged all Chamorro men to serve in the Guam Militia, the existing historiography offers a skewed interpretation of the Chamorro man’s answer to the call of military service. Prevailing analysis has positioned Chamorro men’s enlistment in the militia as a reflection of their fervent and longstanding desire to serve in the US military. Such desire has been read as an expression of their loyalty to the US and tremendous enthusiasm for all things American. Sanchez, for example, interprets the enlistment of Chamorro men into the Guam Militia during the World War I years as an indication that they were demonstrating their loyalty to the US during a critical time of war. In Sanchez’s analysis, that perceived loyalty was so impassioned that he goes on to characterize militia enlistment as indicative of “The Chamorro’s longstanding love affair with military life blossom[ing] out.” Rogers likewise offers similar analysis highlighting the seemingly high number of “enthusiastic Chamorros” serving in the militia by 1920 who did so “extraordinarily” without any material compensation.

377 Executive General Order No. 389, Naval Government of Guam (October 20, 1923). This 1923 general order from Naval Governor Henry B. Price solidified Guam Militia service requirements and was drafted as a revision to the preceding Executive General Order No. 302 of 1919, otherwise known as “Regulations for the Government of the Guam Militia.” Price’s EGO No. 389 revoked this preceding general order and became the legal criteria for service in the Guam Militia.
378 Executive General Order No. 302, Naval Government of Guam (February 1, 1919). Non-compliance with Guam Militia service requirements and subsequent penalties are described in “Article XII-Desertion” and “Article XXV-Courts-Martial” of EGO NO. 302.
379 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 107.
380 Ibid., 107.
381 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, Revised edition, 130.
The Guam Militia has further been fashioned in the historiography as a productive and noble space through which a perceived aimlessness among Chamorro male youth was rectified. Chamorro militia Colonel Joaquin Torres, for example, noted that that Guam Militia emerged over time due in part to growing concerns that “…saloons and cockfighting were about the only diversions, and many of the young men of Guam were becoming a nuisance instead of an asset to the community.”

Alongside the Chamorro militia leadership, the Navy too upheld the mandatory militia service as an avenue through which Chamorro men could demonstrate their evolution toward becoming “better citizens.” Those deemed “intelligently attentive” to their duties in the militia were regarded as possessing “desirable qualities” warranting increased efforts to further build the “military character” that yielded such favorable results. Alluding to a presumed aimlessness among the native youth at the time and the militia’s role in providing a more productive outlet for Chamorro men, Rogers posits that the Guam Militia offered “…a purposeful cause that organized their unused energies.”

The alignment of military service with the prospects of becoming “better citizens” further positioned such service as not merely one that afforded a higher intellect and an improved purpose in life. Gender scholar Evelyn Nakano Glenn suggests that “Citizenship has been a principal institutional formation within which race and gender relations, meanings, and identities have been constituted in the United States.” She further asserts that citizenship’s ties to gendered identity were prominent in American conquest both within the borders of North America and beyond where American colonialism established scripts of masculinity that were linked to

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384 Ibid.
385 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, 130.
participation as citizens in the public domain of economy, politics, and the military.\textsuperscript{386} In this context, the alignment of service to the Guam Militia with prospects of becoming “good citizens” positioned such service as a means for Chamorro men attaining legitimacy, affluence, and participation within the dominant colonial order. Thus, the Guam Militia in particular, and US military service more broadly, came to be fashioned as a viable avenue through which Chamorro men might prove themselves physically and in the context of dominant expectations of a rapidly Americanizing socio-cultural setting.

Dominant assumptions that Chamorro men embraced the Guam Militia as a means of articulating their loyalties and patriotism, as well as the manner in which military service afforded discipline and purpose, can be expanded through a deeper consideration of complex responses to compulsory militia service. As Jose Mata Torres recalls of his childhood in the rural village of Malesso’, his father fulfilled his militia service obligation and was indeed proud of that service. In Torres’ memory,

> My father was an officer of the Guam militia before he died. But all they did was march. They’re pretty expert in doing all these things with the rifle and marches. Did he take pride in that? I think so. They take pride in being a member of the Guam militia, because they are very proud of being a part of the Malesso’ contingent.\textsuperscript{387}

As Torres recounts, his father was indeed proud of being an officer in the Guam Militia. That pride, however, did not necessarily stem from his father’s ability to demonstrate a sense of loyalty to the US or from what Sanchez has characterized as a “love affair” with military life. As Torres points out, militia service was viewed positively, yet required minimal physical activity that could be viewed as reflective of the full military experience. After all, “all they did was


\textsuperscript{387} Jose Mata Torres, in communication with the author, August 13, 2014. Torres’ father is the late Jose Duenas Torres. As both Torreses have the same first and last names, I elect not to name the senior Torres in text to avoid causing confusion for the reader.
march.” As acknowledged by Torres, the source of pride for his father and his fellow militiamen was more clearly rooted in their ability to publicly represent their home village, especially alongside the many other militia units each representing rival villages. Village rivalry has been a prominent feature in Chamorro socio-cultural interaction rooted in the nature of competition that can be traced to pre-contact Chamorro clan systems.\textsuperscript{388} Torres’ father illustrates the pervasiveness in village competition and rivalry and the ways in which Guam Militia service offered an opportunity for Chamorro men to exude village pride and engage in markedly visible competition with other village units. Nowhere in the recollection of Torres does the matter of US patriotism or the sentiment that Chamorros were enamored with military life feature prominently, if at all.

Though Chamorro men like Torres’ father enjoyed service in the Guam Militia and the opportunity it provided perform their own concepts of pride, the militia’s village units were disbanded by 1937 as a result of financial constraints in the Naval Government.\textsuperscript{389} So ended the years of universal and mandatory service to the US military for Chamorro men. Voluntary military service became an available option for Chamorro men briefly in April 1941 with the reorganization of the Guam Militia into the Insular Force Guard.\textsuperscript{390} While mandatory service in the Guam Militia compelled the entire Chamorro male population between the ages of 16 and 25 to enlist, voluntary service in the Insular Force Guard numbered a mere 247 individuals.\textsuperscript{391} Opportunities for voluntary military service were not only seized in comparatively smaller

\textsuperscript{388} James Perez Viernes, “Fanhasso i Taotao Sumay: Displacement, Dispossession, and Survival in Guam” (Thesis: University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2008), 68. Competition between clans for resources and political clout was a common fixture of Chamorro society predating the arrival of Western influence. Anne Perez Hattori contends that the reorganization of Chamorro society into the present-day villages of Guam by the Spanish colonial administration led to the evolution of precontact clan competition into ongoing and oftentimes contentious intra-village relations and rivalries in contemporary Guam.
\textsuperscript{389} Rogers, \textit{Destiny’s Landfall}, Revised edition, 150.
\textsuperscript{390} Ibid., 150.
\textsuperscript{391} Sanchez, \textit{Guahan Guam}, 174.
numbers, but remained short-lived as the Insular Force Guard was eventually disbanded with the World War II Japanese occupation of Guam that began just eight months after the Guard was formed.

The comparatively nominal number of Chamorro men answering to the call for voluntary service in the Insular Force Guard is not indicative of a lack of interest in military service among Chamorro men in the early 1940s. Rather, such low numbers can more aptly be attributed to the US Navy’s late 1930s offering of active duty enlistment opportunities to Chamorro men. While the numbers of volunteers for local military service waned, several hundred Chamorro men flocked to US Navy recruiters in Hagåtña to enlist in active Navy service.

Just as Chamorro men’s participation in the Guam Militia reveals complex and layered aspects of the militarization of Chamorro masculinities, so too does critical inquiry into Guam’s first wave of Chamorro enlistees into active US military service become telling. As was established at the start of this chapter, the most immediate concern of Chamorro men enlisting for Navy service was gaining access to the adventure and travel promised in the slogan “Join the Navy and See the World!” Though the allure of world travel was foregrounded in attempts to attract Chamorro men into military service, closer examination of Chamorro enlistee’s motives uncover socio-economic concerns as the underlying motivation that provoked the considerable enlistment figures. In Torres’ estimation,

You have to get out of Guam if you want to advance. There was no opportunity here. That’s why when the Navy open its recruitment to Chamorros before the war, the recruitment office was mobbed! That’s the only way that these young men can get out of Guam and see the world. [They] want to get out because there’s nothing in [Guam] for them. …They realize that this is about the only way you can graduate to a higher standard of living by joining the Navy and getting on a ship or a shore installation which is in the United States.392

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392 Jose Mata Torres, in communication with the author, August 13, 2014.
Similarly, World War II veteran and Chamorro political leader Carlos Pangelinan Taitano asserts that “When enlistment as mess stewards in the US Navy was opened for Chamorro youths, there was a rush to the recruiting office. With no opportunity in Guam to develop their potentials, many promising young men signed up for the Navy and left Guam.”

As Torres and Taitano suggest, US military service became an avenue through which Chamorro men might find the opportunity to assert their socio-economic substance by developing their potential toward the attainment of a “higher standard of living” within the changing colonial order. Here, socio-economic class advancement became inextricably and intimately tied to US military service. As illustrated in the previous chapter, a distinct socio-economic class divide emerged in correlation with the implementation of an American compulsory education system. The socio-economic class division in relation to American education was further exacerbated by the American capitalist economy. Both the education and economic projects of the Navy prompted the solidification of two distinct classes. The first, and by far the smallest, was comprised of those who were educated, spoke English, worked in non-manual, cash-paying jobs, and who resided in the capital city and its neighboring districts. The second and largest group in the class divide include those who were less educated, possessed less English fluency, worked in manual labor trades, had less access to cash money, and who were predominantly residents of the peripheral and rural neighboring villages of the island. Navy service, although limited to the rank of mess attendant, meant for many Chamorro men with little socio-economic advancement potential a steady paycheck to compliment the travel and adventure that Navy service promised.

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Enlistment in the US Navy not only afforded those of the lower class with the potential of earning cash money and elevating their socio-economic stature. Service in the Navy further offered young Chamorro men with a viable opportunity to fulfill their familial and communal obligations within the changing socio-economic norms of Guam. As Perez recalls of his decision to become a Navy mess attendant, “

There’s not much for a young man to do on Guam at that time and the Navy will pay you and let you travel at the same time. You can really help your family that way. I’m the youngest boy in my family, but my mother died when I was still young. So even as the youngest, I have to contribute and help my brothers and my father provide for the family. What I earn is for the family so we can survive and help other people when they need it. For me, the Navy was the way I can do that the most."

Here, Perez illustrates a common trend among those Chamorro men who flocked to the US Navy’s recruiting offices to enlist. While travel and a paycheck was reason enough to enlist for service, the opportunity that military service provided for Chamorro men to fulfill the expectations that their families and communities had of them as active providers and participants in the practice of *chenchule*’ was an added benefit. The degree to which Chamorro mess attendants funneled their military earnings into the broader familial and communal network was extensive. As Sanchez asserts,

Traditionally close to their families, virtually every Chamorro mess attendant had his salary deducted by the Navy and sent home to his family. When the mail came the US Post Office in [Hagåtña] was crowded with people picking up allotment checks from their men serving Uncle Sam’s navy all over the world.

Though the economic system of Guam had increasingly become capitalist and socio-economic class mobility became of heightened concern, Chamorro men reaping the benefits of naval service abroad continued to demonstrate links to familial and communal systems of wealth distribution and reciprocity.

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394 Antonio Borja Perez, in communication with the author, December 2, 2008.
As the capitalist economy compelled more and more Chamorro men to pursue wage-paying labor and opportunities to elevate their socio-economic status and that of their families, dominant scripts of masculinity to which the demonstration of physical prowess were inextricably linked continued to be of primary concern. For many men, military service came to fulfill a two-fold desire: asserting their physical abilities inherent to both che’cho’ lähi and the American expectations of physical prowess, and securing socio-economic stability and mobility.

Drawing from Enloe, Camacho and Monnig assert that “…the US military is coded as a hypermasculine space; soldiers embody the notion of heterosexual ‘manhood’ and exhibit the most demonstratable ‘masculinity’ in terms of physical prowess, stoic presence, and ‘justifiable’ violence.”

By and large, the Navy offered for Chamorro men of the late 1930s the only lucrative opportunity to demonstrate their masculinity in terms of physical strength while simultaneously offering the prospect of socio-economic mobility that far exceeded that available on the farms or in industrial shops. Indeed, the Navy became an “institution of Chamorro masculinity” that would persist well into the twenty-first century as a vehicle useful in the configuration of virile and distinguishable heteronormative gender scripts for Chamorro men.

As Monnig and Camacho contend, “Like Pacific Islanders elsewhere in colonial militaries, Chamorro men have come to understand the US military as one of the few options available to ‘achieve a masculinity based on notions of family, leadership, providing, [and] strength.’”

**Being a Man: Complexities of Militarized Chamorro Masculinities**

While US military service has and continues to be a pervasive force in the ongoing transformation of Chamorro masculinities, caution should be exercised in accepting any semblance of universal subscription to the US military and its larger imperatives among

396 Camacho and Monnig, “Uncomfortable Fatigues,” 160.
397 Ibid., 169.
398 Ibid., 161.
Chamorros of the past or present. Although Torres went as far as meeting with a US Navy recruiter when he reached the legal age of enlistment, he elected at the last minute against entering military service. Recognizing the demeaning nature of the Navy’s discriminatory enlistment policies that relegated Chamorro and other ethnic minority men to careers of menial service to higher ranking white officers, Torres recalls that he and some of his peers decided against enlistment because “… we came to our senses. If you are a mess attendant you do menial jobs in the Navy. Cleaning toilets, washing dishes, and all that. They are the people who follow the officers to clean their feces or whatever.\textsuperscript{399}

Like Torres, several Chamorro men declined military service in the 1930s and 1940s due to what was perceived as demeaning treatment. The actual duties ascribed to native enlistees that included cleaning up after their white superiors, as well as the systematic discrimination to which they were subject as mess attendants without the potential of promotion to any higher rank proved so disappointing that such men decided against the trend of military enlistment. The ambivalence they felt toward the demeaning nature of Navy service is mirrored among Chamorro men who did actually enlist and complete successful careers in the military. Perez, for example, pursued military service for the benefits and opportunity it offered, but was well aware of the limitations of his service as a steward of color. Looking back on that service, Perez recalls that “All we do is cook and clean for them. And go around the Pacific evacuating white people from all over the place. More people to cook and clean for. But, still, it’s a paycheck and we are seeing the world.”\textsuperscript{400}

\textsuperscript{399} Jose Mata Torres, in communication with the author, August 13, 2014.
\textsuperscript{400} Antonio Borja Perez, in communication with the author, December 2, 2008. Perez alludes to his experiences aboard US naval vessels that facilitated the evacuation of US military dependents from Guam and other Pacific Islands in anticipation of the outbreak of World War II in the region.
Navy enlistment was further contentious for many Chamorro families who feared losing sons to military service away from Guam at the cost of the contributions they could make to the family unit at home. Diaz recalls notable apprehension among his parents when they were informed of his enlistment intentions, remembering that “My father and stepmother thought I was in trouble. They want to know why is the Navy looking for me.”

Diaz highlights the common sentiment among Chamorros in their interactions with the US military, pointing to a pervasive distrust and fear among the native population in relation to the Naval Government and its personnel. The mere fact that Diaz was even in the Navy’s consciousness was met with fear and apprehension by his parents who immediately assumed that their son was “in trouble,” underscoring the overarching disconnect between the colonial administration and native population.

As Diaz remembers, prior to World War II, “They are separate. The military live up in the barracks. We don’t mingle with them. The military they got their own barracks, their own place. We don’t [interact] with those American people.” The apprehension and fear of Diaz’s parents challenges the Naval Government’s self-identification of its colonial agenda as one that was benevolent and welcomed by Chamorros eager to reciprocate the friendliness and generosity of their American administrators. Further, Diaz and those of his generation who did embrace military service came to be active agents in crossing racial and social divides that otherwise permeated the US naval era in Guam. The crossing of such divides and the complex interactions that occurred complicate more binary assumptions of native engagements with colonialism.

More provocatively, as Diaz explains, his father in particular was adamantly resistant to his son’s decision to enter military service. As Diaz recalls, “My father, he don’t feel so good.

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401 Manuel Cruz Diaz, in communication with the author, January 30, 2012.
402 Ibid.
I’m the only boy. I’m the only one helping going up to the ranch. Every morning we go to the ranch, he wants to go with me. I was the one pasturing the cow, feeding the chickens, feeding the pigs. If he said so, I’ll stay. But, see, if I didn’t join the Navy, I wouldn’t be getting any of the benefit.” 403 Chamorro fathers were not the only voices of ambivalence that arose in response to the growing desires of their sons to pursue military service. Mothers and other women “felt hurt and deserted” by the young men who left Guam with the Navy. 404 This hurt and feeling of abandonment was expressed in a popular rhyme among women of the time that satirized the Navy’s recruitment slogan: You joined the Navy to see the world, and what did you see? The kitan (cross-eyed) girl!” 405

Diaz’ father’s anxieties and the sense of hurt and loss among the women of Chamorro Navy enlistees are illustrative of the contending scripts of masculinity between Chamorros and Americans. While the Navy packaged and promoted military service as an attractive platform through which Chamorro men might fulfill both the physical and socio-economic measures of appropriate masculinity in the late 1930s, Diaz’s father expectation differed considerably. Those expectations centered on hopes that his son would labor alongside him on the farm contributing to the subsistence and chenchule’ needs of the extended family. Moreover, Diaz’s willingness to defer to his father wishes speak to the pervasive of the Chamorro father’s role in relation to the family and his children, even well into their adult years. The rhyme employed by women through which the Navy’s promise of adventure is made a mockery further reinforces the ambivalence of Chamorros who were not entirely convinced of the benefits that military service promised. Diaz’s dilemma in which he was made to choose between the mandates of the familial and gendered expectations his culture, and those increasingly embedded by the Navy illuminate the manner in which young Chamorro men of the time engaged the changing times in various ways.

403 Ibid.
404 Guam’s History in Songs, VHS, directed by Carlos S. Barretto (Agaña, Guam: Shooting Star Productions, 1993).
405 Ibid.
The considerable enlistment rates of Chamorro men into the Navy during the late 1930s and early 1940s can further be employed in expanding the prevailing historiography by countering assumptions that the willing enlistment of male youth was indicative of the native population’s overall complicity with the larger imperialist ambitions of the US. In looking back on Perez’s distinguished career of twenty-five years in the Navy, his son Joaquin Pangelinan Perez recalls that “Dad was so disinfatuated with the reoccupation of Guam [by the US during World War II] that after his retirement from the Navy in 1962, he attended the [Liberation Day] celebrations only twice.”406 The senior Perez’s refusal to participate in celebrations of the military’s ongoing presence on the island such as Liberation Day, with the exception of two times in the sixty-seven years since his retirement from service is telling when positioned alongside the presumed “love affair” that Chamorro men had with the US military. As Perez demonstrates, that love affair was marred with disinfatuation. Similar sentiments are prevalent among many Chamorro men who have engaged in military service who have expressed “…a level of discomfort about their various experiences in the US military as colonized men, ethnic minorities, and indigenous soldiers.”407

Indeed, the interactions between young Chamorro men and the US Navy’s active enlistment opportunities remain layered and complex. As this chapter has attempted to demonstrate, the establishment of an American, cash-based capitalist economy engendered notable shifts in Chamorro masculinities. The dawn of the twentieth century and the US Navy’s assumption of colonial authority in Guam dislocated the engrained expectation that Chamorro men could be viable contributing members of their society through physical labor that provided

for their families’ daily needs and upheld their prestige through sustaining complex reciprocal obligations with the fruits of their labor and skill. That baseline of acceptable masculinity became compounded with the importation of American economic and gender ideals which provoked both the desire for and necessity of material wealth. Here, Chamorro masculinities became re-shaped and re-imagined in ways that entangled subsistence production and the reciprocal systems of exchange with motivations of socio-economic class mobility in the context of American capitalism.

As illustrated in the previous chapter, and rearticulated here, some Chamorro men of the smaller elite class pursued livelihoods of non-manual labor that could provide for socio-economic clout, and in which physical prowess was not necessarily a foremost benchmark of masculinity. Nevertheless, as sociologist and gender scholar David Morgan posits, “…the recognition of a diversity of masculinities should not obscure the fact that in a particular social formation, certain masculinities are more dominant, more valued, or more persuasive than others.”

In the context of the social formation of an American, militarized, and capitalist colonial government in Guam, US military service indeed emerges as a dominant space for the assertion of Chamorro masculinities, and one that was not only highly valued and lucrative, but widely accessible to Chamorro men despite their preexisting socio-economic status.

In looking back on the Navy’s first administration of Guam that was packaged as a benevolent enterprise designed for the good of the Chamorro people, Clyde Myron Cramlet and Agueda Iglesias Johnston contend that “Present day Americans might be quick to assess this program as exemplary when one overlooks the fact that a modern civilization was forced on a culture which already had attained that common goal of satisfying physical needs and enjoying

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Indeed, Chamorro society had a vibrant and sustainable economy prior to the arrival of Euro-American powers. Though constantly evolving to cater to the demands of a changing socio-political climate, that economy remained relatively intact until the 1898 assumption of colonial authority over Guam by the US Navy. As this chapter has outlined, the conflicting economic philosophy between Americans and Chamorros, the legislation implemented to elevate the Navy’s agenda in light of that conflict, and the overall discursive character of the Navy’s economic development agenda created an economic and social situation and necessity to which Chamorro men largely responded to through US military service enlistment.

Speaking to consistent and inflated enlistment rates in the post-World War II years and well into the present, Camacho and Monnig acknowledge several factors highlighting a desire for economic mobility as paramount. As they contend, “From a material aspect, though, it was the military itself that created an economic environment that forced young Chamorros into the military.” As this chapter has illustrated, a historical trajectory toward that material aspect of the later twentieth century and early twenty-first century can most aptly be traced to roots implanted through the colonial project of the US Navy – a project that in various ways continues to shape Chamorro men’s relationship to military service. The call to military service continues to ring loudly among Chamorro men in the present. Economic motivations remain an influential force for many of them who continue, for varied and complex reasons, to answer that call issued by the Christy Girl so many decades ago to “be a man and do it.”

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410 Camacho and Monnig, “Uncomfortable Fatigues,” 158.
CONGRESSMEN AT CROSSROADS: CHAMORRO MASCULINITIES IN THE AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC SPHERE

Chamorro men’s opportunities to “be men” in the context of US military colonialism in Guam were not limited to the mandates of the education system or economic development projects as explored in the previous chapters. The American democratic political sphere proved an equally promising avenue through which Chamorro men might assert themselves in the changing socio-political climate on the island. In particular, formation of the Guam Congress in 1917 has been lauded in the written historical record as a critical milestone in the political development of Guam. The island’s only locally produced print media news source at the time dedicated front-page coverage to the inaugural session of the First Guam Congress held February 3, 1917 under the lead headline: “First Session of the Guam Congress: Representation Attained.” The news coverage aligned the opening session of the congress with the achievement of political independence by what became the United States of America, employing an epigraph preceding the report which read “The first session of the Guam Congress will live in the annals of Guam much as does the Fourth of July in the hearts of Americans.” For many Chamorros in Guam, the opening session of the First Guam Congress indeed offered new hope toward gaining some level of political autonomy and representation within the otherwise dictatorial US military colonial administration that had existed for the preceding eighteen years. Although this sentiment reverberates loudly throughout the canonical historiography, more

411 “Representation Attained,” Guam News Letter, Vol. VIII No.8, February 8, 1917, 1. Published from 1909 to 1922 by the Naval Government of Guam, the Guam News Letter later evolved into the Guam Recorder. Both publications aimed to report monthly on issues relevant to the naval government and military communities, as well as on some island and international news. The Guam News Letter and what later became the Guam Recorder were the only locally produced print media publications in Guam up to the Japanese occupation of the island (1941 to 1944) and from 1944 to 1947 following the reestablishment of the naval government. With the exception of a few select editorial pieces from Chamorro writers, staff writers for both publications were exclusively American. See Donovan Brooks, “Newspapers,” Guampedia, http://guampedia.com/newspapers/, (Accessed March 1, 2014). 412 “Representation Attained,” 1.
recent historians have been swift to critique the formation of the Guam Congress as merely an extension of the already intrusive arm of American governance of the island.

This chapter first undertakes the task of revisiting binary historiographies. Situated at one end of the historiographical extreme are interpretations of the Guam Congress as a reflection the political Americanization of Guam, as well as the Americanization of Chamorro men in particular as willing participants in the congress. At the other end, persistent voices of dissent favor interpretations of the congress as yet another mechanism employed by the colonial administration in furthering American hegemony – one to which the appointed Chamorro congressmen were not completely oblivious or with which they were not entirely complicit.

The chapter aims to unpack the ostensibly conflicting or ambiguous posture of Guam Congressmen as a means of contemplating the development of hybridized Chamorro masculinities in the specific context of the newly introduced American democratic political sphere of prewar Guam. Specifically, this chapter will consider the ways that Chamorro masculinities in the public domain reflected an amalgamation of scripts representative to both Chamorro and American notions of gender and political maneuvering. Through the lenses of political rhetoric, Chamorro ethnic and cultural identity, and competing concepts of gender between Chamorros and Americans, this chapter will speculate on the development of Chamorro men as active and complex agents in the public domain of prewar Guam.

**Political Tug-of-War: An Overview of the Guam Congress**

The First Guam Congress was instituted on January 6, 1917 at the behest of US Naval Governor of Guam Roy C. Smith through his Executive Order No. 216. It was convened as an advisory council of appointees, often referred to in various histories as “legislators,” who were
selected by the governor from those he viewed as “prominent inhabitants.” Those prominent inhabitants were selected from the island’s socio-economic elite to include numerous Chamorro men chosen from among the various district Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, businessmen, landowners, and others of notable stature, most of whom resided in the capital city of Hagåtña and its outlying districts. Congressional membership also included ex-officio members chosen by the governor from among various American officers assigned to duty in the Naval Government of Guam. The First Guam Congress held regular sessions once a month with a handful of “extraordinary,” “special,” or “extra” sessions as needed. In total, the First Guam Congress functioned for fourteen years until it was replaced by an entirely new and reformed Second Guam Congress on March 7, 1931.

At the inaugural session of the First Guam Congress in February 1917, Smith imparted to the newly appointed legislators, “The progress of the Island is your affair. You know the conditions, the people and the possibilities. You know also that the people want to advance and to be prosperous and well-to-do.” The newly appointed congressmen accepted their responsibility of pursuing the progress of the island and its people with an apparent understanding that such progress would be realized in “…giving to the Chamorro people a direct participation and intervention in all that affects their general interest and their own welfare…”

As argued by Chamorro scholar Penelope Bordallo Hofschneider, “In the opinion of the
Chamorro leadership, the most important problem facing their people was political – the nature of the military government under which they were forced to live.”

This preeminence of the political problem of naval governance in Guam among Chamorro congressmen was made no more apparent than in the address delivered by congressional member Tomas Calvo Anderson at the 1917 inaugural session. Congressman Anderson asserted that the Chamorro people were deserving of “…the same rights that [had] been granted to the different States, territories, and possessions…,” and that the denial of such rights by the US administration had created an ambiguous posture for Chamorros who questioned “…whether [they] were to be members of the American people or their servitors…”

Throughout the congress’ history, US citizenship was viewed as the means through which Chamorros might secure guarantees to those civil rights and liberties denied them by the Navy, and perhaps, a greater measure of self-government. The call for such citizenship surfaced as early as the third session of the First Guam Congress.

Despite early hopes that the Guam Congress would instigate the realization of self-government and US citizenship, the initial enthusiasm among its members was undermined by considerable limitations in the scope of their legislative powers. Smith was sure to remind the congress and the public at large that the role of his appointees was purely advisory and that “No

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419 “Representation Attained,” 2. As is the case with many of the sources to be used in this work, first names of representatives are not always listed. For purposes of uniformity and clarity, I choose to identify the members of the Guam Congress on first reference using the appropriate title (Congressman, Assemblyman, or Councilman) followed by his last name and the district he represented on first reference. For subsequent references, I will use the title followed by the last name. I further employ titles for congressmen to avoid confusion between individuals referenced in this chapter who might share the same last name, (i.e., First reference will appear as Congressman Tomas Calvo Anderson and Benedict Anderson, whereas subsequent references will be Congressman Anderson and Anderson, respectively.)
resolutions suggesting changes in the forms of government may be considered...”\textsuperscript{421} This was reinforced in an “Animated Extra Session” of the congress held March 17, 1917, during which “All members displayed a considerable interest in the proceedings and heated discussions ensued.”\textsuperscript{422} During that session, Major E.B. Manwaring, appointed to the First Guam Congress as an ex-officio member and representative of the naval governor, emphatically noted

I am authorized to say that the Congress is intended as an advisory body to the Governor. Its recommendations should be limited to matters in the power of the Governor to regulate. Other matters cannot even be considered by the Governor. The Congress has no legislative powers, it can only recommend. \textsuperscript{423}

Similar reminders were offered during the numerous congressional sessions to follow, and thus, “As a rule the recommendations [of the First Guam Congress had] been on minor topics and not on large measures affecting the progress of the Island.”\textsuperscript{424}

Naval governors remained completely dismissive of or staunchly resistant to a vast number of the recommendations and resolutions forwarded to them by the Guam Congress. Laura Thompson, an American anthropologist and former Consultant on Native Affairs to the naval governor of Guam in 1938, thus concluded that “As it gradually became apparent that initiatives on matters of government above the village level was not desired [by the naval governor], the Congress tended to act only on matters pleasing to the governor...During the later 1920s the situation was such that several governors chose to disregard the Congress entirely.”\textsuperscript{425}

In what has been characterized as a “history of failed legislation” that bred a “depressing political climate,” members of the Guam Congress were compelled to re-strategize their ongoing

\textsuperscript{423} Ibid., 10.
attempts to carry out their responsibilities as bona fide legislators.\textsuperscript{426} The inability of the congress to effectuate visible political change prompted a notable decline in serious political, legal, and social discourse within the congress. In stark contrast to early recommendations from the Guam Congress that US citizenship be granted to Chamorros and that major revisions be implemented to the island’s existing civil code, proceedings soon became reduced to surface discussions about matters of minimal consequence.\textsuperscript{427} These matters included the daily school schedule for children, bounties and quotas for the capture and eradication of rats and hilitai (monitor lizards), the execution of formalities to welcome newly appointed members, or proceedings that amounted to nothing more than a call of the roll followed promptly by adjournment.\textsuperscript{428} In the two-and-a-half years during which the proceedings of the First Guam Congress were regularly documented and made available to the public in the \textit{Guam News Letter}, one-third of the proceedings reflect the diminished magnitude of the discussions and recommendations arising in the congress.\textsuperscript{429} Declining media attention to the\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{426}}\textsuperscript{427}\textsuperscript{428}\textsuperscript{429}


\textsuperscript{429}Hilitai – Chamorro for \textit{Varanus indicus}, commonly known as mangrove monitor or Western Pacific monitor lizard. Naval documents refer to this lizard inaccurately as an iguana. I employ \textit{hilitai} in the text for accuracy.\textsuperscript{429}

\textsuperscript{429}A thorough review of the monthly issues of the \textit{Guam News Letter} and \textit{Guam Recorder} from February 1917 up to the last issue published prior to the World War II Japanese occupation of Guam in 1941 revealed that, of the thirty regular sessions of the Guam Congress (excluding several “special,” “extra,” or “extraordinary” sessions), ten of those sessions centered on minor topics of mere discussion to sessions at which no business was addressed. (Although the last session of the First Guam Congress to receive news coverage is identified as the thirty-second session, I have listed only thirty regular sessions as the seventeenth and eighteenth sessions were convened in one single session due to a destructive typhoon which passed over Guam on July 6, 1918 which prevented the congress from convening for its regular meeting. Further, there was no media record of a twelfth session. Thus, in total, there were thirty regular sessions.)
proceedings of the congress during these years further demonstrated shrinking public interest.\textsuperscript{430}

Waning public interest in the First Guam Congress in the 1920s was compounded by growing frustrations among Chamorros over the indefinite terms of congressional appointees and what many viewed as sluggish progress among the legislators in representing the people. One \textit{Guam Recorder} editorial captured these frustrations noting that “It [was] quite evident that the Guam Congress contain[ed] a considerable amount of dead wood…”\textsuperscript{431} Thus, beginning in the mid-1920s, desires to elect representatives by popular vote to the Guam Congress for a defined term of service began to emerge. Naval Governor Lloyd S. Shapley responded, to some extent, to calls for the right to elect members to the local congress. The governor authorized the election of a congressional representative from the district of Piti in October 1926, resulting in Antonio F. San Nicolas becoming the first elected member of the Guam Congress.\textsuperscript{432} American naval governors were not the sole obstacles to the public’s ability to elect their representatives. Several sitting congressmen simply did not care to invest effort in gaining reelection should their terms be limited, and thus, did not advocate for the right of their constituents to elect them to office.\textsuperscript{433}

The reluctance of Chamorro politicians and the American administration to allow for the election of congressional members soon reached an impasse. On March 15, 1931, the First Guam Congress was officially dissolved by Governor Willis W. Bradley. As observed by his successor, Governor Edmund S. Root, it had “…become apparent some time ago that the Guam

\textsuperscript{430} Detailed reports of the first few sessions of the congress were featured prominently in the local print media, and often on the front page of the monthly publications. Such coverage, however, became reduced to scant paragraphs by the start of 1918 in various corners of the. At times, coverage for multiple sessions over several months was condensed onto a single page in one issue of the news media, as was the case with the twentieth through twenty-third sessions that were published in a condensed report of the January 1919 issue of the \textit{Guam News Letter}. The twelfth session of the congress received no media attention whatsoever. The thirty-third session of the First Guam Congress held November 1, 1919, became the last proceedings of the First Guam Congress to be made widely available to the public through print news media.

\textsuperscript{431} “Chamorro People Want to Vote,” \textit{Guam Recorder}, Vol. 5 No. 4, July 1928, 75.


\textsuperscript{433} “Chamorro People Want to Vote,” \textit{Guam Recorder}, 75.
Congress, created by Governor Roy C. Smith in 1917, was not functioning either as a representative body or in a manner to take full advantage of its possibilities…” Consequently, a new and reformed congress whose representatives were elected to two-year terms by the people was called into session on March 16, 1931.

The Second Guam Congress was restructured into a bicameral body composed of two houses designed to mirror, in general, the US Senate and House of Representatives, respectively. A single representative was elected to the House of Council to represent his district or municipality regardless of its population. For the House of Assembly, the number of representatives elected to the congress was dependent on the population of an assemblyman’s respective district or municipality. Thus, nearly half the Assembly was made up of congressmen representing the various districts that made up the capital city of Hagåtña that was home to the largest population of Chamorro residents.

The reorganized congress sparked renewed interest among the Chamorro constituency. That interest reached a climax in 1936. After years of witnessing their recommendations fall on relatively deaf ears, members of the congress decided that direct negotiations with Washington, D.C. would be the only viable avenue through which their agenda might progress. In July 1936, Guam Congressmen Baltazar J. Bordallo and Francisco B. Leon Guerrero were selected by their peers to represent the interests of their constituents at the federal level. Drawing from their own personal assets and the overwhelming support lent to an island-wide fundraising effort, Congressmen Leon Guerrero and Bordallo secured enough financial support to travel to

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Washington, D.C. The two congressmen immediately called upon those in the US who had visited Guam in previous years and who had enjoyed the hospitality of their hosts in the Guam Congress. In particular, American publisher Thomas Beck who had visited Guam and developed empathy for Chamorro political aspirations saw to it that the Guam delegation’s visit received considerable media attention. Further, the island congressmen sought the help of US Senators Ernest W. Gibson and Millard E. Tydings who introduced bill S. 1450, an act to grant US citizenship to the residents of Guam.

Bill S. 1450 received positive review, yet its reception in the US Congress was less than hospitable. In what historian Rogers characterizes as a “straightforward colonialist statement,” Secretary of the Navy Claude A. Swanson offered harsh opposition to the citizenship bill asserting that “there is every indication that these people have not yet reached a state of development commensurate with the personal independence, obligations, and responsibilities of United States citizenship. It is believed that such a change of status at this time would be most harmful to the native people.” In response to Swanson, Congressmen Leon Guerrero and Bordallo were successful in offering counter arguments to the secretary and criticizing the Naval Government of Guam as “without any justification.” The bill, however, ultimately failed in US Congress after the navy was granted a closed session without Congressmen Bordallo and Leon Guerrero in attendance.

With the failure of citizenship legislation in the US Congress, the delegates from the Guam Congress sought support at the executive level of the federal government. The delegates were able to secure a meeting with President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Oval Office of the

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436 Despite the predominantly subsistent economy of the 1930s and the ongoing impact of the Depression, Bordallo and Leon Guerrero were able to collect US$6,500 from the island-wide fundraising effort supported by village residents and school children.
White House. Unfortunately for Congressmen Leon Guerrero and Bordallo, this momentous meeting between the American head of state and the two Chamorro legislators only touched upon the relations between the navy and Guam’s people in a superficial manner and the cause for citizenship and increased civil rights and liberties remained unresolved at the end of that brief meeting.\textsuperscript{439}

Congressmen Bordallo and Leon Guerrero became resigned to the reluctance of the federal government to hear Guam’s plea for US citizenship. The two returned to Guam given the obstacles they encountered in the US capital and the depletion of their resources that facilitated their efforts there. Upon their return to Guam, a second wave of waning public interest in the Guam Congress and a lull in rigorous debate surrounding the broader political agenda of the congress set in. Discussion of US citizenship, civil rights, and self-government did not disappear altogether. Yet the impending threat of war with Japan in the Pacific lent to a refocus away from the political aspirations of the Chamorro people and toward the larger global political, economic, and diplomatic crises that loomed. On December 8, 1941, Japan’s World War II interests were made clear in Guam with an invasion and 32-month occupation of the island. The Guam Congress subsequently entered into a hiatus for the duration of the occupation and for several years in its aftermath.\textsuperscript{440}

\textbf{Contending Historiographies: The Limits of Patriotism and Protest}

The political tug-of-war in which the Guam Congress engaged the US naval and federal

\textsuperscript{439} Ibid., 145.
\textsuperscript{440} Roy E. James, “Notes and Comment: The Guam Congress,” \textit{Pacific Affairs}, Vol. 19 No. 4, December 1946, 411-12 and Anne Perez Hattori, “Righting Civil Wrongs,” 62. The Guam Congress reconvened on May 1, 1946 following the US reoccupation of Guam and the lifting of legislation banning public gatherings on the island. The first postwar election of Chamorro representatives to the Third Guam Congress took place on July 13, 1946. In total, eleven Guam Congresses were convened since its founding in 1917. The eleventh and final Guam Congress to convene was officially dissolved on November 7, 1950. The passage of the Organic Act of Guam of 1950 effectively ended the naval administration of the island and ushered in a new era of civilian government under the US Department of Interior. From this point forward, island residents elected their representatives to what became \textit{i Liheslaturan Guåhan} (the Guam Legislature).
governments from 1917 to 1941 is manifest in the dichotomous written history of the congress and its congressmen. Sanchez, for examples, characterizes the formation of the Guam Congress as “a healthy development, the first step in a long road toward self-government.” That sentiment was no more apparent than in the address delivered by Congressman Anderson in 1917 in which he assured his constituents that the formation of the congress had “…no aim other than that the Chamorro people may enjoy through their representatives their lawful rights…”

Mirroring the spirit of Congressman Anderson’s sentiments, Bradley assured the newly elected members of the Second Guam Congress at its April 1931 opening session that, “Your gathering today sets up an historic landmark in the progress of the Chamorro people, for it represents a sincere attempt on the part of the local government to give the people of the Island some participation in the making of the laws under which they live…” Sanchez upholds Bradley’s notion of sincerity on the part of the Navy, framing the formation of the Guam Congress as a generous gift granted by a benevolent military government that ultimately lent to the Chamorro people’s maturation as a politically minded, forward-thinking people. Sanchez asserts that, “the initiatives demonstrated by American governors gave Chamorros the courage to speak loudly and clearly of their hopes and aspirations.”

Proponents of the formation of the Guam Congress as a bona fide step toward self-government for Chamorros have often interpreted the actions of its congressmen as an extension of the successful Americanization of the indigenous population that was all too eager to embrace and participate in American political systems and ideology, and by extension, the larger political

441 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 109.
444 Sanchez, Guahan Guam, 110.
imperatives of the colonial administration. Such analysis is supported in Congressman Anderson’s 1917 address, in which he asserts that

The Chamorro people only desire, not their independence, but the reform of their lawful rights as citizens of a free and independent nation and that their Government be adjusted to the principal established by the immortal Washington, liberator of the great nation that now rules our destinies in this Island…we do not want or desire any nation other than that which governs us, and upon this point we will make every possible protest against anything which is said to the contrary.”

In speaking for his fellow representatives, Congressman Anderson further proclaimed, “Finally, Gentlemen, we heartily acclaim the great American Republic, our President Wilson, the imperishable memory of Washington, Monroe, Lincoln and McKinley, our beloved and esteemed Governor Smith, the American colony in this Island and the Chamorro people rescued by America from the bonds of servitude.”

Congressman Anderson’s litany of historic American political heroes as a genealogy to which the Chamorro people could align their own evolution toward self-government reveals the position in which the Guam Congress situated itself closely with history’s famous American male protagonists.

In response to dominant historiographies, some have elected to critique the formation of the Guam Congress as merely a token measure of improved governance that failed to yield Guam’s citizens any real political authority. Speaking to the limitations of the Guam Congress and its lack of legislative power, US Naval Commander Roy E. James noted of the Guam Congress that “It had no authority whatsoever with respect to taxation or the appropriation of expenditures of local tax and customs receipts. It was, indeed, nothing more than a gathering of local personages, selected and appointed by the governor, who met on the first Saturday of each month to discuss matters of local interest.”

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445 Anderson, “Address of Mr. Tomas Calvo Anderson,” 27.
446 Ibid., 27.
447 James, “Notes and Comments, 409.
Speaking to the US colonial agenda more broadly, James further positions the Guam Congress as a superficial mechanism geared toward creating the façade of democracy because “The United States wishe[d] to be regarded as a champion of the economic, social and political welfare of dependent peoples.”\textsuperscript{448} James ultimately concludes that, in reality, the Navy’s record in Guam “…has evoked charges of autocracy, neglect, discrimination and persecution as well as of stringent political repression” that have lent to the likelihood that the US naval government had impeded the overall political development of the island. \textsuperscript{449}

The restrictive nature of the US naval administration of Guam more broadly and the systematic disempowerment of the Guam Congress in particular was not only apparent institutionally among administrators and those with formal access to government operations, but in the broader political consciousness of everyday citizens in Guam. Thompson argues that Chamorros grew increasingly aware of the lack of power vested in the members of the Guam Congress and questioned the “contrasts between democratic government as pictured in the textbooks and the institutions under which they themselves were governed.”\textsuperscript{450} As former civilian Governor of Guam Joseph F. Ada contends, “Since the [Guam Congress] could not make laws, it was simply a pantomime of the real thing. These efforts to ‘dress up’ colonialism did not fool the Chamorros…”\textsuperscript{451}

Those critical of the extent to which the Guam Congress was democratic in nature or the degree to which the navy was benevolent in its establishment have endorsed the positioning of congressmen as active agents who championed growing voices of dissent. Hattori contends that

\textsuperscript{448} Ibid., 408.  
\textsuperscript{449} Ibid., 408.  
the mobilization of the otherwise powerless Guam Congress into a forum to criticize the naval government and debate issues of civil rights qualifies as viable “expressions of resistance.”

Such expressions are evident in an extensive report authored by Congressman Bordallo on June 15, 1937 following unsuccessful attempts to advance the cause for US citizenship in Washington, D.C. With the unanimous support of both houses of the Guam Congress, Bordallo presented his report to Secretary of the Navy Swanson. It outlined various grievances against the Naval Government of Guam and offered several recommendations and suggestions for future improvements to the Navy’s administration of the island.

Congressman Bordallo asserted in his report that, although a “friendly spirit of cooperation and mutual respect” between US military personnel and Chamorros may have existed at some point in the past, that friendliness had “waned, especially during the past years due to inconsistent policy of the Naval Government, and the lack of interest and consideration for [Chamorro] rights and privileges.” Congressman Bordallo went on to advise the Secretary that a change in the current administration of the island would work to “reduce to a minimum that attitude of dominance and superiority-complex which seems to show in a marked degree among some of the Naval Officers officially connected with the Naval Government.” The Guam congressional delegate further condemned the Naval Government’s administration of Guam speaking to “deep disappointment” felt within the Guam Congress over the Navy’s “apparent lack of interest and concern in the promotion and advancement of the economic life and civil rights of the people of Guam…”

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452 Hattori, “Righting Civil Wrongs, 58.
454 Baltazar J. Bordallo, Letter to Secretary of the Navy Claude A. Swanson, 15 June 1937, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 54/A18 (360824), US National Archives.
455 Ibid.
456 Ibid.
In striking contrast to his predecessor’s inaugural address, Congressman Bordallo asserts on behalf of the Guam Congress his utter dissatisfaction, disappointment, and disapproval of the Naval Government’s record of administering the island and directly calls on the Secretary of Navy to address it. Thompson asserts that a general state of “political discontent” was prominent in Guam in the years surrounding Congressman Bordallo’s report to the navy and the drive for US citizenship. 457

The seemingly oppositional posture of Chamorro men in the Guam Congress between their complicity with the colonial administration and their defiance to that administration has no doubt lent to some historical confusion. How can this congress and its congressmen be viewed at once as complacent minions of the larger American colonial agenda whose identities mirrored that of the American men sent to Guam to advance it, yet viewed at other times as voices of indigenous protest and dissent? Rather than bemoan this pervasive and contradictory historiography any further, I elect instead to invest some effort in examining the Guam Congress as a space through which Chamorro men navigated a changing political and cultural landscape. The ways these men articulated their political forthrightness within the foreign public sphere offer a promising avenue through which to understand them as hybrid historical agents who were neither exclusively reflections of dominant American men or uncooperative indigenous detractors.

Fino’ i Manmagalåhi Siha: The Language of Politics and the Politics of Language458

The very prospect of asserting political forthrightness directly to authorities of the Naval Government of Guam proved daunting for Chamorro men of the early twentieth century. The English language itself proved a prohibitive element in doing so. Despite aggressive efforts by

458 Fino’ i manmagalåhi siha – Language of male leaders.
the Navy to enforce stringent English-only policies in public, Chamorros continued to rely heavily on their native language as the primary and preferred medium of communication in both the public and private spheres. Thus, the expectation that the members of the Guam Congress conduct themselves according to American standards of political decorum and order, and that they utilize the English language to do so, bred an atmosphere in which misunderstanding and misinterpretation was inevitable. It is to this very atmosphere that this chapter now turns toward examining the political rhetoric of the men of the Guam Congress and the ways that such rhetoric reflected the evolution of Chamorro masculinities with an American democratic context.

The limitations of the English language in the everyday operations of the Guam Congress arose as an immediate concern in just the second session of the First Guam Congress in 1917 when it was decided that, although all written resolutions and documents would be composed in both the English and Chamorro languages, all proceedings would be conducted only in Chamorro. Even in the last years of the Guam Congress before its temporary collapse during World War II, Assemblyman Pangelinan of Sumay implored the presiding chairman of the joint session of the Fifth Guam Congress in September 1937 to utilize the Chamorro language noting that “…the majority of us do not speak or rather find it hard to understand English, and for the benefit of those and I, myself, I would ask the Chairman Presiding that this matter be discussed in Chamorro for the time being.” Assemblyman Leon Guerrero concurred with his colleague from Sumay noting that “I heartily indorse [sic] Mr. Pangelinan’s idea of deliberating in Chamorro, but this is, of course, against the instructions of the governor.” Despite persistent efforts of the naval government to implant the English language in Guam and direct the Guam

461 Ibid., 5.
Congress to conduct its sessions in English, the reliance on the Chamorro language as the most widely comprehensible medium of communication persisted.

In cases during which the use of the English language was impossible, such as in addresses delivered to the governor or other American officials, Chamorro men relied on their existing, albeit limited knowledge of the English language. By and large, their use of English largely rested in their ability to mimic that which they believed to be appropriate for the context in which they were communicating. Hope Alvarez Cristobal offers a relevant case in point when considering the prominence of mimicry among Chamorros in their interactions with Americans. Cristobal remembers her childhood in the 1950s in Guam, and her attempt to mimic what she believed to be appropriate for the American educational setting. She recalls vividly a time during which she had to “go from being Chamorro” at home where only the Chamorro language was spoken to “being American” just yards away at the school house where the only language acceptable was English. In order to meet the expectations of an American educational setting, Cristobal recalls listening to English speakers in person or on the radio and trying to replicate them by sounding “as fancy” as she could.\footnote{The Insular Empire: America in the Marianas, DVD, directed by Vanessa Warheit (Vancouver, British Columbia: Horse Opera Productions, 2009).} In this sense, Cristobal was not necessarily assimilating to American forms of expression through her adoption of the English language. Rather, she was maneuvering what linguists refer to as the pragmatics of language in a given socio-cultural space.

The concept of pragmatics in this regard refers, in part, to “how the interpretation and use of utterances depends on knowledge of the real world;” “how speakers use and understand speech acts;” and “how the structure of sentences is influenced by the relationship between the
speaker and the hearer.” Cristobal’s understanding, or perhaps more aptly, *imagining*, of the “real world” in the context of ongoing US colonialism in Guam compelled her to resort to mimicry as a means of navigating a linguistic space in which she was otherwise ill equipped. The same rang true for the men of the Guam Congress who attempted to create a façade of English language fluency as a means of allowing themselves to meet the assumed expectations of a particular space. As Hofschneider posits, language was among the paramount factors that fostered a misinterpretation of Chamorro expressions in the political domain, where a lack of familiarity with the English language and its nuances often led to seemingly vociferous expressions of friendliness to American rule.464

Rhetorician George A. Kennedy defines rhetoric as “the civic art of public speaking as it developed in deliberative assemblies, law courts, and other formal occasions…” Kennedy offers a relatively concise summary of the parts of classical rhetoric, noting that the most integral parts are “invention,” “arrangement,” and “style.” Invention is often understood as considering the subject matter, identifying the core issue or issues to be addressed, and deliberating on various avenues through which an audience might be persuaded. Arrangement refers the manner in which a speech is delivered and the organization of its arguments. The third part of classical rhetoric – style – deals with how one chooses to express himself. Kennedy emphasizes this part of rhetoric as “a deliberate process of casting subject into language; the same ideas can be expressed in different words with different effect.”

466 Ibid., 6.
467 Ibid., 5.
Congressman Anderson’s process of invention is clearly identifiable in the 1917 address in which he clearly speaks to four key issues. First, Congressman Anderson imparted on his fellow congressmen that the formation of the Guam Congress signaled the fulfillment of a long standing desire among Chamorros to “…enjoy through their representatives the privilege of advocating their lawful rights…”468 Second, the congressman asserted that Chamorros were deserving of “the same rights and liberties granted to the different States, territories, and possessions.”469 Third, Congressman Anderson highlighted the inadequacy of the island’s political status and military government that required improvement so as to clarify for the Chamorro people whether they were to be “members of the American people or their servitors.”470 Lastly, Congressman Anderson’s address conveyed to his peers the responsibility ascribed to them as appointed legislators to act on behalf of the native population and its interests, noting that “The Chamorro people charge us, their representatives, to defend their lawful rights, that our mission is to be vigilant for their interests and general welfare.”471

Congressman Anderson’s process of arrangement reflects calculated efforts to garner support for the core issues he identifies. The arguments employed to garner such support, however, relied heavily on the very sentiments that lend to limited understandings of the Guam Congress and its representatives as Americanized patriots. Each of the core issues or questions addressed by Congressman Anderson shed light on the inadequacies or outright undemocratic and unjust nature of the totalitarian naval government. Yet, the manner in which he sought to secure the good will and confidence of his audience and persuade them using logical arguments, simultaneously praised that very government for its sound democratic principles and morals.

469 Ibid., 27.
470 Ibid., 27.
471 Ibid., 27.
The first of Congressman Anderson’s points – that the Guam Congress satisfied a long-held desire among Chamorros for self-government – employed praise of the US noting that the people of Guam, through their newly appointed congressional representatives, were now “citizens of a nation so highly known through the civilized world for its liberality, republicanism and justice, which ignores and rejects any distinction between races and which embraces equality alone, not only in its social relations, but also its laws.”

Anderson’s second point that Chamorros deserved equal rights that were systematically denied them by the US was likewise embellished with more professions of admiration for the US as a “great American nation” to which Chamorros were “respectful, loyal, and devoted.” The congressman’s third point – that the military government installed by the US in Guam was inadequate and in need of clarity as to whether Chamorros were to be in servitude to that government – was followed almost immediately by the notion that “we do not want or desire any nation other than that which governs us, and upon this point we will make every possible protest against anything which is said to the contrary.”

Congressman Anderson’s paradoxical rhetorical process of arrangement can be aptly characterized by what rhetoricians refer to as epideictic speech – that which, by design, reflects rhetorical and oratorical skill. Congressman Anderson’s sound oratory skill, as well as his calculated rhetorical strategy are evident when considering the conventions of rhetorical arrangement that are identified in four basic divisions: introduction (prooemium), narration, proof, and conclusion or epilogue. Congressman Anderson’s introduction/prooemium and narrative portions of his address not only served as the opening of his larger speech and as the

472 Ibid., 26.
473 Ibid., 27.
474 Ibid., 27.
opening of the Guam Congress as a newly formed government institution, but likewise achieved what Kennedy outlines as securing “the interest and goodwill of the audience” through offering “clear, brief, and persuasive” arguments.\(^{476}\) Here, Congressman Anderson does not merely introduce himself and the points to be addressed, but rather, appeals to the hopes and desires of his audience by speaking to their political sensibilities and disenchantment. Speaking to a long-standing and previously unacknowledged, unfulfilled desire among his constituents for representative democratic government that had persisted for nearly two decades, Congressman Anderson invoked the political frustrations of his audience who “after 18 years of American rule” were “at least see[ing] fulfilled their desires, if not in whole, at least in part…”\(^{477}\) Congressman Anderson then moves into the narrative element of his address characterizing the US presence as one of “occupation” in need of “reform.”\(^{478}\) His forefronting of Chamorro frustrations with the existing government that had been stewing for nearly twenty years indeed garnered the interest of the audience and their goodwill.

Congressman Anderson’s efforts at persuasion are apparent in his use of choice words to include “occupation” and “reform” that entice his audience, albeit subtly, to subscribe to his own aspirations toward restructuring a flawed and even illegitimate political structure. In appealing to these frustrations and the overall political consciousness of his constituents, Congressman Anderson established his credibility and positionality as someone who shared in the same frustrations and aspirations of those he addressed.

Perhaps most curious, though, are Congressman Anderson’s methods of proof and conclusion or epilogue. Congressman Anderson employed a perplexing method of arrangement that secured the confidence of his audience. It persuaded them to subscribe to his critical

\(^{476}\) Ibid., 5.
\(^{478}\) Ibid, 26-7.
position on the Naval Government employing rhetoric that, in seeming opposition to his sentiments, lauded that very government for its firm grounding in righteous democratic values. Here, Congressman Anderson’s employment of the rhetorical convention of “proof” seems to unravel his entire argument at its very core. As Kennedy points out, after all, this convention of proof “supplies logical arguments in support of the speaker’s position and also seeks to refute objections that might be made against it.”

What logic lies in essentially denouncing the American naval administration as one that denies fundamental rights and liberties inherent to democracy? What logic lies in supporting that denouncement, or even countering it altogether, with acclaim of that administration’s reputed democratic exceptionalism?

Where the prevailing historiographies have elected to interpret Congressman Anderson’s puzzling address in opposing binaries, closer textual analysis unveils a far more complex interworking of contemplative political rhetoric. While Congressman Anderson’s convention of proof might seem bewildering, it aligns closely with what Kennedy describes as “digression” or “excursus.” Here, rhetoricians theorize that those skilled in rhetoric and oratory often employ digression or excursus, “which is not so much a true digression as a discussion of some related matter that may affect the outcome or a description of the moral character, whether favorable or unfavorable, of those involved in the case.”

Congressman Anderson’s mode of digression can be viewed as a sound rhetorical strategy employed as a vehicle that, while highlighting American political moral character largely vested in principals of democracy, freedom, liberty, and civil rights, simultaneously and purposefully illuminated the hypocrisy and insincerity of that nation in its specific administration of Guam as a colony. To underscore the US’ long history that is inextricably linked to these

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480 Ibid., 5.
principles and rendering those principals as non-existent in the colony stands out as a direct comment on the moral character of those in power. Congressman Anderson, all the while, maintains his position on the core matters at hand. He uses digression as a means of exposing the glaring imbalance of power between a self-proclaimed benevolent and democratic Navy administration and its colonial subjects who largely felt otherwise.

Congressman Anderson’s conclusion or epilogue reiterates his notion that the newly appointed members of the Guam Congress were assuming a sacred trust to act on behalf of the welfare, interests, and rights of their constituents. Staying true to form, Congressman Anderson follows this by once again digressing and “heartily acclaim[ing]” American male historical figures like Washington, Monroe, and Lincoln. Here, the congressman further highlights the imbalance between the navy and the Guam Congress, composed of legislators entrusted to represent their constituents, but who lacked the same legislative powers that were hard earned by American forefathers. In doing so, Congressman Anderson once more emphasizes the historic esteem of a nation that, ironically, was consistently denying the freedoms and liberties for which these American heroes so vehemently fought.

Congressman Anderson’s inaugural address set the stage for similar rhetoric to follow in the interest of securing for the people of Guam defined citizenship, civil rights, and self-government. In an address delivered on July 1, 1925, Guam Congress member A.T. Perez welcomed a visiting delegation of US Congressmen and their families to the island. In similar fashion to Congressman Anderson, Congressman Perez provided a lengthy list of praise of the United States and gratitude for its generous “tutelage” in Guam. He remarked, “To those Americans, who for 26 years have devoted years of their energies to helping us, we owe a debt of

\footnote{Anderson, “Address of Mr. Tomas Calvo Anderson,” 27.}
gratitude beyond repayment.” Congresswoman Perez’s gratitude was short lived, however, as it was almost immediately followed up with the assertion that Chamorros occupied an “anomalous position” as a result of arbitrary naval governance. Congressman Perez noted that “One of the masterpieces of American literature tells of a man, who, because of the proud contemptuousness with which he regarded his country, was made an outcast from the land, and became ‘A MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY.’ We are all without a country.”

As part of the same 1925 ceremonies to welcome the American delegation to the island, Guam Congress member Ramon M. Sablan’s address mirrored the contemptuousness of his colleagues. In taking great effort to laud the benefits bestowed on the people of Guam through their association with the US, Congressman Sablan simultaneously highlighted the widespread disappointment and disillusionment held among the Chamorro people over the navy’s failure to extend to the island’s people the same rights and privileges afforded to those in other US colonies. The congressman remarked,

…my hope to become a citizen had not dwindled until a discouragement came to me later on when I learned that the US Supreme Court had decided that the natives of Guam were ineligible and are still ineligible to become American citizens, not even through the process of the law, a privilege accorded aliens, but not to us…But I venture to say that that discouragement has been felt also by the people of Guam as a whole.

In their addresses to the visiting Americans, both congressmen employed a rhetorical strategy similar to Congressman Anderson. Both framed the United States as exemplary of

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482 Address of A.T. Perez to Members of the United States Congress, 1 July 1925, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/1602-2198, US National Archives.
483 Ibid.
484 Specifically, Sablan was referring to an address delivered at the same ceremonies by Guam Congress member Jose Roberto. Roberto referred to an act of US Congress passed May 16, 1918 allowing native-born Filipinos who were at least 21 years of age or older, and who had been honorably discharged from US military service to become eligible for US citizenship. Roberto highlighted this legislation noting that Chamorros had not been considered in the act lending to the ongoing denial of US citizenship. Address of Jose Roberto to Members of the United States Congress, 1 July 1925, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/1602-2198, US National Archives.
485 Address of Ramon M. Sablan to Members of the United States Congress, 1 July 1925, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 9351/1602-2198, US National Archives.
democratic ideology and one that was benevolent in its foreign relations in Guam and elsewhere. At the same time, the representatives brought to the fore the glaring absence of democracy and goodwill in Guam’s political realities of the time. Congressmen Perez and Sablan’s employment of this rhetorical strategy worked to expose the arbitrary political structure in place in Guam. They further implored the political ambiguity that resulted from that structure as a means of lobbying a political agenda to a captive audience of American visitors who held political power in the US.

The rhetorical strategy arising in the Guam Congress persisted well into the next decade as evidenced in Congressman Bordallo’s 1937 report to the Secretary of the Navy discussed earlier in this chapter. While Congressman Bordallo’s lengthy report was largely critical and even hostile at times toward the navy’s administration of the island, Congressman Bordallo concluded his list of grievances with the statement:

> It is sincerely hoped that the Honorable Secretary will take this humble report in the spirit in which it was written. It was drawn and presented not for the purpose of criticizing the acts of its Administrative Officers in Guam, for the sake of criticism, but with my deep conviction and sincere hope that if these changes and recommendations are carried out, there will follow in the Island of Guam a new ear [sic] of prosperity, contentment, and happiness for its people.  

On the surface, Congressman Bordallo’s emphasis on humility can be read as an expression of passivity and his declaration that the report was not meant to be critical seemingly diminishes the weight of his dissatisfaction with the naval. The arrangement and conclusion of the report’s contents, however, might be interpreted as a similar convention of digression as utilized by Congressmen Anderson, Perez, and Sablan. The 1937 report mirrors the rhetoric of Congressman Bordallo’s predecessors in its identification of a series of criticisms that are presented in tandem with praise of the very government to whom such criticism was directed.

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486 Baltazar J. Bordallo, Letter to Secretary of the Navy Claude A. Swanson, 15 June 1937.
Chamorro submissiveness surfaces in the report, as it did in the addressees offered by Bordallo’s peers. While slightly differing in their conventions of arrangement, the art of digression is employed by each of these statesmen who share the same political resolve.

The tendency of the representatives of the Guam Congress to underscore admirable principles of American democracy as a means of unveiling the hypocrisy of the US that systematically ignored such ideals in Guam can be likened to the legal analogy that one cannot “unring the bell.” As is the case of courts in law where that which is already spoken can never be truly held as “inadmissible,” the strong call for attention to the absence of rights, liberties, and freedoms in Guam permeated the otherwise high praise of the US government for its democratic esteem.

The reliance on what Kennedy coins as digression was commonplace in the writings and public addresses delivered by men the Guam Congress. These conventions became further manifest in the personal interactions between the island’s statesmen and their American male counterparts. Perhaps the most infamous of these interactions was the 1937 meeting between Congressmen Leon Guerrero and Bordallo with President Roosevelt, during which time constraints did not allow the opportunity for those involved to employ what had become a preferred rhetoric within the political domain. Although a brief historical moment amounting to no more than twenty minutes, this meeting between the men from Guam and the American president stands out as a historically seminal moment – the first ever in which Chamorro men acting on behalf of the people of Guam engaged directly with the highest office of the US federal government.

During their visit to the White House, President Roosevelt posed the question, “Are the Navy people treating right you on Guam?,” to which the two delegates simply answered, “Oh,
yes!”

This reply, presumably interpreted by Roosevelt as indicating there were no critical issues of governance to address in relation to Guam, resulted in the meeting shifting to the presentation of gifts to the president by the island delegates and a discussion about deep-sea fishing in Guam.

Shortly thereafter, the meeting concluded and the Guam congressional delegates and American president parted ways. In Rogers’ summation, the reply of the delegates to the president’s question ultimately derailed “a once-only opportunity to argue the Chamorro case energetically to the president.”

Speculation abounds as to why the Guam delegates offered to the US President such a simple, passive, and even outright dishonest response after they had invested so much financial, emotional, and physical energy to pursue major reforms to the governance of Guam and the status of its people under US colonial administration. Rogers, for example, posits that this was the result of a supposed reticence mandated by Pacific Islander cultural norms. He contends that the Guam delegates “reflected the customary tendency of Pacific islanders [sic] to avoid confrontations and to be respectful of persons of authority.”

In the specific context of Chamorro culture, Rogers alludes to a pervasive code of behavior known as mamåhlao (literally, shame or embarrassment) that mandates deference to others, respect, and non-self serving conduct. Rogers’ equation of this complex code of behavior to passivity or even cowardice, however, is limited and does little to unpack the layered elements that lent to the outcome of the meeting in the White House.

Former Chamorro educator and Guam senator Carmen Artero Kasperbauer elaborates on mamåhlao as one of the most important and complex cultural concepts of the past and present.

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487 Rogers, Destiny’s Landfall, Revised edition, 145.
488 Ibid., 145.
489 Ibid., 145.
490 Ibid., 145.
that Rogers’ assessment ignores. Kasperbauer notes that

*Mamåhlao* sets the standards by which to measure character, upbringing and conduct. It represents all the Chamorro ideas of what is proper and civilized behavior. A Chamorro who “has shame” is always humble and respectful; he or she is honorable and generous and caring of others; he or she is loyal to his or her family and is diligent about fulfilling his or her obligations and those of his or her family. A person who does not “have shame” is *taimamåhlao*. If he or she is “without shame,” he or she is selfish, crude and disrespectful. *Taimamåhlao* (shameful) behavior embarrasses everyone and reflects poorly on the offensive individual’s whole family.\[491\]

Rogers’ framing of the events in the Oval Office as a result of a reticence or fear of confrontation engrained in Chamorro and other Pacific Islander cultures misses the mark in that it discounts the far more complex nature of the cultural norms to which he attempts to speak. As Kasperbauer demonstrates, a reluctance to assert oneself in ways deemed improper rests in the assumed duty to the larger family or community structure rather than the desires of the individual or his immediate objective. Closer consideration of the complexity of *mamåhlao* and its bearing on the Oval Office meeting lends credence to the possibility that the Guam delegates were engaging in the particular political and rhetorical strategies described thus far in tandem with this pervasive cultural script of communication and behavior.

The effort and time it takes for one to adequately exude an acceptable sense of *mamåhlao* often exceeds that which can be accomplished in twenty minutes, especially in formal or public spaces where persons of authority are being dealt with. The time, energy, and cultural literacy it takes to enact *mamåhlao* can be tricky. To illustrate this, one can consider the typical dialogue

that is a near certainty in a simple situation like visiting the home of a friend or relative.\textsuperscript{492}

Upon immediate arrival of any visitor to a home, the dialogue begins as follows:

\begin{quote}
Host: Come and eat!
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Visitor: No, thank you. I just ate before I came here. I’m full.
\end{quote}

The visitor’s response to the host’s invitation to eat may be true and it may not. Despite the visitor’s actual hunger or thirst, he/she will not immediately accept an offer of food or drink. To do so would be a sign of \textit{taimamåhlao} as it calls attention to an individual’s needs or desires which violates expectations of deference to others. The dialogue then continues as follows:

\begin{quote}
Host: Yes, come and eat! Don’t be \textit{mamåhlao}.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Visitor: No, really. I just ate.
\end{quote}

The dialogue can go back and forth in this fashion for quite some time. Its duration might be shortened if the visitor and host share a close, comfortable relationship. Both parties may rest assured knowing their longstanding relationship has established that neither party is \textit{taimamåhlao}. Parties that do not yet share such a relationship, however, will find themselves in what can become a drawn out tug-of-war. At some point, though, a particular shift occurs in the dialogue as follows:

\begin{quote}
Host: \textit{Håfa}? (What?) My food is not good, enough?
\end{quote}

At this point, a digression of sorts occurs. Here, the host takes charge of the exchange and essentially places the visitor’s moral character and cultural competence at center stage. Now, the visitor’s objective is to avoid imparting shame on the host. At this point, the visitor has no other

\textsuperscript{492}I posit the near certainty of this dialogue based on observations made while teaching over twenty individual sections of History of Guam (HI 211) courses at the University of Guam from 2010 to 2014. When discussion of the concept of \textit{mamåhlao} begins, I pose the question to students, “When you visit a friend or relative’s home, what is the first thing they ask you?” In each of these sections over the years, students without exception reply uniformly and often in unison, “Come and eat.” I then continue the discussion in this fashion, asking students to outline the dialogue that follows in this particular situation. In each of these classes, the dialogue presented in this chapter is that which is identified by the students.
option but to partake of what is being offered regardless of whether he or she wants to. If the visitor intends to maintain his or her moral character and cultural competence, he or she must partake of what is being offered. Should the visitor elect not to, he or she essentially imparts shame on the host by implying that what has been offered is inadequate. In doing so, the visitor runs the risk of being deemed *tainamåhlao* for creating discomfort for the host and for lending to a most unpleasant situation.

The above dialogue, although based on an everyday common situation, illustrates the complexity of *mamåhlao* and its omnipresence in all aspects of Chamorro interactions with others, whether it be in a friend or relative’s home or the White House in Washington, D.C. Where Rogers dismisses the Guam delegates’ initial response to the president as a reticence that results in a missed opportunity, considering this in terms of *mamåhlao* more aptly reflects the distinct manner in which these Chamorro men retained their cultural norms of behavior within an otherwise foreign space. Moreover, the example of the Oval Office highlights the preferred political rhetoric that had been established by men in the Guam Congress. Rather than addressing a shortcoming or injustice with immediacy and frankness, modes of digression had become a preferred option in which criticisms might be offered alongside or following praise as evidenced in Congressmen Anderson, Perez, Sablan, and Bordallo’s rhetoric.

In the case of the brief meeting with Roosevelt, however, the opportunity to offer that criticism never presented itself as the meeting ended abruptly. As in the case of the host-visitor dialogue, Congressmen Leon Guerrero and Bordallo surely anticipated a viable moment of digression during which they could expand on their assurance that the naval government was treating Chamorros “right” and present their grievances in a culturally acceptable and politically effective manner. Without an adequate understanding of the concept of *mamåhlao* or the
implied cues that would otherwise facilitate the opportunity for digression, the president had no way of consciously providing that opportunity to the Guam Congressmen.

The tendencies of Guam’s leading statesmen toward political rhetoric that largely prioritized the convention of digression in delivering an effective message speaks to a process in which these Chamorro men carved out hybrid spaces of political expression and agency. The Western modes of arrangement and style employed by these men were a viable means of dealing with a newly established Western colonial administration of Guam. Finding themselves as participants within a political institution such as the Guam Congress that was formed in the spirit of American democratic political ideology was no doubt new terrain for these Chamorro men who employed modes of expression deemed appropriate for that space by those Americans who created it. The specific convention of digression as outlined thus far, however, provided a means by which Chamorro men could allow for the pervasive concept of *mamāhlao* to be preserved and made relevant to the changing socio-political environment. This melding of Western political rhetoric and Chamorro socio-cultural codes of behavior became a viable vehicle through which the Chamorro men of the Guam Congress might approach their political present and future as indigenous men within a rapidly changing, non-indigenous government and political structure.

**The “Filipino Question”: Safeguarding Chamorro Identity**

The political rhetoric developed by Chamorro men of the Guam Congress as a distinctly hybridized mode of expression and political advancement was not solely a mechanism through which citizenship, civil liberties, and self-government were pursued. That rhetoric became pivotal at critical moments during which the very ethnic and cultural identity of the Chamorro people was called into question. A 1926 proposition that Guam be annexed to the Philippines provides a case in point. The political rhetoric employed by the Guam Congress became a
powerful force utilized in vehemently denouncing the annexation proposal. Moreover, that rhetoric illuminated the profound role that the men of the Guam Congress would play in the protection and preservation of a distinct Chamorro ethnic and cultural identity.

Representatives of the Guam Congress convened for a special session on September 25, 1926 “to acquaint the members with the contents of the news received through the courtesy of the Associated Press and Cable News Service, regarding a mater most vital to the welfare of the people of Guam…” The American media outlets reported news of a petition forwarded to the US Congress by the Philippine Congress requesting that Guam be ceded to the Philippines. Authored by Philippine Congress Representative Edward Marcaido, the petition asserted that the annexation of Guam to the Philippines was a logical political move given what was believed to be overlapping histories and racial similarities between the Chamorros and Filipinos. The petition asserted that the annexation was warranted due to a shared history between the Philippines and Guam that began with the banishing of rebellious Filipinos to Guam during the Spanish colonial era. Annexation was further recommended based on the presumption that Guam was “…largely inhabited by people belonging to the Filipino race, and therefore, should have its representative in the Philippine Legislature.”

News of the petition for annexation provoked a heated reaction in the Guam Congress at the September 1926 special session. Following the reading of the petition in session “…a solemn silence pervaded the assembly hall and from the dazed look which appeared from every face it seemed as if some dire catastrophe impended, but as this look changed to that of determination the once quiet assembly emerged into a tumultuous gathering…” Guam

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494 Ibid., 1.
495 Ibid., 1.
496 Ibid., 2.
Congress Member Calvo of Santa Cruz was the first member given permission to take the floor
during which he delivered the following statement:

I can safely say that the Chamorros, having lived under the American administration and
under the present form of government for over a quarter of a century, love and will
always live to love the United States of America. In the political world, Guam and its
population are merely weaklings. However, if the Chamorros are allowed to voice their
sentiments with an assurance of protection from the United States, they will never
consent to any action being taken which has a tendency to favor this message. To make a
long story short, the Chamorros are not, and never will be willing to sever their
connection with the United States of America. Regarding the statement that the
inhabitants of the Guam belong to the same race as Filipinos, I am more or less inclined
to believe that this is not so. It is a well known fact that, while the people of Guam and
the Filipinos belong to the brown race, they do not have the same peculiarities, interests,
and habits.497

Congressman Calvo continued noting that “I have now in my mind, from my own personal
observations, several instances which would prove to you beyond a reasonable doubt that the
Chamorros are not anywhere near related to the Filipinos.”498

Congressman Calvo’s statement was followed by a motion to form a special committee to
more carefully consider the issue of annexation. The resulted in the formation of a committee
composed of members representing the capital city of Hagåtña and its outlying districts who
were tasked with “arriving at some definite conclusion.”499 In the event that the findings of the
committee were unfavorable as to the annexation of Guam to the Philippines, the committee was
expected to draft a resolution petitioning the President and Congress of the US to consider the
sentiments of Chamorros prior to any action on the matter.500

497 Proceedings of a Special Meeting of the Guam Congress, 25 September 1926, Records of the Secretary of the
Navy, RG-80, Box EG 54 A9-10 (300611) to EG L10-5 (400321), US National Archives, 1-2.
498 Ibid., 2.
499 Ibid., 2. The decision that the exploratory committee be composed entirely of congressional delegates from the
capital city and its surrounding districts was justified as a means of preventing transportation hardships for
representatives from the rural outlying districts.
500 Ibid., 2.
The exploratory committee met on September 30, 1926 and reported their findings to the Guam Congress on October 2, 1926. Those findings essentially mirrored Congressman Calvo’s initial sentiments expressed in the previous month’s special session. They largely contested any shared history with the Philippines, electing instead to focus on the historical and ongoing relationship between Guam and the US. By and large, however, the findings and subsequent discussion of them in the Guam Congress focused predominantly on the assertion that Chamorros were nowhere near related to Filipinos in racial terms. Those racial differences served as the primary basis of forging staunch opposition to the annexation proposal. Overall, the proposal to annex Guam to the Philippines was met in the Guam Congress with “a one sided argument instead of a two sided debate” over what came to be called the “Filipino question.”501

Calls for continued naval governance in Guam became markedly prominent in the Guam Congress in light of the Philippine annexation proposal. Congressman Calvo, for example, addressed the congress in the October 1926 session emphasizing that Guam and its people to this date have deeply embedded down in their hearts their love for the United States of America; America is their mother country; their best and most beloved guardian. America is their protection, their mother, and their father. That is the true spirit of every native Chamorro and I am proud of it.502

Congressman Torres of Hagåtña further proclaimed that “The Chamorros are inherently [sic] loyal to the United States Flag.”503 Similarly, Congressman Cepeda of Barrigada postulated that “You can not [sic] find a Chamorro who is not loyal and true to the American Flag.”504 Speaking to his own personal satisfaction with the US administration of Guam and the gratitude it warranted from Chamorros as a whole, Congressman Tenorio of Talofofo added that, “I would

501 Proceedings of the Guam Congress, 2 October 1926, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 54 A9-10 (300611) to EG L10-5 (400321), US National Archives, 4.
502 Ibid., 1.
503 Ibid., 3.
504 Ibid., 4.
say that I am very well contented with the American administration during the past few years that I have witnessed it, and we ought to be thankful for what the Americans did.”

Although discussions of the Filipino question were thick with statements professing loyalty, gratitude, and friendliness to American rule in Guam, even more prevalent were assertions of Chamorro racial distinctiveness. Congressman Taitano of Hagåtña addressed his colleagues pronouncing, “Well, Gentlemen: We are here to refute this assumption [of racial equivalence], and we now have the opportunity to do it.”

To refute assumptions of racial sameness, members of the Guam Congress drew from an assortment of ideas that ranged from the biological to the cultural. Drawing from the perceptions of former Naval Governor of Guam Smith, Congressman Torres asserted that “…the Chamorro is not like the Filipino because the Chamorro is generally taller and more athletic than the Tagalog and of a lighter color.”

In addition to notions that Filipinos and Chamorros differed in terms of biological qualities, many of the representatives in the Guam Congress were adamant that cultural and linguistic differences effectively supported racial distinction. Congressman Taitano, for example, informed his colleagues that “For your own information, I insist that the Chamorros have not the same traits, habits, and interests as the Filipinos. Their sentiments are not the same.”

Congressman Torres likewise asserted that “I must say that the Chamorro is not like the Filipino, and all Chamorros say the same thing; neither in their customs, appearance nor in any other way are they the same. Congressman Charfauros of Agat further posited that “Guam is inhabited by a race different from the Filipinos. It could be noticed from their physical

505 Ibid., 4.
506 Ibid., 6.
507 Ibid., 3. Although the term Tagalog refers to one of many linguistic dialects spoken in the Philippines, its usage as cited here reflects the use of the term among Chamorros to refer collectively to all Filipinos. More precisely, the term Tagalu has been used historically and in the present to refer to Filipinos reflecting the Chamorro pronunciation of the word Tagalog.
508 Ibid., 5.
509 Ibid., 3.
structure, means of subsistence, and language….which is very clear reason why the Filipinos and Chamorros will never be friends.”

Some congressmen even asserted racial difference, and in fact Chamorro racial superiority, citing presumptions that Chamorros were more highly evolved when it came to emotional character, spiritual faith, and philosophies of respect and good governance. Congressman Calvo spoke to notions of respect, spirituality, and loyalty to government asserting that “evident proof” existed to demonstrate “high esteem for Christianity and loyalty which we will not find prevalent among the Filipinos.” Congressman Torres reiterated presumptions of spiritual superiority among Chamorros contending that the Chamorro “…holds higher respect for his government than the Filipino, because he is a better Christian…” Perceptions of Chamorro racial superiority within the Guam Congress also became interlinked with the notions of masculinity and manhood among the congressmen as evidenced in Congressman Torres’ assertion that “The Chamorro has at heart that he is a better man than the Filipino.”

Though notions that Filipinos and Chamorros should or could not mix can be read as a highly racist, they were largely constructed in an effort to combat the threat of political and social disempowerment that the members of the Guam Congress stood to encounter should the island be absorbed by the Philippines. In reference to this potential loss of clout by Chamorro congressmen, Congressman Lujan speculated that “every individual in Guam also knows that the Filipinos will not look upon the Chamorros as they do their own blood.” Congressman Lujan further asserted that, should the annexation proposal be successful, “the Tagalogs will even go so

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510 Ibid., 6.
511 Ibid., 5.
512 Ibid., 3.
513 Ibid., 3.
514 Ibid., 2.
far as to declare a holiday for the celebration of their trophy and the stamping of their foot on the Chamorros’ forehead.”

Fears that Chamorros would become absorbed into a state of domination if ceded to the Philippines served as a tool of leverage for the Guam Congress in their ongoing quest for defined US citizenship. Congressman Lujan noted that, should Guam be ceded to a larger, more powerful entity such as the Philippines,

> All in all, [Chamorros] will have some political recognition…if the Chamorros become Filipinos, we will be naturalized. With reference to naturalization, the Chamorros are the only people who are so far denied this privilege, and to this date, there has been no indication whatsoever, which would tend to enlighten our burden.

Congressman Lujan’s contention that an alliance with the Philippines might facilitate a political advantage for Chamorros was met with resistance by his colleagues, but the notion that the annexation proposal might offer leverage in lobbying for US citizenship was not completely discarded. Congressman Torres proposed, for example, that the Guam Congress petition the US federal government that the island not be ceded and that Chamorros be made American citizens through an Act of Congress. In this regard, the annexation proposal was seen as an opportunity to reassert the ongoing plea for US citizenship, and the acclaim afforded the US through the testimony provided by Guam Congressmen during session can be read as a rhetorical tool and political strategy to advance the citizenship issue specifically within the larger question of annexation.

> The interpretation of pronounced patriotism and loyalty to the US proffered by the members of the Guam Congress, though often read as an expression of nationalist affinities held

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515 Ibid., 3.
516 Ibid., 2. Congressman Lujan’s contention that Chamorros might achieve naturalization through association with the Philippines stems from the May 16, 1918 Act of US Congress allowing for the naturalization of Filipinos honorably discharged from US military service.
517 Ibid., 3.
among Chamorros, can likewise be read as calculated and conscious political rhetoric and strategizing utilized in maneuvering amidst the constraints imposed by the US Navy. In considering the extent to which the expressions of the members of the Guam Congress qualifies as American nationalist sentiments and their allegiance to the US, I draw from the definition of the nation as posited by Benedict Anderson in his seminal text *Imagined Communities*. Anderson argues that the nation is largely a social construct and imagined by individuals who see themselves as a community or group connected through perceived collective commonalities. Anderson further claims “that nationality, or, as one might prefer to put it in view of that word’s multiple significations, nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artifacts of a particular brand. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into historical being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time…”

Sociologist Joan Nagel further posits that “The task of defining community, of setting boundaries, and of articulating national character, history, and a vision for the future tend to emphasize both unity and ‘otherness.’” Anderson and Nagel offer a promising framework for understanding the manner in which the members of the Guam Congress may have been formulating Chamorro-ness rather than nation-ness or nationalism. Whether the men of the Guam Congress exuded a bona fide sense of nationalism rooted in American national character, history, and vision, or whether they did so by emphasizing Chamorro ethnic unity and otherness in relation to America and Americans is debatable. The sentiments offered in response to the Filipino question seem to favor the latter.

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519 Ibid., 4.
This becomes a difficult analysis to uphold, as the assertion that the men of the Guam Congress were for all intents and purposes “American” is articulated in no less terms. Congressman Torres, for example, concluded his address in the October session with the proclamation that “We shall be Americans, by the Americans, and for the Americans.”\(^{521}\) The congressman’s direct association with being American stands out as an arguably rare posturing for a Chamorro of that time. Although the desire for American citizenship was pronounced since the beginnings of US colonialism in Guam, the desire or even possibility to become American was not. This is glaringly evident even today in Guam where the term “American” is largely used and understood in everyday vernacular to mean a Caucasian person from the US.\(^{522}\) Widely held understandings of the term “American” as a mark of race, rather than national belonging, suggest that a Chamorro could never truly be an “American.” Citizenship, however, was an entirely different prospect, as this was largely understood to be a mechanism through which rights, liberties, and self-government might be attained in Guam.

Congressman Torres’ claim that the Chamorro people “shall be Americans” was largely undermined by strong assertions of Chamorro ethnic identity and the desire to evade assimilation into other races. Congressman Taitano for example asserted that “We are Chamorros, natives of Guam…, and we will always be Chamorros as long as we exist.”\(^{523}\) Similarly, Congressman Franquez of Hagåtña commented on the high regard that he held for his indigineity stating that

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\(^{521}\) Proceedings of the Guam Congress, 2 October 1926, 3.

\(^{522}\) Eric Forbes, “The Mestiso in the Chamorro Community,” Paleric, http://paleric.blogspot.com/2012/01/mestiso-in-chamorro-community.html, (accessed October 3, 2013). In his consideration of racial mixing in Guam, Capuchin Franciscan Friar and Chamorro historian Fr. Eric Forbes (aka Pale’ Eric) discusses identity formation among mestiso/a (male/female of Chamorro and some other racial ancestry), otherwise known as hafkas (from English half-caste). Pale’ Eric makes clear that “Although there is no American ‘race,’ except for the Native Americans, I use the term to denote a Caucasian born in the United States to simplify matters.” Pale’ Eric’s use of the term “American” reflects the still widely understood meaning of the term in Guam’s present-day vernacular to mean a white person from the US

\(^{523}\) Proceedings of the Guam Congress, 2 October 1926, 6.
I strongly resent the hospitality of the Honorable Marcaido. It is clear that his primary object was to tackle the integrity of the natives [of Guam] so far as to assimilate them with the Filipinos….For this reason and through this body, we will register our contempt towards such action as was taken by the freeman, the Honorable Marcaido. While I do not personally despise the Filipinos, still I will never be found willing to come down from my father’s arms to live with the Filipinos.  

Congressmen Taitano and Lujan illustrate in a meaningful way the currency of Chamorro ethnic and cultural otherness in yielding a staunch position against assimilation into a foreign race – Filipino, American, or otherwise – and the extent to which they were unwilling to concede their indigenous identity. The “otherness” of Chamorro people upheld in light of the Filipino question not only worked to counter the proposal, but further calls into question dominant understandings of the men of the Guam Congress as enthusiastic American nationalists who supported the political imperatives of the US.

The interweaving of Chamorro racial distinction and affinity for the US as avenues through which Philippine annexation might be obstructed and American citizenship attained manifest in the resolution forwarded by the Guam Congress to the US President, Secretary of the Navy, and the Naval Governor of Guam on October 14, 1926. Congressman Lujan recommended that “the Chamorros’ attitude and sentiments toward the action of Mr. Marcaido” be drafted in a resolution where “the first paragraph deals with the difference between the Chamorros and the Filipinos.” Though that recommendation was not heeded, the resulting resolution did include assertions of racial distinction alongside praise for the US. Other responses from Guam to the Filipino question elected to focus exclusively on Chamorro racial distinction. Pedro Pangelinan Martinez, for example, as Secretary-Treasurer of the Guam

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524 Ibid., 6.
525 Ibid., 7 and Resolution of the Guam Congress, 14 October 1926, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 54 A9-10 (300611) to EG L10-5 (400321), US National Archives, 1-2. The insistence that Chamorro racial distinction become prioritized in the resolution was dismissed as evident in the first four paragraphs of the document that relate directly to loyalty to the US and satisfaction with its administration of Guam, while issues of race are not mentioned until the sixth of eight total paragraphs.
Chamber of Congress reported on a meeting held October 2, 1926 in a letter submitted to Naval Governor Lloyd S. Shapley on October 8, 1926. Martinez’s letter, in its entirety, opposed the annexation proposal citing racial difference between Chamorros and Filipinos as the sole reason to reject the matter. Although the letter requested that naturalization laws for Guam be considered, there is never any mention of Chamorro loyalty or allegiance to the US administration.

While the discourse of the Guam Congress is heavily laden with pro-American sentiments, there is no clear assertion that Chamorros saw themselves as American or subscribed to the American nationalist identity or agenda. Rather, Chamorros viewed themselves as a distinct people who shared, not necessarily in an allegiance to the national character, history, ideals, or vision of the United States, per se, but rather, who viewed themselves as their own distinct community connected through a shared ethnic heritage and identity – one they worked to preserve amid ongoing American colonialism and possible Philippine annexation. In this light, US citizenship was largely perceived as a benefit of association with the US rather than an adoption of or subscription to the nation or its political imperatives.

Strong support for continued American presence in Guam can further be interpreted, not necessarily as a call to become American, but rather as a strategy to remain something, and perhaps anything, other than Filipino. The steadfast position that the men of the Guam Congress took in preserving Chamorro ethnic distinction counters in a meaningful and powerful way a pervasive understanding of Chamorro men in Guam’s history. Chamorro women have long been upheld “…the perpetuators of culture, as the protectors of the family, and as the true

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526 Pedro Pangelinan Martinez to Lloyd S. Shapley, 8 October 1926, Records of the Secretary of the Navy, RG-80, Box EG 54 A9-10 (300611) to EG L10-5 (400321), US National Archives.
movers and shakers of the island.” Chamorro men, however, have fared less prominently in their role of cultural continuity, and perhaps, have been more widely understood to be responsible for cultural demise in their seemingly striking efforts to embrace Americanization. The men of the Guam Congress prove otherwise, demonstrating the pivotal role that these native men played in safeguarding Chamorro ethnic distinction in light of the Filipino question. Here, the Filipino question illuminates the manner in which Chamorro masculinities were asserted not by blindly doing the bidding of American masculine political authority in Guam, but rather, as individuals with a deep sense of obligation and devotion to the larger communal structure of which they were a part and which thrived outside of an exclusively Americanized socio-political context.

**Two Masters: Proto-Chamorro Masculinism and American Democracy**

The ability of the men of the Guam Congress to straddle the mandates of the American political sphere and their identity as members of a distinct Chamorro socio-cultural community positioned the congress itself as a space in which native men engaged in seemingly oppositional worlds simultaneously. In this context, the men of the congress not only straddled two different socio-cultural and political worlds, but were likewise navigating competing notions of gender. One cannot deny the dominance of Chamorro men and their perspectives in the Congress given the exclusively male membership that composed it. Yet the manner in which these Chamorro men encountered issues that were not necessarily exclusive to men speaks to the relational aspect of masculinities at large and the manner in which the Guam Congress became a space where Chamorro gender attitudes encountered those of Americans head on.

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As cited earlier in this work, gender scholars largely agree that “The gendering of men only exists in the interactions with other social divisions and social differences.” Historically, the general assumption was that the most immediate divisions or differences to which men were oppositionally situated were those of women. Yet, as pointed out by gender scholar Judith Kegan Gardiner, the most pivotal development of feminist theory in the twentieth century has been the concept that gender is a social construct. That concept, as she argues,

…has altered long-standing assumptions about the inherent characteristics of men and women and also about the very division of people into the categories of ‘men’ and ‘women.’ The traditional sexes are now seen as cultural groupings rather than as facts of nature based on a static division between two different kinds of people who have both opposed and complementary characteristics, desires, and interests. The characteristics of Chamorro men and women can indeed be read as both oppositional and complementary to each other. And thus, the interactions of Chamorro men in the Guam Congress with other social divisions or differences – namely, Chamorro women – are telling.

Hattori offers a provocative glimpse into one key incident that illustrates the intersections between Chamorro men and women in the Guam Congress. As part of her keynote address delivered at the 2nd Marianas History Conference in 2013, Hattori referred to the joint session of the Fifth Guam Congress held on September 4, 1937. The House of Council and House of Assembly deliberated on proposed legislation suggested by Naval Governor Benjamin McCandlish that would ban Chamorro women from working as barmaids. Deviating from the usual practice of legislating matters through the issuance of Executive General Orders, “In fact, the Governor said that he welcome[d] the Guam Congress to decide on that subject.” Hattori contends that the proposed legislation largely reflected prevailing attitudes about Chamorro

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530 Ibid., 35.
531 Proceedings, 8.
women held by the Navy that sought to confine women to spaces that aligned with American
notions of domesticity and decency.532

Many men in the Guam Congress were swift to lend their support to Governor
McCandlish’s legislation, and many largely expressed attitudes about Chamorro women that
were similar to those prominent within the Navy administration. Assemblyman Camacho, for
example, argued that bars were inappropriate environments for women to occupy adding that,
“…a girl can find other industry, for her sex. Take for example, the weaving industry, the
weaving of [akgag] (pandanus leaves) into mats, baskets, etc. or to do some embroidery at home,
for sale, or some laundry work…I think that would be better, especially for new-comers, to see
our girls working in some industry than to find themselves in saloons as barmaids….we will get
a better reputation if we have these girls doing some other kind of industry.”533 In an effort to
confine Chamorro women to domestic spaces and activities, the congressman obviously mirrored
what Hattori identifies as American notions of domesticity and decency. More interestingly, the
value of enforcing these notions on Chamorro women rested in the congressman’s desire to show
to “new-comers” (e.g. Americans) that appropriate scripts of femininity were being performed in
Guam, thereby catering to the expectations of visitors rather than the norms of the island society.

In stark contrast to the sentiments expressed by supporters of the ban on barmaids,
several members of the Guam Congress argued to the contrary. Councilman Kamminga of Piti,
for example, argued that “According to my understanding and belief, girls and men have equal
right to work for a living, and I don’t see any reason why a girl shouldn’t be given employment
or make her choice of profession.”534 After considerable debate, the question as to whether the

533 Ibid., 8. The source refers to “aggag,” but I elect to use the spelling “akgag” in text to reflect the current
Chamorro orthography in use in Guam.
534 Ibid., 8.
Guam Congress would decide to endorse Governor McCandlish’s proposed ban on Chamorro women working in bars was put to a vote. In the end, thirteen members voted in favor of the governor’s legislation while sixteen voted against it.\textsuperscript{535}

In Hattori’s summation, the failure of the barmaid measure “didn’t result in any changes, big or small, and is an episode forgotten from history. Yet it can be nonetheless instructive….it can teach us something about women in Marianas History.”\textsuperscript{536} Indeed, those who pursued employment as barmaids demonstrate the ways that Chamorro women forged a sense of place in professions and spaces previously dominated by men. These women further exhibited the progressive spirit of Chamorro women in the 1930s who sought employment in a time when opportunities were scarce for those of limited educational or socio-economic standing.\textsuperscript{537} Yet, the barmaid issue and the manner in which it was confronted in the Guam Congress can also teach us something about men in Marianas History. In Hattori’s interpretation of the action taken by the men of the Guam Congress, “Rather than using this as a golden opportunity to flex their muscles and ‘put women in their place’ – and the governor surely wanted them to do this – they demonstrated instead their implicit respect for women and the choices that they make.”\textsuperscript{538}

The barmaid issue brings to the fore divergent notions of gender between the American administration and the Chamorro men of the Guam Congress. Although taken up with passion and tenacity by Guam Congress, the barmaid issue should not necessarily be read as a conscious championing of women’s rights by Chamorro men, nor should the congressmen necessarily be commended for their supposed foresight and exceptionalism with respect to gender equality. Rather, the barmaid debate should be recognized as reflective of the manner in which Chamorro

\textsuperscript{535} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{537} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{538} Ibid., 26.
gender scripts and norms collided with American concepts of gender in the political realm. In spite of this collision, the men of the Guam Congress used their positions of formal participation in the American administration to uphold Chamorro notions of gender while simultaneously trying to map the complex terrain of the American democratic political sphere.

The mapping of the American democratic sphere by Chamorro men in the Guam Congress underscores the ways in which native men engaged in an ongoing balancing act. In the sixth joint session of the Fifth Guam Congress held September 4, 1937, for example, tensions mounted when Assemblyman Leon Guerrero of Santa Cruz questioned House of Council Chairman Herrero about his motives in authoring a motion that would prohibit Chamorro men employed by the US federal or naval government from holding office in the Guam Congress. In reply to the inquiry, Chairman Herrero stated

Very simple, Mr. Guerrero – because a person can never serve two masters. It is the law of nature that if you are working for one master and getting compensation from this master that you will serve him with all your might; and if you have another master without any compensation, why naturally, you will always be inclined to the one master who is paying you with your ‘bread and butter.’ Isn’t that good and clear? (Laughter).  

Chairman Herrero’s “very simple” reply did not sit well with his colleagues. Assemblyman Leon Guerrero refuted the notion that one could not serve two masters arguing that “As to what I say or do as representative of the people of Santa Cruz, I will be governed by the conscience I have and I shall not consider myself as [a] Federal employee – that is, I will serve my people in the capacity as their representative…” Similarly, Assemblyman Aflague of Barrigada asserted that “In my official capacity as an employee of the Navy Department, that capacity has nothing to do with me here while sitting as a representative of my people.”

539 Proceedings, 3.  
540 Ibid., 3-4.  
541 Ibid., 4.
The question of whether the men of the Guam Congress could serve two masters, although debated specifically in reference to an effort to prevent potential conflicts of interests, can be read for the larger and ongoing balancing act of prewar politics in Guam. Through this lens, the duality of Chamorro men in the political domain who indeed were expected to serve two masters that they largely positioned in separation to each other surfaces. In one sense, their political authority – however limited or superficial – was derived from a colonial administration that largely saw the congress as a mechanism through which Americanization and the larger colonial agenda might be advanced. Their “master,” in this regard, was indeed the US Navy and its motives. Yet, as the sentiments of Assemblymen Leon Guerrero and Aflague illustrate, many men in the Guam Congress situated their loyalties in another master: the Chamorro people. Their service to the Chamorro people was further rooted in what they viewed as a completely different obligation than that which they held to the naval and federal governments. Despite Chairman Herrero’s contention that one could not serve two masters, the men of the Guam Congress proved otherwise through their constant navigation of the obstacles and barriers presented them by the constrictive naval government. In serving two masters, the men of the Guam Congress charted new territory in which they reconciled their new responsibilities as legislators in an American democratic political institution with pervasive socio-cultural obligations to the Chamorro community to which they were primarily accountable.

The political rhetoric employed by the men of the Guam Congress as outlined in this chapter clearly illustrates the ways in which the island’s leadership sought to speak to the sensibilities of both masters simultaneously. In one sense, the high praise of the US colonial administration and the very language they used to convey it mirrored that which had historically been deemed appropriate in the public domains of the West. As I have argued, though, such
praise can be alternatively considered along the lines of digression and as a means of illuminating that which was lacking in Guam and in the relationship between Chamorros and Americans.

The desire to retain the Chamorro language as a valid medium of communication, even after decades of US administration, the implementation of American political institutions, and the enforcement of stifling English-only policies, can be further read in terms of the hybridized reappropriation of Chamorro men’s roles and their masculinities in the public domain. These men did not merely adopt American masculinities in the public domain through mimicry of western political rhetoric and use of the English language. Rather, the Guam Congress became a space for the Chamorro language to endure in the American public domain, and it was articulated in tandem with an ever-present conformity to mamåhlaõ in written and spoken forms of expression.

Chamorro scholar Michael P. Perez contends that Chamorros have long demonstrated “…adaptive responses to their colonial (or postcolonial) conditions…In sharp opposition to assimilationism, hybridity refers to dialectic cultural rearticulation by colonised people of their indigineity – that involves a reconciliation of traditional culture yet coming to terms with outside cultures.”542

The reconciliation of Chamorro culture with newly introduced American democratic systems of government in the first half of the twentieth century occurred largely through the infusion of mamåhlaõ into all forms of behavior and expression. With regard to the American democratic sphere of the twentieth century, it was Chamorro men who stood on the frontlines of an ongoing struggle to succeed at all things American while remaining vigilant of

pervasive cultural practices and the legitimacy of the Chamorro language and identity in the overall political discourse.

In addition to the preservation of the Chamorro language and core indigenous values in the Guam Congress, the island’s political leadership further became a presence to be reckoned with in the effort to preserve the Chamorro identity itself. As the Navy relentlessly legislated its policy of benevolent assimilation in an effort to Americanize the native population, it was the men of the Guam Congress who asserted the staying power of the Chamorro ethnic identity in the public domain. In response to the Filipino question, the men of the Guam Congress as representatives of the Chamorro people at large ensured that this identity was not absorbed into either the American or Filipino nationalist agenda. Just as much as the annexation proposal of 1926 posed a very contested Filipino question, the men of the Guam Congress more aptly answered a “Chamorro question” loud and clear. Lest the United States, the Philippines, or any other nation think it could conquer the Chamorro identity through incessant colonialisms and neocolonialisms, it was the men of the Guam Congress who largely safeguarded that identity and prioritized it in matters of international and domestic concern.

Chamorro men further engaged in a struggle to maintain their cultural worldview within the American political institution that was the Guam Congress where competing notions of gender collided. The attempts to prohibit Chamorro women from working in bars, and the subsequent refusal of the Guam Congress to endorse that prohibition provides a case in point. Though the congressmen’s action (or more aptly, inaction) in relation to the naval governor’s barmaid legislation was radical for the time, considering the discrimination American women faced in the workplace and elsewhere in the US, the barmaid issue in Guam more provocatively speaks to the ways in which gender attitudes on the island drastically differed from that which
the American governor sought to impose. Here, Chamorro conceptualizations of gender and the relationship between men and women were articulated and asserted despite pressures from the American administration to dictate appropriate scripts of womanhood in Guam.

Chamorro scholar Christine Taitano DeLisle has provided a valuable framework for considering the evolution of Chamorro gender as it applies to US colonialism. In her exploration of Chamorro feminism and identity in the early twentieth century, DeLisle examines the life of Agueda Iglesias Johnston, an active educator and civic leader before, during, and after World War II in Guam. DeLisle argues that Johnston was a critical figure in the construction of an early twentieth-century Chamorro womanhood whose investments in America and the military reveal a complex set of negotiations around progress, civic duty, and citizenship, and what in some instances can be seen as a latent or proto-Chamorro feminism. Such investments and negotiations are evidenced in Johnston’s claim that she was ‘Guamanian-Chamorro by birth but American patriotic by choice.’

DeLisle offers a profound concept to consider in the way of what she coins proto-Chamorro feminism. Rather than perpetuating the dichotomy within which Johnston has been understood at once as a American patriot and at other times an indigenous champion of Chamorro concerns, DeLisle offers a new way of understanding Chamorro agency under US colonialism as that which brought together the indigenous identity and the colonial realities from which no one could isolate themselves. In many ways, the men of the Guam Congress reflect a similar process of engaging in the American democratic political sphere and subscribing to many of the ideologies that sat at its foundation. But they did so in ways that drew from their identity as Chamorro men and the desire to preserve that identity amid an increasingly Americanized socio-political and cultural environment.

To borrow from what DeLisle’s coins as proto-Chamorro feminism, I posit then that the men of the Guam Congress very much reflect the emergence and evolution of a potential proto-Chamorro masculinism during the early stages of American colonialism in Guam. For many of these men, civic duty, citizenship, and progress, although immediately associated with the US colonial administration, became sites for the development of their masculinities that articulated their hybrid identities as indigenous men engaging in the American democratic political sphere. Firmly rooted in their Chamorro-ness, these men were able to engage with American political institutions and ideologies in ways that were meaningful to them and in ways that would ultimately benefit the constituents that they were elected to represent.

Speaking to the larger issue of globalization in a postcolonial world that continues to bear the mark of colonialism, gender scholars Robert Morrell and Sandra Swart posit that “Indigenous knowledge offers ways of understanding life in terms that are not derived from the metropole or necessarily mediated by the cultural effects of globalization. Such understanding can promote harmonious and communal living and, in this way, provide a buttress against the corrosive, individualizing imperatives of globalization.”\footnote{Morrell and Swart, “Men in the Third World,” 109.} The constant efforts the men of the Guam Congress to adapt to an aggressive American colonial agenda in Guam while simultaneously drawing from their indigenous knowledge, practices, and worldviews set the stage for Chamorro masculinities in the American political domain evolve in ways that allowed them to remain accountable to often competing obligations. Though some, like the late Congressman Herrero and his proponents, may see that as a futile attempt to serve two masters, the proto-Chamorro masculinism that emerged in the Guam Congress suggest otherwise.
CHAPTER 6
NAVIGATING SCREEN, STAGE, AND PAGE: CHAMORRO MASULINITIES AND AMERICAN POPULAR CULTURE

Though education, economy, military, and politics prove ample sites for exploring Chamorro masculinities through socio-economic and political lenses, US military colonialism and its effects were also manifest in the ostensibly less formal spaces of leisure and entertainment. In one of the earliest attempts to employ documentary film as a medium to capture the World War II experience of Chamorros, American adventure seeker, diver, journalist, and US military public relations representative Annette Donner wrote and produced the widely viewed Guam’s Liberation, 50 Years. Donner dedicated her film project to the Chamorro people whose “…love and commitment to 'Uncle Sam' while WWII raged dangerously around them, making them captives in their own land, serves as an example to all Americans.” Though the documentary is primarily concerned with the experience of wartime occupation survivors, Donner lends considerable attention to the prewar years during which the Chamorro people were governed by the US Navy. To date, this remains perhaps the most visually striking and audio-rich depiction of these years.

Donner’s depiction of prewar Guam exercises notable creative license and historic interpretation in fashioning life on the island as a golden age long gone, “An era so unlike today’s Guam; a tranquil paradise rich, not with money, but with life.” In an attempt to paint a cohesive picture of this rich prewar life, Donner draws from a range of visual, audio, and textual

545 “Annette Donner,” Guampedia, http://www.guampedia.com/annette-donner/ (accessed June 7, 2014) and Guam’s Liberation, 50 Years: The Story of Guam’s People in the Years Surrounding WWII, DVD, directed by Annette Donner (Hagåtña, Guam: Donner Video Production, 1994). While there exists a considerable body of historical film footage and photographs of Guam set in the years just prior to, during, and immediately after the Japanese occupation of island (1941-1944), Donner’s Guam’s Liberation stands out as one of the earliest efforts to bring such materials together into a single documentary film production. The film was initially produced as Liberation 40 and released in 1984 to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war in Guam. An edited version was re-released ten years later as Guam’ Liberation, 50 Years as referenced here.

546 Guam’s Liberation, 50 Years.

547 Ibid.
sources that are interspersed with first-hand interview accounts collectively interpreted as “...a love story with the past, a past that was simple with few wants or needs and few cares.”548 In particular, Donner’s nostalgic snapshot of prewar Guam frames the carefree lives of Chamorros as full of leisure time made possible through the provision of American popular culture by a benevolent and generous Naval government to which the native population was friendly and obedient, both out of loyalty and fear of “authority in uniform.”549

Donner renders Chamorros as especially enthusiastic for American popular culture in a particular segment of her film during which the soundtrack features classic American tunes such as big band instrumental sound bites and the full chorus of “On the Good Ship Lollipop.” As these classic tunes play in the background, viewers are treated to a rich montage of historic photographs and film footage from Hollywood and Guam alike. Snapshots from Clark Gable’s performance of “Puttin’ on the Ritz” in Idiot’s Delight are interspersed with images of Guam’s Cine Gaiety Theater, Butler’s Soda Fountain, and various island fair and parade festivities. The montage is accompanied by a narrative voiceover describing a time in Guam when “…it cost a quarter to see Clark Gable and Jean Harlow movies. Hopalong Cassidy and Shirley Temple matinees cost ten cents. Sodas cost a nickel at Butler’s and Elliot’s soda fountains. And flavored shaved ice, at the Oasis Store, was the Chamorro child’s favorite afternoon treat.”550

Overall, as retold by Donner, Guam of the 1920s and 1930s was a thriving American outpost in the beautiful tropics where Chamorros “…always [had] time for parades or fairs to which people flocked from all over the island bringing their best carvings or biggest pumpkin.”551 By and large, the prewar years as reconstructed by Donner fit the mold of a

548 Ibid.
549 Ibid.
550 Ibid.
551 Ibid.
nostalgic fairytale set in an idyllic time during which “...the outside world was just beginning to touch America’s tiniest possession six thousand miles from the mainland’s west coast. It was enough to just live life here and to trust in God.”

Donner’s embellished and romantic portrayal of Guam’s prewar years is mirrored in Chris Perez Howard’s novel Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam. In what emerges as a work of historical fiction, Howard recounts the untroubled life of his young mother, Maria “Mariquita” Aguon Perez, before the war in Guam in juxtaposition with the trauma she experienced during the wartime occupation of the island. Howard deploys notable dramatic flair in recreating his mother’s life as one of bliss brought to an all too tragic and premature demise at the hands of Japanese occupying forces during World War II. Though the driving theme of Mariquita is the perseverance of the protagonist whose spirit and beauty could only be crushed through death, Howard dedicates the first four chapters of his novel to the years just preceding the war in Guam. In those chapters, Howard resurrects his late mother for readers in a manner reminiscent of what has been aptly theorized as the Dusky Maiden of the Pacific - an idealized portrayal of Polynesian women as exotic, sexually licentious, and dangerous by early Western explorers.

552 Ibid.
553 My use of the term “historical fiction” to categorize Howard’s novel is not meant to discount other possible genres in which this work might be situated. It may be argued that the novel qualifies as non-fiction given its attempt to narrate actual events as retold in eyewitness accounts and historic documents. It may also be argued, as posited by American Studies scholar Valerie Solar Woodward, that Howard’s novel is most appropriately classified as biography. Recognizing the validity of these various literary genres in relation to Howard’s novel, as well as the larger problems associated with attempts to reduce certain works to any one genre, I employ the term historical fiction to refer to Mariquita for several reasons. Howard exercises considerable creative license in describing a time during which he himself did not live, offering very little credible or supporting evidence to substantiate that depiction. In addition, the character development of Mariquita is largely based on the fragmented and faint memories of a young toddler. Informants who assisted Howard in reconstructing the memory of Mariquita are further questionable in the emotionally charged context out of which those recollections arise. The fictional aspect of Howard’s novel is underpinned in Woodward’s critical analysis of Mariquita in which she acknowledges that Howard largely “imagines” the life of his mother’s life in Guam during the prewar years and wartime occupation. Valerie Solar Woodward, “I Guess They Didn’t Want Us Asking Too Many Questions’: Reading American Empire in Guam,” The Contemporary Pacific, 25(1), 2013, 67.
Howard depicts his Chamorro mother in similar fashion describing her as “…a lovely girl, shapely and petite... Her skin was warm brown, smooth and unblemished. And her shoulder-length shiny black hair pulled back from her temples and held in place by tiny white barrettes, framed a face that held all the beauty and mystery of the Pacific.”

Howard’s deployment of the Dusky Maiden trope to memorialize his mother as a classic island beauty is simultaneously positioned alongside an effort to add complexity to the character who was “…one of the most popular girls in [Hagåtña] – smart, fun, modern, and independent.”

Howard’s attempts to position his mother as an model specimen of an “authentic” islander navigating her native world and the modernity that accompanied Americanization is largely achieved through vivid descriptions of Mariquita’s daily life in the capital city. The novel’s opening chapters are dense with scenes in which the central character and her girlfriends sip Coca-Cola and obsess over the latest American fashion trends. These Chamorro ladies of leisure pass the time anxiously awaiting the arrival of the next Navy ship that would bring new eligible American bachelors to Guam with whom the girls could engage in their “favorite pastime” of flirting enjoyed “…second only to the movies.”

Throughout these scenes and in the incessant efforts of the young island beauties to attract the gaze of the American sailors, Howard sprinkles references to the pervasiveness of American popular culture in everyday life throughout the island landscape where the sounds of Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey, and various marches and waltzes characteristic of the time could be heard floating from the plaza’s bandstand at the city’s center.

Howard’s imagining of his mother as a veritable noble savage who maintains her native identity, albeit in superficial ways, while simultaneously emulating the

557 Ibid., 10.
558 Ibid., 29.
finer qualities of progressive Western culture, sophistication, and poise is echoed in his portrayal of the island itself. Hagåtña in particular, and Guam more broadly, are epitomized as an exemplary vision of a genuine and charming island paradise made complete with all the comforts and civility of the West. In Howard’s imagining of Hagåtña in the 1930s, “It was as if some mystical hand had placed everything as precisely as a decorator would a room of mixed furnishings or a florist a mixed bouquet.”

Howard’s conception of prewar Guam, as well as Donner’s, represents a dominant understanding of the island in the 1920s and 1930s as a place where Chamorros and Americans achieved a harmonious and friendly co-existence in which the two otherwise differing cultures operated in tandem with each other. Moreover, that co-existence was manifest in the pronounced positioning of Chamorros as adequately native, yet enjoying abundant access to Hollywood’s silver screen, free flowing Coca-Cola, and the sounds of American swing that enriched lives of leisure comparable to that in any given US continental city of the time. Yet, as touched upon in the previous chapters and as will be reexamined in this current chapter, regular access to American culture, the desire to consume it, and the actual ways in which it was engaged among Chamorros proves complex and layered. Overall, this chapter seeks to consider the question, to what extent was American culture popular among Chamorro men in prewar Guam?

Remembered as instrumental in the development of scholarly inquiry into “popular culture” and founding editor of reputable academic journals and a press dedicated to critical debate over such culture, Ray B. Browne defines popular culture as that which reflects the “…attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, customs, and tastes that define the people of any society. Popular

559 Ibid., 5.
culture is, in the historic use of term, the culture of the people.”\textsuperscript{560} Adding to this definition, Sociologist Tim Delaney conceptualizes popular culture as “...the products and forms of expression and identity that are frequently encountered or widely accepted, commonly liked or approved, and characteristic of a particular society at a given time.”\textsuperscript{561} Drawing from these definitions, this chapter considers the extent to which American popular culture influenced Chamorro men and their “attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, customs and tastes” as indigenous men living within the American military colonial context of pre-World War II Guam. In particular, this chapter will explore the specific sites of film, stage performance, and the literary arts in gauging the ways in which Chamorro men specifically subscribed to, resisted, adopted, and adapted such forms of popular culture, for what reasons, and with what result. Recognizing the many other vehicles through which popular culture manifests such as radio, music, fashion, and sport, I elect to focus this chapter on the film, theater, and literature as these were the most prevalent mediums through which American cultural values and ideals were disseminated in Guam during the time period under review.

Moving Pictures and Island-style Vaudeville: Chamorro Masculinities and American Film and Stage Performance

In 1953, during television’s infancy as a medium of communication available to a wide and growing American audience, historian David M. Potter argued that television had already become the “ultimate American institution” representing the “…culmination of America’s long evolution toward a mass society.”\textsuperscript{562} John E. O’Connor traces the historical trajectory of that “long evolution,” identifying early twentieth century film as the precursor of television.


\textsuperscript{561} Delaney, Pop Culture: An Overview.”

O’Conner asserts that shortly after 1900, prior to the availability of television to the American masses in the comfort of their homes, “…the proliferation of nickelodeons and movie theaters in working-class neighborhoods made world famous entertainers available to anyone who had some small change and a free hour after work.”563 Indeed, the dawn of motion picture entertainment for mainstream America of the twentieth century has proven to be a powerful influence in the development of mass culture in the United States among an American working class. The extent to which film in prewar Guam constitutes an evolution of Chamorros toward a mass society in correlation with mainstream America, however, is a different story.

The availability of what were referred to as “moving pictures” in Guam can be traced to 1913 when the Navy began advertising the shows to the general public. By 1914, a new cinematograph was operating in Hagåtña and projecting five reels of film nightly with a change of program twice a week.564 News announcing the new technology and entertainment venue predicted that “The moving pictures should be well patronized by all, since they are a benefit to the whole Island, and should be encouraged to continue here.”565 A decade later, the premier of film entertainment in Guam was celebrated in the assertion that “One of the later improvements which was brought to Guam, and which is taken for granted, is the motion picture…”566 By the end of the Navy’s first administration of the island in 1941, two movie houses were operating in Hagåtña and open to the public, in addition to the five venues at military installations reserved exclusively for American personnel and their dependents.567

563 Ibid., xvii.
565 Ibid., 2.
567 “Naval Motion Pictures and Guam,” 332 and Executive General Order No. 301, Naval Government of Guam (May 4, 1932). Five separate venues offered screenings of motion pictures obtained from the US Navy Motion Picture Exchange. One was located at Dorn Hall in Hagåtña, two in Sumay, one aboard the USS. Gold Star ported at Apra Harbor, and one at the Enlisted Men’s Quarters located in what was then called Radio Hill. By executive order, film screenings at these venues were restricted to Navy personnel and their immediate families.
First owned and operated by former US Navy enlistee William G. Johnston, and later acquired by American businessman Chester Carl Butler, the Cine Gaiety Theatre was the island’s first movie house and stage theater open to the public.568 By 1929, rumors began circulating that permission had been granted for the construction of a new movie theater in Hagåtña, promising the latest innovations that would include a “modern” concrete building with a seating capacity of eight hundred.569 Those rumors became a reality with the opening of Agana Theater Incorporated. A 1931 merger eventually placed the Gaiety and Agana theaters into a new corporation, The People’s Theater Incorporated.570

In general, it was believed that the desire for access to motion pictures had grown such that the island would not only support, but clearly demanded the construction of new and improved theater facilities that could accommodate crowds that numbered several hundred.571 The construction of new and larger theater facilities apparently did not alleviate demands on the island’s first theater. In 1935, the Gaiety Theater underwent considerable renovation that included new furnishings, sound projectors, and delivery of the latest Hollywood flicks. In a report of the renovated theater’s New Year’s evening opening, the local media proclaimed that “The fact that Guam can support two commercial theaters, in addition to the Navy and Marine Corps movie houses, seems to indicate an increasing prosperity.”572 Speaking to the shifting social norms of the early 1940s throughout Guam, Van Peenen reinforced conclusions that film had secured a large and growing audience. In her estimation, a marked shift in was occurring in Chamorro leisure activities evident in that “The family and neighborly groups which previously

570 “Consolidation of Talking Picture Interests,” Guam Recorder, Vol. 6 No. 8, November 1929, 152.
571 “New Motion Picture Theater,” 1929.
came together for an evening of storytelling and reminiscing now attend the movies.”

The conclusions drawn by Van Peenen and Guam’s print media encapsulate contemporary popular understandings of films in pre-World War II Guam as “intensely popular pastimes of leisure” among the masses.

Despite the seeming “prosperity” enjoyed by Guam’s two movie theaters, the prevalence of film as a form of entertainment to which the Chamorro masses subscribed is questionable. Several sources contradict those proclaiming film houses a success. Such sources frame the film industry as one that struggled since its very beginnings on the island, and one that drew a limited and distinct Chamorro audience. Contrary to the Navy’s early assessment that “The natives seem to take well to [films]…,” efforts to boost attendance at the moving pictures were met with apparent apathy at times. Advertisements indicate what could be interpreted as either a lack of interest in the films or an inability among potential patrons to attend the shows. One advertisement, for example, offered the plaintiff declaration that “The Show Is Losing Money.” Other advertisements appeared more direct and even outwardly reproachful. A 1914 advertisement, for example, posed the questions: “WE DID NOT SEE YOU At the Picture-Show. WHY NOT?”

The lack of patronage of the picture shows, if not a result of nominal interest, could also be attributed to the Navy’s acknowledgement of “irregular and infrequent” shipping service to the island that delayed the arrival of new film reels and posed “quite a hardship” on the island’s Gaiety Theater. Further hardship was placed on potential audiences as the monetary cost of accessing such entertainment was largely prohibitive for the majority of the populace still

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574 Ibid., 37.
575 “The Service Cinemetograph,” 2.
engaged in a subsistence economy with little to no disposable cash income for costly entertainment in the city. Although the Navy was seemingly pleased with the initial interest in the picture show among Chamorros, the cost of admission at ten cents per person lingered as an underlying concern during the debut of motion pictures in Guam, even for those with the desire to attend.578

By and large, the primary audience that patronized the movie houses of prewar Guam was composed of Americans and Chamorros of elevated socio-economic class status who resided in or very near to Hagåtña. Compounding the inability of most Chamorros who lacked cash to purchase movie admission, the limited availability of transportation during the prewar years made movie going largely unavailable to the masses. For the residents of the island’s rural periphery, travel to Hagåtña was considerably rare. As a resident of the island’s southernmost village that was situated the furthest from Hagåtña, Jose Mata Torres remembers vividly that “No way! No radio, no newspapers. That is non-existent in my village. The only time I watch movies is when I grow older and went to Hagåtña after the war. In Malesso’, no way.”579 Torres elaborates on the infrequency of Chamorros engaging in American forms of recreation and socializing identifying both the demands of a subsistence economy and a pervasive segregation of races in Guam as the primary impediments. As he recalls, “Well, very difficult to find time for recreation because crops have to be cultivated. You have to go and help with the picking and everything. The only time we have for leisure was Sunday after church and that’s for family time. Even if there’s time, there are no Americans to socialize with in Malesso’. In Hagåtña? No, no they (Americans and Chamorros) stay apart from each other.”580

578 “The Service Cinematograph,” 2.
579 Jose Mata Torres, interview by James Perez Viernes, August 13, 2014, Mangilao, Guam.
580 Ibid.
For those who did have access to American films prior to World War II, the Navy promoted the medium not so much for the entertainment value it possessed, but rather, for the instructive nature that the films provided for the general populace. Commending cinematograph owner T.E. Mayhew for managing the moving pictures, it was the Navy’s contention that the films were “…high class, moral and instructive, as well as amusing at times.”

Chamorro men in particular were encouraged to take advantage of the morally instructive films being offered by the Navy. The concerted effort to draw native men into the moving picture house was made clear in a print advertisement that posed the questions, “Do You Enjoy The Moving Pictures? Do You Attend the Shows? If Not, Do You Send Your House-Boy? …Get Behind it and BOOST!”

The advertisement was presumably targeted at American military personnel in general, and to American military officers and their families more specifically, who either employed young Chamorro men as general laborers or servants, otherwise known as “house-boys,” or who benefited from the service of such laborers who manned military mess halls, barracks, and other facilities. The advertisement not only compelled readers to consider attending the shows themselves, but more strikingly, encouraged American patrons to consider sending their Chamorro “house-boys” in their stead. In these early days of the dissemination of American popular culture in Guam through film, the Navy made clear a distinct motive of solidifying a Chamorro male audience to which the moving pictures might not only entertain, but perhaps more provocatively, offer that audience instruction in class and morality embodied by the images moving before them.

581 “The Service Cinemetograph,” 2.
582 Guam News Letter, February 1913, 4. Original capitalization is retained for direct quotations from print advertisements.
Speaking to the discursive influence of film in prewar Guam, Vicente M. Diaz’s posits that movies served as “powerful vehicles in the socialization and Americanization of the Chamorro people.” Dia urges caution, however, in too hastily embracing binary assumptions that either position Chamorros as blind consumers of American film, or that constantly insist on placing native movie goers at complete odds with the influence of film. Instead, Diaz endorses an appreciation for the myriad ways that Chamorros consumed and appropriated film for their own purposes beyond merely subscribing, as the Navy had hoped for, to their cultural or social edicts.

Diaz provides several examples in which Chamorro men employed film outside of their entertainment or popular culture face values, calling into question any presumed one-way influence of American mass culture over Chamorro audiences. In particular, Chamorro men’s resituating of themselves from the seats of movie theaters to the other side of the camera proves telling. Though largely rare among the Chamorro masses up to the 1980s, evidence of Chamorro men becoming active filmmakers themselves through home video suggests their engagement with film beyond passive consumers of the Navy’s instructive film repertoire. Diaz identifies Felix Torres, Joaquin Sablan, and their families as perhaps Guam’s first Chamorro filmmakers, whose prewar footage has lent to the development of a small but significant collection of Chamorro movies that enhance efforts to visually reconstruct the prewar period. Such footage has become instrumental in films such as Donner’s Guam’s Liberation, 50 Years and others that would otherwise be “…merely a dubbing of military images and present-day interviews. With these images, they are more.” These early reels of footage produced by Chamorro men dislodge predominant assumptions that American films had a one-way influence over

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584 Ibid., 40.
Chamorros. As filmmakers, Chamorros were able to imprint their own gaze of prewar Guam into the films in which they were embedded.

Diaz further contends that film knowledge became instrumental among Chamorro men, not as an insular American lens through which native men began to view their world entirely, but more so as sites through which Chamorro men could embed new meaning for various purposes. Diaz offers the case of Jake Calvo and his use of the film title *Destry Rides Again* as a means of communicating with Tomas Tanaka about the whereabouts of World War II American fugitive George Tweed.585 This use of film knowledge through code, meant to evade the potential eavesdropping of Japanese occupying forces, illustrates the manner in which film was not necessarily a static and instructive consumer product of American popular culture, but rather a useful element that could be recoded and made useful for Chamorro men’s purposes during both American and Japanese colonial regimes in Guam.

Juan Toves Guzman illustrates the ways in which American film was further employed by Chamorro men beyond its entertainment dimensions, specifically as a means of defying American colonial authority and as a mechanism for ridiculing their otherwise superior foreign administrators. Guzman is a member of a well-known extended family clan in Guam from the

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585 US Navy Radioman George Tweed was stationed in Guam during the 1941 invasion and subsequent occupation of the island by Japanese military. With the exception of Tweed, all Americans in Guam were either taken prisoner of war or executed. Tweed was the only American to remain in Guam during the duration of the occupation which ended in 1944. Japanese military forces demonstrated exceptional zeal in the hunt for Tweed. Several Chamorro families became subject to Japanese brutality for their suspected or actual role in facilitating Tweed’s survival by keeping the American on the move, in hiding, and well fed despite universal malnourishment among the native population. In addition to film as illustrated here, Chamorros found several ways to communicate in code about matters concerning Tweed’s survival.
villages of Sumay and Santa Rita who embrace the nickname “familian Texas.” Guzman recounts the origins of his clan’s nickname of “Texas” in the retelling of a run in with US Naval authorities experienced by his father, Juan G. Guzman. During his youth in the village of Sumay during the late 1920s, the senior Guzman found himself answering to US military police for infractions related to the established curfew and his presence in a bar reserved for American personnel. As his son Juan Guzman recalls,

One night, nai (you see), my father came from the ranch and there’s about six or eight Marine police in the village of Sumay. So it’s curfew time at eight o’clock in the evening. There’s nobody out in the street. If you get caught, you’re gonna get arrested for violating the curfew hour. So, one night my father came from the ranch and you know, him and his friend get together and they get caught by the police. In that place they have all these cowboy pictures. So when my father get caught by the Marine patrol, he pretend that he’s looking at those pictures. The police ask him, “Do you know these peoples?” And he told them, “Oh yeah, I know Bob Steele, Rocky Lane, and Tom Mitch!” The police ask him, “So you mean to tell me that you from Texas?” And he say, “Oh yeah.” So from there on nai, my father is named Tex, si Tun Juan Texas. Pues (so) all of us, his children, his grandchildren, all of us forever are familial Texas! (chuckles)

The origins of the Texas clan’s name and Tun Juan Texas’ encounter with the military police are telling in considering the ways in which American film culture was consumed and appropriated by Chamorro men. The senior Guzman aligned himself with one of the central

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586 During the late seventeenth-century Spanish Catholic conquest of Guam, Chamorros increasingly adopted Spanish surnames. This occurred primarily through the bestowal of religious names (i.e., Cruz for cross, Santos for saints, etc.) by Catholic priests and catechists at an individual’s baptism and the inheritance of such surnames by that person’s descendants in subsequent generations. In an effort by extended family clans to differentiate themselves from those in Guam who shared the same surnames but to whom they were not related by blood, several clans adopted nicknames. These nicknames varied widely and were derived from first or last names, animals, food, body parts, descriptive actions or qualities, or from narratives associated with an individual and her or his descendants. Clan nicknames are used extensively in Guam today as a means of identifying extended families and are quite often used as a marker of the family’s very identity as manifested in the narratives behind the origins of their nicknames. Collectively, a clan will be referenced by their nickname preceded by the word familial, the adjective form of family, followed by the specific name. An individual member of a clan will be referred to by his or her first name, immediately followed by their specific clan name. Anthony Ramirez, “Chamorro Nicknames,” Guampedia, http://www.guampedia.com/chamorro-nicknames/ (accessed November 19, 2014).

587 Juan Toves Guzman, interview by James Perez Viernes, June 26, 2007, Santa Rita, Guam. The phrase “si Tun Juan Texas” reflects elements of proper Chamorro referencing when speaking about an elder and employing his clan name. “Si” is a proper Chamorro article which always precedes a proper name or title. Tun is a corruption of the Spanish tio (uncle) which is often a title of respect that precedes the name of an male elder. For female elders, tan is used and is a corruption of the Spanish tia (aunt). One’s name is often followed by his or her clan name. In this case, si Tun Juan Texas is roughly translated as Mr./Sir/etc. Juan of the Texas family.
fixtures of American masculinity in early film – the iconic cowboy of the wild West – but not in ways that necessarily reflected his adoption of all that Bob Steele and Rocky Lane’s characters embodied. Rather, Guzman employed these men as a means of resisting American hegemony, as well as ridiculing those who sought to enforce it upon him. Knowing full well that the military police interrogating him would not believe his claim that he was a native Texan, Tun Juan employed a common strategy of provoking or challenging another individual known in Chamorro as fa’gaga. Overall, the term refers to treating someone with disrespect by being condescending to him/her, specifically in ways that highlight the other person as fa’ga’ga’on – gullible, easily fooled, or outwitted.

Already facing penalties for breaking curfew and entering an establishment for Americans only, Tun Juan exploited the Hollywood cowboys hanging on the wall for his own purposes and refashioned the American icons as useful tools of resistance. Tun Juan seized the opportunity to ridicule the military police officer through fa’gaga demonstrating not only the ability, but the audacity to even imply that the officer was gullible or stupid. This allowed Tun Juan to reign victorious in the confrontation because the mere insinuation that the officer could potentially be made to appear fa’ga’ga’on afforded Tun Juan an upper hand in an otherwise imbalanced interaction between American authority and a non-compliant Chamorro male youth.

Interestingly, Tun Juan also placed himself in a position of ridicule by inanely telling a lie that would never be believed. Yet this is a common fixture of fa’gaga that does not necessarily equate to weakness in the person who ridicules himself. Rather, Tun Juan’s self-ridicule preserved his superiority in the situation. He alone determined how and when he would become subject to ridicule, rather than surrendering that authority to anyone else. Here, Tun Juan retains authority as an arbiter who determines who is ridiculed (including himself), how, when, and for
what purposes. Several generations later, members of the Texas clan continue to take pride in the triumph of their patriarch over US Naval authorities so many decades ago, illustrating the ways in which American popular culture was turned on its head by Chamorros and made meaningful beyond an oversimplified media-consumer relationship.

In these examples, American film of the prewar period on Guam is clearly illustrated as that which was consumed and appropriated by Chamorro men far beyond their entertainment value or the socially and culturally instructive elements endorsed by the Navy. Rather, these films became important vehicles, not through which Chamorro men necessarily became American, but rather, through which they were able to make their own meaning of American popular culture in ways that allowed them to carve out space in an increasingly Americanized society. Through various forms of adopting, adapting, consuming, appropriating, and resisting these images, American film of this period proves a complex medium of popular culture beyond its intended dimensions of Americanizing Chamorro men. It can be argued that a reverse process was also at play in which American films were Chamorro-cized by native men.

In similar fashion, live stage performance proved an equally complex medium of Chamorro culture that native men utilized in myriad ways. The difficulties encountered in generating a captive audience among Chamorros in general and Chamorro men specifically did not end the Navy’s attempts to draw together the masses so that they might consume American culture through various performance mediums. Live stage performances arose as the primary form of performance entertainment to which Chamorros became most exposed and through which Chamorro men would begin to carve out space within American popular culture. Vaudeville performances characteristic of the time period were staged in Guam, not only providing American entertainment for a larger captive audience in comparison to that patronizing
the motion picture, but eventually casting Chamorro men in various Vaudevillian roles that would begin to shape their place in the broader mass culture in the context of Americanization efforts.

One of the first major public stage performances coordinated by the Navy for entertainment purposes debuted on the evening of February 22, 1910, and was immediately proclaimed an artistic and financial success. The performance featured a classic Vaudeville line up of the time that included comedy, burlesque, magic, musical performances, and its share of black face performers. The cast was composed of American servicemen and other personnel detailed to Guam, as well as a troupe of visiting Japanese students offering an uncharacteristic but well-received jiu-jitsu and fencing exhibition. Though “Every seat was filled, and every available foot of standing room occupied…,” the composition of the audience at this premier Vaudeville show in Guam is unclear. Nevertheless, any question as to whether Chamorros were drawn to the spectacle can be addressed in the fact that “…patgons (children) clamber[ed] up from the outside, hung upon the window casings for a free view of the show.” Though questions may persist as to whether Chamorros possessed the desire to view the performance as could be evidenced in their purchase of admission, the clambering of Chamorro children up the theater’s outside walls and their dangling from window fixtures suggests a pronounced curiosity if not uninhibited desperation to sneak a peek at the display on stage.

Where movie houses struggled to secure regular and eager audiences, stage performances in Guam by comparison were an ostensible success and garnered a considerably curious and enthusiastic Chamorro fan base in Hagåtña. In preparation for a 1917 American Red Cross Vaudeville production at the Gaiety Theater, it was remarked that everything required for the

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589 Ibid., 3.
590 Ibid., 3.
show seemed to fall into the laps of its producers, generously provided by both Americans and Chamorros in Hagåtña, apparently insistent that the show go on. Indeed, “...offers of assistance of every kind poured in, until it seemed as if all Agana were anxious to do something to help.” 591

A report of the performance’s success remarked, “…for, as if by magic, everything needed appeared as soon as wanted – and this in Guam!” 592

The magic of the 1917 Vaudeville evening was evident not only in the outpouring of support through financial donations, voluntary labor, and in-kind contributions, but more so in that the house was packed with “All the ‘Who’s Whos’ of Guam, from the Governor and Mrs. Smith, with the officers of the Red Cross grouped about them, down to solid citizens from out Yona way who had never been to Agana before.” 593 This meeting ground at which Guam’s highest ranking American official and the “solid citizens” of Guam’s rural periphery converged for an evening of merriment set the stage for dominant understandings of American entertainment culture of the 1920s and 1930s as indicative of flourishing and balanced social dialogue between the colonial administration and its native subjects. Moreover, the success and enthusiasm surrounding such gatherings of otherwise divergent, disassociated, and even competing sectors of society was believed to be indicative of thriving democratic principles, benevolent foreign policies, and American cultural superiority and refinement in far off Guam.

Acknowledging the success of the 1917 Red Cross Vaudeville benefit and the “pleasure” it offered spectators and actors alike, an unnamed reporter declared that “…what is really interesting and noteworthy of the whole business, is the way in which the diverse elements of our common life here: military and civil, American, Chamorro, Japanese, – all pulled together in a

592 Ibid., 1.
593 Ibid., 1. “Governor and Mrs. Smith” refers to Naval Governor Roy C. Smith and his wife. Yona is a village located roughly seven miles to the southeast of Hagåtña. Historically a rural farming community, Yona became a largely residential community in the 1960s and 1970s.
common cause. A true sign, I take it, of that Democracy for which, ‘lest it perish,’ we have gone to war.”

While men and women, adult and children, American and Chamorro alike took to the Vaudeville stages in Guam, Chamorro men in particular played a distinct role in the proliferation of ideologies surrounding American democracy, benevolence, and cultural preeminence among their fellow Chamorros. The manner in which the Chamorro male body became an active vehicle through which notions of Chamorro patriotism and loyalty to the United States and Anglo-Saxon racial superiority might be performed has been discussed briefly in Chapter 3 of this work in the context of compulsory education. In that context, the island’s schoolhouses served as flourishing sites of performative patriotism through school plays and celebrations at which pupils and their families began consuming, accepting, appropriating, and performing affinities for all things American. The theater houses of the 1920s and 1930s, however, offered a far more pronounced display of such affinities and were capable of reaching greater numbers of people in ways that the schoolhouses could not.

The divide between audience and performer, stadium and stage, child and adult, and American and Chamorro became far more ambiguous in the Vaudeville scene of prewar Guam in comparison to that of school children’s programs. In those exhibitions, the primary performers were young children under the direction of their teachers, and audiences primarily composed of other teachers, school children and their families, and select American and Chamorro officials of the Navy’s Department of Education. The theater houses of Guam, however, proved far more encompassing and the nature of the Vaudeville genre brought a far more diverse range of people together in varying capacities. As noted of the first Vaudeville performance in 1917, “Behind the khaki curtains the stage was almost as crowded as the audience, with children in red hair-

594 Ibid., 1.
ribbons, Chamorro darkies, cow-boys and *jiu jitsu* artists, while the lady in charge stood in the wings, hammer in hand, to signal the native enlisted man whose business it was to work the curtain."^[595] Mirroring the audience that had been fashioned as an all-encompassing cross-section of Guam’s society, the entire cast and crew of the performance were likewise a reflection of a seemingly diverse, yet comingling and cooperating society in prewar Guam.

In their debut role as active participants in American stage production, Chamorro men reflected a varied presence, ranging from the notably curious to the apprehensive and perhaps ambivalent. Some were awestruck at the display, as demonstrated by the unnamed Chamorro curtain man who “…became so interested in the various acts that he forgot to pay attention… As a result, [the lady in charge] threatened to use her hammer on the side of his head instead of the door-jamb, unless he focused on his job.”^[596] Others, however, were not so captivated by the displays on stage or the request that they partake in them as performers. Billed “The Men of Yona,” a delegation of men from the rural village of Yona described as “…spare, middle-aged, clad in blue jeans and barefoot,” had walked several miles to Hagåtña to satisfy a request from the naval governor’s aide Owen Bartlett that the men sing Chamorro songs and dance for the Americans of the audience.^[597] Though it was deemed by American audience members “a wonderful thing to see, with a native twang to it as distinctive [sic] as the flavor of the lemon-achina (Limon de china),” it was noted of the Chamorro performers that “They had never been in a theater before, and it daunted them…”^[598]

The apprehension of the first Chamorro men to take to the American performance stage in Guam seemed to subside in the years that followed, most evident in the Red Cross’ second

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^[595] Ibid., 1.
^[596] Ibid., 1.
^[597] Ibid., 1-2.
^[598] Ibid., 2.
benefit produced in 1919. Offering fifteen individual numbers and opening to full houses on two consecutive nights, the show centered thematically on the United States and its allies who were still celebrating their recent victories in World War I.599 Chamorro men and boys were cast into particularly polarizing roles for this performance. At once, they were cast as living proof of America’s success in governing Guam and in the assimilation of Chamorro males into the American political, social, and cultural mainstream of the time. On that same stage, but in stark contrast, several native boys and men were cast into roles that positioned them in direct opposition to American men, and oftentimes in positions of mockery, deviance, or inferiority.

The 1919 performance showcased several numbers by the Guam String Orchestra, made up entirely of Chamorro male musicians. The orchestra played at several points throughout the performance to a particularly pleased audience “…to whom the stringed instruments seemed to appeal.”600 The Chamorro men of the string band regaled their audience with the latest American tunes using instruments previously unfamiliar to the native population and made possible by the Naval government that supplied them. School boys and girls alike performed a flag drill reflecting “much exacting training” while presenting the colors of the United States to the tune of patriotic music and in precise drilling formations.601 In these roles, both Chamorro men and boys embodied precision, refinement, and skill in the dissemination of American popular music, as well as in the personification of American democratic ideals and virtues.

Chamorro males at the 1919 performance were not simply useful in enacting American cultural and political virtue. Several Chamorro children were made to embody archetypes in opposition to that virtue, as in a selection of boys who were cast in roles as either “Pilgrim

600 Ibid., 1.
601 Ibid., 1.
Fathers” or a “tribe of little Indians.” Here, the superior American father role is assumed by those playing white pilgrims. These pilgrims-turned-American-forefathers are juxtaposed on stage alongside the infantilized, non-white “little Indians.” This juxtaposition speaks on various levels to the discursive element that stage performance possessed for Chamorro men adjusting to new forms of government, economy, and even entertainment under the Navy’s administration. The Pilgrim Fathers and little Indians can be decoded for the competing representations of manhood and masculinity that they embody. Through the pilgrim role, Chamorro males were cast into American manhood and masculinity upheld by the notions of fatherhood, maturity, and a “frontier spirit” associated with the success of early European colonists who established the United States. Conversely, the role as little Indians reinforced inferior, undesirable, and even deviant manifestations of manhood and masculinity represented in the childlike men of color who eventually became subservient to the pilgrim fathers who had much to teach native peoples in general, and native men more specifically. In this vein, the producers of the Vaudeville show provided for Chamorro men a clear lesson in appropriate forms of manhood and masculinity within the newly established American colonial order.  

The earliest stage roles awarded native males, whether as novelties from the countryside offering native cultural performances, “Chamorro darkies,” or “a tribe of little Indians,” positioned Chamorro men in pronounced roles emblematic of a successful Americanization campaign in Guam. These native men were re-imagined in ways that consistently juxtaposed...
scripts of American manhood, democracy, and cultural refinement against those of the non-white world. On the stages of prewar Guam, Chamorro men were cast either as reflective of their American superiors, or as their polar opposites in ways that amplified their inferiority.

The casting of Chamorro males into roles of novelty, patriotism, ridicule, deviance, racial inferiority, and dim-wittedness underwent a marked shift as Chamorros began producing their own stage performances. The Guam Teachers’ Association, for example, produced and performed the Japanese operetta *Princess Chrysanthemum* in 1926, while the High School Players opened *Daggers and Diamonds* and *The Killer* in 1929, as well as *A Pair of Sixes* the following year.\(^{604}\) In such productions, Chamorros began to make up the majority of casts occupying a far more diverse range of roles, and in some cases, male roles in productions were filled exclusively by Chamorro male actors.\(^{605}\)

The growing distaste among Chamorro men for demeaning roles engendered a concerted effort among some of Guam’s most prominent men to steer the course of theater production on the island. Dr. Ramon M. Sablan provides a case in point. Prior to completing his medical training in the United States in 1940, Sablan was actively engaged in several political and social efforts in the 1920s and 1930s. One of those efforts was in the promotion of American screen and stage accessibility for Chamorros. Sablan directed the 1926 production of “Princes Chrysanthemum,” as well as orchestrated the orchestra’s more than thirty numbers of songs and dances.\(^{606}\) He was later named Secretary of the consolidated People’s Theater, Incorporated in

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\(^{605}\) “High School Comedy Big Success,” 188. In the 1930 production of *A Pair of Sixes*, all male roles were played exclusively by Chamorro men. Of the twelve main roles in the production, only one role was cast with a non-Chamorro actor.

Chamorro male stage actors also achieved increased success and recognition in the roles they played that entailed comparably far more depth than the earlier roles of the Vaudeville stages, as manifested in Federico Gutierrez’s and Enrique Untalan’s performances in Princess Chrysanthemum which were deemed to have been executed “in fine style.”

The rise of Chamorro men into positions of leadership and direction in the screen and stage scene of Guam, and their securing of more diverse and complex stage roles can be unpacked for the broader discursive nature of American popular culture in Guam beyond its entertainment dimensions. While many men made notable strides in these spaces, stage productions in Guam continued to be based on storylines, themes, scripts and musical scores imported to the island, rather than on those more aligned with the island’s indigenous culture, worldview, or creative aesthetic. Chamorro men continued to assume roles that personified foreign men and their ideals, rather than writing themselves into their stage performances. In doing so, theirs and others’ efforts were celebrated by the Navy as “…a stimulating contribution to the intellectual life of the island.” Such activities were additionally read as advancing the community “…toward the attainment of moral, physical and intellectual culture.”

The alignment of American popular culture with the advancement of Chamorro men’s intellect, morality, and overall physical well-being lent to the growing perception that such men could achieve legitimacy and affluence within the American colonial order by embodying that which they saw on the screen and stage. Just as several men embedded new meaning on film and theater that at times went against the intended instruction they were believed to convey, the mediums were also appropriated by some Chamorro men who embraced them wholeheartedly as

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607 “Consolidation of Talking Picture Interests,” 259.
609 “High School Comedy Big Success,” 188.
a means through which they might elevate their socio-economic profile. American film and stage proved themselves to be valuable and powerful avenues through which some Chamorro men could engage in acceptable forms of American masculinities, and in turn, assert their own legitimacy and affluence in similar fashion.

The employment of screen and stage as a vehicle of socio-economic class advancement by minority populations was not isolated to Chamorros in Guam. James R. Barrett points to the prevalence of attempts among minority groups to elevate themselves through the expression of patriotism and loyalty on the vaudeville stages of the increasingly multiethnic US cities of the late 1800s. Citing Broadway star George M. Cohan’s rise to fame, Barrett argues that his Irish American show business family “embodied ostentatious patriotism” through performances of songs such as “You’re a Grand Old Flag” and “Yankee Doodle Boy” which facilitated the rise of an otherwise ostracized Irish American community of the time to bourgeoisie status. In several ways, the legitimacy and affluence that many Chamorro men pursued could be obtained through their engagements with various forms of entertainment and popular culture beyond the island’s movie houses or various theater stages. While the screen and stage of American popular culture proved a viable platform on which opportunities for socio-economic clout might be realized, the esoteric realm of creative writing proved equally, if not more so, lucrative to this regard.

Native Musings: The Poetics of Chamorro Masculinities and the American Literary Imagination

The literary arts prove an equally fluid ground for considering Chamorro masculinities in the context of American popular culture. Guam’s local print media, while observing a primary mission of reporting local and international news, dedicated notable space in their monthly

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publications to providing its readership with a variety of poetry and other forms of creative writing. The Guam Recorder valued editorial and other non-news material in that they were “…written for the benefit of the Chamorro people, in the hopes that the process of Americanization may be accelerated by copious doses of good advice” that would be useful in “…speeding the day when in thoughts, language and ideals the people of this lovely island are thoroughly Americanized and may truly enjoy the benefits of an American form of government.”612 In similar fashion to the films and stage performances of the pre-World War II years, the Navy viewed literature as a viable medium through which Chamorros might benefit from the socially and morally instructive nature of the creative writing its media published.

American literature published in the local print media in Guam during the Navy’s administration of the island formed the foundational creative written text that embodied American values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs about Guam and its Chamorro population. Such literature employed dominant tropes which, over time, became adopted, adapted, and resisted by Chamorro men in myriad ways as they soon would begin putting their own pens to paper and themselves employing the medium of literature for various purposes. Paralleling the ways in which Chamorro men employed American film and stage performance in ways that embedded new meaning and currency on popular culture, literature became a distinct medium through which Chamorro men of both the elevated and lower socio-economic strata engaged American popular culture and its discursive influence in various ways.

To investigate the discursive command of American literature among Chamorro men, I consider first the prominent features of that literature over time. As an extensive survey of creative writing published in the island’s local print media sources reveals, the most prominent

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trope employed in literary works authored by American residents of Guam throughout the Navy’s governance of the island was that of Guam as an alluring paradise ripe for Americans seeking rest, relaxation, and all the pleasures of the tropics. American transient C.J. Schofield offered a clear illustration of the allure that the island held for Americans employing tropes that would resound loudly in the local literary canon in the decades of Naval administration. The first two stanzas of Schofield’s poem “To Guam” encapsulate those tropes:

Here’s to you, Isle of enchantment,  
Gem of the Southern Seas, –  
Oh! Golden Guam,  
Where the feathery palm  
Waves and bends in the monsoon’s breeze.  

Here’s to your high tossing breakers  
Fringing wild Cabra’s shore, –  
Where surging waves  
Through coral caves  
Murmur their mystic lore.  

Schofield’s “To Guam” captures the dominant American view of Guam throughout the Navy’s administration on several levels, expressing not only the ways in which Americans viewed the island, but the manner in which they interpreted the landscape and their place within it. On one level, Schofield employs several images and metaphors positioning the island as an idealized and Edenic paradise, even using creative flare to diminish Guam to an objectified preciousness. Schofield situates the sites of Guam as quaint “…settings like scenes from a play…” Those scenes are bedecked with metaphors likening “Golden Guam” to a “Gem of the Southern Seas” where glorious sunsets, wavering palms, tranquil seas, and spectacular coral reefs set the backdrop for a gentle, idyllic, and even nostalgic island paradise that “Plays on in

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614 Ibid., 11.
the dear old way.” The poem’s speaker basks in the delights of this tropical bliss in which both s/he and the landscape itself are “ever smiling.”

The paradisiacal formulation of the island in “To Guam” is paired with a notable effort of Schofield to speak to the allure of the island as an “Isle of enchantment” in which “coral caves/ Murmur their mystic lore.” Despite the mystery and enchantment of the island and any potential threat from the unknown, Schofield fashions Guam as largely unthreatening through absenting the landscape of native peoples almost entirely. With the exception of the speaker in the poem and “…the fisherman’s lights,/ Through the long still nights,/ O’er the reefs flit to and fro,” “To Guam” remains entirely absent of people. In particular, the landscape remains absent of Chamorro men who are kept at a safe distance along the island’s fringing reef. Their relegation to the periphery in this particular poem not only creates a pretty picture of lights gently flittering in the distant night sky, but keeps Chamorro men at a safe and unthreatening distance from both the speaker of the poem and the veritable Garden of Eden that s/he has found in Guam.

Camacho has argued that Americans living in Guam during the Navy’s administration of the island demonstrated a notable proclivity for framing Guam as beautiful, enticing, hospitable, and unthreatening, in much the same way as Schofield. In Camacho’s analysis, such views of the island arise from interpretations of Guam as a new frontier for Americans at the start of the twentieth century, one that was unfamiliar, but one that could be conquered and exploited if made familiar. Camacho largely asserts that this familiarization was achieved through the

615 Ibid., 11.
616 Ibid., 11.
617 Ibid., 11.
618 The fisherman in Schofield’s “To Guam” is presumably a Chamorro male. The placement of the fisherman on the reef at night and the lights he employs are characteristic of any one of several Chamorro nighttime fishing methods that employ sulo ’(torch) to lure any variety of reef fish and crustaceans.
619 Camacho, “Enframing i Taotao Tano’,” 79.
emergence of militouristic discourse that feminized Guam’s landscape and indigenous population as virgin, fertile, enticing, and hospitable. Attempts to make Guam familiar by Americans were not confined to Schofield’s 1911 ode to Guam. A 1914 poem “To the Isle of Guam” contributed to the Guam News Letter by someone identified simply as “Amateur” not only regurgitated many of the exact images and metaphors employed by Schofield (precious gems, tranquil trade winds, etc.), but concluded the piece with the lines “Oh! Here’s to you, Isle of Emerald,/ Where the trades blow fresh and free,/ –/ And the Sun shines bright,/ Where the stars glow at night,/ Then it is dear old Guam for me.”

The amateur author of “To the Isle of Guam” reinforces Schofield’s myopic view of the island as a paradise, but concludes the poem with the declaration of the speaker that Guam was a place for him or her. The assertion of the speaker that s/he has achieved as sense of place and belonging within Guam illustrates yet another trend in American written expressions of the Naval era. Where Camacho argues for the process of familiarization by Americans through the feminization of Guam, I further contend that the island was more so familiarized by Americans through fashioning the island as “home” for those who found themselves thousands of miles away from the continental US American author Emma Gay, for example, wrote:

Guam

I love my island home of Guam
And hope you love it too.
It is the dearest spot on earth,
To it I will be true.

Some think this island very small
There is no place to roam.
No matter what the world may say
To me, it’s Home Sweet Home.

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Gay’s making Guam “home sweet home” was a common theme for American poets, as evidenced in a 1917 poem in which the last four lines (almost identical to the 1914 “To the Isle of Guam”) mirror Gay’s assertion of Guam as home. An unidentified poet alludes to returning to the US in “To Guam,” leaving the island with the sentiment “But hail to the Isle of Guam/ When the ‘trades’ blow fresh and free/ When the sun shines bright/ And the stars at night – / Then it’s back to Guam for me!”622 In each of these examples, the American poets convey a strong affinity for the island, not merely as a temporary paradisiacal playground, but as a home to which they hold a considerably pronounced emotional tie, and in which they desire to remain or to which they long to return.

Just as American film and stage performance offered an instructive outlet for the Navy, literature proved equally useful as a platform on from American ideals might be articulated. In particular, literature proved a useful tool in prescribing appropriate forms of American masculinity for Chamorro men. Several works showcase what can be described as an attempt to prescribe to native men normative forms of American masculinity either indirectly to the general readership using literature not produced in Guam or not overtly about the island, or conveying prescriptive forms of masculinity directly to Chamorro men through literature produced in and about Guam.

Several literary works outlined for readers the prominence of patriotism and good soldiering as defining characteristics of acceptable manhood. To be a good soldier was to be a good American, as expressed in “The American Soldier.” The poem asserted of the soldier that “He’s a true American and his Heart is Good/ He has answered a calling, Fights his Country’s/ Feuds.”623 While hailing the attributes of a good warrior, the poem simultaneously bemoaned

the social status of the soldier, highlighting military service as a thankless job executed by a man subject to scorn “by the people for whom he fights,” but one in which the “spirit of a Soldier is exceedingly Proud.” The poem further glorifies the sacrifice made by soldiers whose ultimate testament of dedication, bravery, and patriotism rested in their ability to perish in battle for which all civilians should lend their gratitude and respect. As the poem conveys, “A crack of a musket a roar of a gun;/ He passes from Life, His race has been run./…His last rest on earth is a ditch for a shroud;/ And he fights for his Country, for it he will die./ So let us respect him, Both you and I.”

Mirroring the sentiments of “The American Soldier,” Ralph Waldo Emerson’s “A Nation’s Strength” illuminates the inextricable links between American manhood, soldiering and patriotism. Republished in Guam over fifty years after Emerson’s death, “A Nation’s Strength” conveyed to the island’s readership that

Not gold, but only men, can make
A people great and strong –
Men who for truth and honor’s sake,
Stand fast and suffer long.
Brave men who work while others sleep,
Who dare while others fly –
They build a nation’s pillars deep
And lift them to the sky.

In similar ways to “The American Soldier,” Emerson’s “A Nation’s Strength” emphasizes the manner in which soldiering is often devalued and unappreciated, but remains representative of a selfless sacrifice in which men “work while others sleep.” Such men embody virtuous and manly qualities including bravery, honor, and the acceptance of suffering. Emerson brings to the

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624 Ibid., 25.
625 Ibid., 25.
foreground the ultimate result of enacting appropriate manhood through soldiering as building a
nation “great and strong,” a feat exclusively attributable to “Not gold, but only men…”

The alignment of appropriate scripts of masculinity with soldiering and patriotism was
embedded into poetry with particular emphasis in the late 1930s and early 1940s in Guam.
Coinciding with the opening of enlistment into the US Navy by Chamorros as discussed in
Chapter Four of this work, Guam’s print media highlighted naval service specifically as a
lucrative, adventure-filled, and explicitly manly career opportunity and avenue for patriotic
service. Published in the *Guam Recorder* in 1941, British naval officer Ronald A. Hopwood’s
1896 poem “The Laws of the Navy” served as a viable recruitment tool on the island.627
Celebrated as having had a “considerable influence” on members of both the British and US
navies in the first half of the twentieth century, “The Laws of the Navy” offered relatively light-
hearted advice for naval enlistees about the “unwritten and varied” laws to live by in naval
service.628 In particular, the poem encouraged a man seeking a career in the Navy to maintain
deferece and respect for authority, as well as a commitment to toiling through physical labor as
a means of strengthening the navy he served, and by extension, the country to which such service
was being offered. Hopwood encouraged readers to “Take heed of what ye say of your seniors/
Be your words spoken softly or plain,/…If ye labour from morn until even,/ And meet with
reproof of your toil,/…On the strength of one link in the cable/ Dependeth the might of the
chain;”629

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627 Hopwood’s “The Laws of the Navy” first appeared in Guam’s print media in the April 1921 issue of the *Guam News Letter*. In this publication, the poem was not credited to the author. Its second publication in 1941 was mistakenly attributed to “Roland Hapwood,” and printed amid efforts to recruit Chamorro enlistees in Guam for naval service. Comparatively, the 1941 publication was presented far more prominently in larger font over a two-page spread in contrast to the 1921 publication in smaller font on a single page.
Other works composed in the waning years just prior to World War II endorsed the value of naval service to Guam’s readership. In similar fashion to “The Laws of the Navy,” an unidentified author wrote “Navy Blues” which utilized a playful rhyme scheme and lighthearted tone to offer a humorous perspective of the trials of life aboard a naval vessel. The speaker of the poem identified homesickness, unsavory chow, insomnia, and boredom as but of a few of several symptoms that sailors experienced when suffering “Navy Blues.” Yet the poem’s conclusion offered a radical shift from the otherwise plaintiff cries of a miserable sailor suffering from Navy Blues. The poem’s author warns the reader that upon discharge from service “And your bankroll seems to dwindle,/ And you wonder where it went,/ Till you’ve spend your last simoleon,/ And your badly broke and bent;/ Then somehow you miss the shipmates/ That you served with on the cruise,/ and the first thing you know, you’ve got them,/ Got them dog-gone NAVY BLUES!”

Although the poet acknowledges the potential misery of life on a naval vessel and the monotony of duty at sea, the realities of life as a civilian leaves one just as “blue” as he was during his time as a sailor.

The pronounced call to military service that arises in literary works in Guam’s print media coalesce what the Navy viewed as acceptable manifestations of masculinity. Those included soldiering, patriotism, self sacrifice, physical labor, deference to authority (American military authority specifically), and the ability to support oneself through earning an honest living through wage and benefit-yielding employment. Perceived idleness and a lack of ambition were regarded as particularly undesirable qualities in men, as evident in a fervent call to Guam’s literary readership to avoid the ills of sloth. A 1939 publication of American poet Edward A. Guest’s “You” impressed upon individual readers that “You are the fellow that has to decide/ Whether you’ll do it or toss it aside,/ …Whether you’ll try for the goal that’s afar/ Or be

contented to stay where you are./ …What do you wish? To be known as a shirk,/ Known as a
good man who’s willing to work,/ Scorned for a loafer or praised by your chief,/ Rich man or
poor man or beggar or thief?”

Guest’s “You” identified several binaries of manhood that polarized being a rich “good
man” praised by one’s chief or being a “shirk” subject to ridicule, poverty, and even resorting to
thievery. These binaries created a prominent expectation of men that their access to good
manhood rested in their ability to labor, produce, and earn praise from a “chief.” Conversely,
those who elected to toss duty aside and remain content in their idleness would subsequently lack
“The thing men call character.” A man’s purpose and duty in life was further articulated in a
1940 publication of “Drifter” which commanded “Don’t be a drifter! Shape a plan/ And have
some purpose as a man./ Be not content, as many are, To go without a guiding star.”

The prominent tropes, themes, and ideas in American literature in Guam identified thus
far lend to the consideration of the ways in which Chamorro men consumed and appropriated in
their own creative writing. Though American literary works certainly comprised the bulk of
creative writing available on the island, American authors were not the sole progenitors of
attitudes and beliefs common to creative writing in Guam. Chamorro men too began producing
literary works that operated on several levels. At once, they embody the influence of the
American writers that preceded them and serve as an avenue through which their common
themes and attitudes might be further advanced. At other times, Chamorro writers diverged from
the dominant themes and ideologies common to American literary works, imbuing the imagery,
themes, and morals common to Chamorro epistemology. And still, several Chamorro works

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632 Ibid., 314.
reflect a meeting ground at which both the influences of their new American counterparts converged with their preexisting views of their surrounding world.

The dominant view of Guam as a welcoming, virgin paradise of plenty so common to the imagery and narrative of American literary works proved pervasive in the Chamorro male literary consciousness as evidenced in several works authored by young Chamorro men who enjoyed the benefit of American education and English language competency. Guam pupil Fred T. Gutierrez, for example, employed in his 1937 poem “An Evening in Guam” the requisite precious gems, spectacular sunsets, swaying palm fronds, and moonlit seas all too common in American literary descriptions of Guam of the time. The beauty and radiance of these fixtures of paradise, as conceptualized by Gutierrez, would reign eternal even after those beholding their splendor should pass from life on Earth. Gutierrez concludes his rich and vivid description of an evening in Guam noting that “The suns will set, the years go by;/ Our lives will cease to be./ In Guam the gorgeous evening sky/ Will greet eternity.”

Similarly, James Butler, born to an American-sailor-turned-powerful Guam businessman father, and a Chamorro mother from one of Guam’s prominent political families, wrote of his island home that

The real beauty of Guam lies in her emerald hillsides made greener by everlasting summer, her wavering palm fronds kissed by trade winds, her clean, shining beaches continually courting the ebb and flow of tides, her flower-scented groves and tinkling leafy lanes that cast haunting shadows of tranquility.

In tandem with embracing the literary conventions of paradise prevalent in American poetry in Guam, Chamorro men likewise reappropriated American authors’ prioritization of military service and patriotism as viable avenues of legitimizing their masculinities. Moreover, striving to emulate such qualities became interlinked with notions of productivity and sound American work ethic which translated to socio-economic stability and advancement. Jose C.

Torres employs these themes in “Following the Flag.” Speaking to the contributions of the US Navy in Guam, Torres notes that “They taught the Guamanian the right/ way to work/ And they thought the teaching was/ fun./ They taught them to spell and to build/ themselves a road/ And the best way to handle a gun.”

Here, Torres highlights the prevalence of a solid American work ethic in that the people of Guam were taught the “right” way to work, which overall, was “fun.” Jesus B. Garrido reinforced this notion in “Why Not Have Fun?” Encouraging readers to approach their daily work with enthusiasm, Garrido writes, “Each job has its own thrill to give,/ If you know how to strike it,/ And since you have to work to live,’ Go to it, kid – and like it!” This alignment of work with fun is this sense is achieved through fashioning the target audience as a “kid” who would “have to work to live” and who should like it.

In a later stanza of “Following the Flag,” Torres remarks that “So, we haven’t a job and we haven’t/ a cent;/ And nobody cares a damn,/ But we did our work and we have done it well:/ To the glory of Uncle Sam.” Torres reinforces the theme of the value of diligent labor, even in cases where it might not yield material gain. Rather than arguing for the material value of such labor, Torres illuminates the triviality of such wealth in comparison to the importance of a job well done in the name of Uncle Sam. Patriotism is further underpinned in Torres’ writing in that Americans had taught Chamorro men the “best way to handle a gun.” Here, patriotism is not only performed and proven through diligent labor, but through the taking up of arms as well.

In several ways, literate and educated Chamorro men began reinforcing the notion of benevolent American development in Guam, not merely through the instruction of good work ethic and patriotism, but in the success of the Navy to educate the Chamorro man. Indeed, hard work and patriotism became viable paths to accessing education, which in turn afforded

638 Torres, “Following the Flag,” 122.
prospects for socio-economic advancement and mobility. Hard work, patriotism, and American education indeed amalgamated into a veritable trifecta that promised to reward those Chamorro men who subscribed to its tenets with affluence and legitimacy within the milieu of Americanization. The prominence of access to American education and English language fluency as a mode through which Chamorro masculinity might be asserted becomes evident in the writings of young male pupils of the time. The centrality of American education to the advancement of the Chamorro people, and the inextricability of such education with US nationalism and patriotism is captured in Juan I. Bayona’s “What the Americans Have Done for Guam.” In Bayona’s estimation, “The Americans do their best/ To help out the Chamorros;/ What we do not know today/ Will be taught us in the morrow./…There are many, many things/ That I cannot understand;/ But I’ll stand and cheer the flag/ That protects our native land.”

From 1917 to 1919, American Navy wife Helen Paul taught in Hagåtña, and the creative and other writings of her students reflect a wealth of insight into the ways in which Chamorro men employed the written word. Several of Paul’s Chamorro male students reinforced in their writing the notion of American superiority. In particular, such writings capture the desire among many young Chamorro men to embrace American education and its ideals as part of their own social, academic, and cultural advancement and identity. Young Simon Sanchez, for example, who went on to become a prominent Chamorro educator and civic leader, asserted that

The books which I like to read best are the ‘American Orations’ In reading them, I feel very much interested and deeply touched by the wise and good expressions of the noted Americans, such as Samuel Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster…Their wise ideas lead us to understand that they have restored in their brains an unlimited amount of

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facts, and the way of expressions are in such ways as to convince the readers to be one of them.\textsuperscript{640}

Sanchez articulates a growing sentiment among Guam’s young male pupils that American literary productions possessed an underlying quality of refinement and were of increasing interest to them. Furthermore, the protagonists of American history feature prominently in the consciousness of young Chamorro male students, not simply because of the heroic narratives in which they are situated, but more notably, for the instructive example each of them set through their wisdom and “good expressions.” Overall, the allure of such literature rested in a seeming affinity for the American men steeped in the narratives, men who possessed the power to “convince” young Chamorro readers “to be one of them.”

Succeeding in the American education system of prewar Guam became a feasible means through which young Chamorro men could become like the refined and superior American men that they were learning about. Longtime public servant, educator, and civic leader Baltazar Carbullido’s creative writing as a young pupil of Paul’s provides a case in point. Carbullido’s “The Two Competitors” tells the tale of two young Chamorro school boys, Jose and Carmelo, from the rural village of Malesso’. Jose was a studious boy who “…paid strictly attention of his teacher’s instructions and kept down all in his note-book.”\textsuperscript{641} Carmelo, on the other hand, “…did not care for it, so he always painted funny pictures down in his note-book. He said that lessons give troublesome, but to make funs is joy.”\textsuperscript{642} Carbullido’s story ends with Jose receiving a box of chocolates from his teacher as a reward for achieving a score of ninety-six per cent on a test of

\textsuperscript{640} Simon Sanchez, “Extracts from papers by Normal School students of Guam, written on request, describing their favorite reading-matter,” Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center. Excerpts from this source are presented verbatim, regardless of the grammatical and other errors that they embody.

\textsuperscript{641} Baltazar Carbullido, “The Two Competitors,” \textit{Stories with a Moral}, Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center. Excerpts from this source are presented verbatim, regardless of the grammatical and other errors that they embody.

\textsuperscript{642} Ibid.
the week’s assignments. Carmelo sits off to the side of Jose, woefully yearning of a piece of candy, but Jose “…did not give him any.” Carbullido concludes his story with the question, “What shall he has to do, to get a piece?”

The moral of Carbullido’s “The Two Competitors” is clear. The young pupil who remains committed to his studies and complies with the demands of his teacher and the American education system reaps sweet rewards. He who does not, remains relegated to the periphery and envious of the rewards to which he has no claim. Jose becomes immediately elevated alongside his fun-loving but non-compliant and presumably unintelligent companion, and they are pitted against each other as “The Two Competitors.” Here, a dramatic juxtaposition surfaces. The educated and compliant Chamorro male, fashioned in the most striking likeness to an American male through his superior English language competence and academic aptitude is placed in direct competition with the lesser educated, least compliant Chamorro male who is least like his American counterpart. Jose’s ability to emulate appropriate American intellect, etiquette, and conformity ensures his ability to enjoy the chocolate that, for most other Chamorro children of the time, was a luxury largely unavailable to them. In this sense, the chocolate serves as a literal reward for studiousness, as well as a figurative representation of the benefits of overall complicity with American institutions and their mandates. Here, Carmelo is faced with the sobering reality that in order to “get a piece” of the proverbial candy, what “he has to do” is become like Jose – compliant with the American educational system and its assimilationist agenda.

While Chamorro men’s creative writing indeed embodied some of the common thematic threads that were prominent in American literature in Guam, there are several examples that demonstrate the ways in which indigenous male authors wrote against the thematic grain of

643 Ibid.
American literature in Guam. Some diverged from such themes entirely, while others reflect a merging both American and Chamorro oriented themes and content. In terms of patriotism and nationalism, some Chamorro men found a middle-ground on which they reified the patriotic undertones of American popular culture alongside an assertion of Chamorro ethnic distinction. In 1919, Dr. Ramon M. Sablan composed the “Guam Hymn” reflecting the socio-cultural and political climate of the time.644 Of the hymn’s two verses, the patriotic and nationalistic consciousness characteristic of the time and prominent among elite Chamorro men in particular arises in the first verse as especially resounding:

Stand ye Guamanians for your country,  
And sing her praise from shore to shore;  
For her honor, For her glory,  
Exalt our Island forever more.645

On the surface, Sablan’s hymn appears to possess all the conventions of an American patriotic song. Specifically, Sablan’s allusion to “your country” invokes Chamorro allegiance to a specific nation, whose honor and glory should not only be praised in song, but that would likewise exalt the island for eternity. Moreover, the composition of the hymn in the minority language of English in Guam, rather than the prominently used Chamorro language, speaks to the primacy of the English language and a call to Chamorros to employ it in their writing and singing.

Though Sablan’s “Guam Hymn” echoes the patriotism of American literature in Guam, Chamorro scholar C.T. Perez has urged caution in too hastily dismissing the hymn as yet another manifestation of presumed blind patriotism among Chamorros. Instead, Perez encourages a careful examination of “double meaning” that speaks to the “enduring vitality and strength” of

Chamorros to remain and survive as a distinct people through successive colonialisms. Such double meaning surfaces throughout the first verse of the Guam Hymn. Though the first line of the hymn “Stand ye Guamanians” remains the commonly accepted and most widely used lyric, Sablan replaced the term Guamanian with Chamorro at times, revising the song to begin with “Stand ye Chamorros.” Speaking to this revision, an unnamed American reporter in 1934 remarked that “Many regard the Hymn of Guam very highly; and it is said to appeal to the people because it contains the word ‘Chamorros’ – thus giving them a felling of racial pride.”

That racial pride and the will of the Chamorro people to retain it was reinforced in the 1974 translation of the English hymn into the Chamorro language by Lagrimas Leon Guerrero Untalan. Close consideration of Untalan’s translation further illuminates the prevalence of double meaning which Perez identifies in relation to the hymn. Untalan’s translation and its English equivalent are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chamorro</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fanohge Chamorro pot i tano-ta</td>
<td>Stand up Chamorros for our land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kânta i matuná-ña gi todo i lugât.</td>
<td>Sing its praises in all places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Para i onra, para i gloria</td>
<td>For the honor, for the glory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abiba i isla sinparåt.</td>
<td>Exalt the island without end</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Untalan’s translation of Sablan’s original English lyrics is noteworthy as it does not reflect a literal translation. On one level, this reflects the inability of the Chamorro language to capture certain words or concepts. On another level, this reflects the political nature of translation out of which double meaning arises. This reflects the inability of the Chamorro language to capture certain words or concepts, and in the political nature of translation out of which double-meaning arises. Sablan first reflected the political nature of translation in his

647 “Hymn of Guam,” 181.
648 “Guam Hymn/Fanohge Chamorro,” Guampedia.
replacement of “Guamanian” with “Chamorro,” a decision that would influence the later incarnation of “Fanohge Chamorro.” The pervasiveness of the term Chamorro reinforces the racial pride among the island’s indigenous people which the term “Guamanian” did not adequately articulate. Moreover, the Chamorro version of the hymn abandons the notions of a country or nation, concepts which the Chamorro language cannot articulate. Employing the concept of tåno’ meaning land and utilizing –ta, the inclusive first-person possessive pronoun meaning “our,” the call of the hymn to Chamorros to stand for tano-ta (our land) demonstrates the differing epistemologies between the Chamorro and English languages. Where the English version of the hymn embraces the second-person possessive pronoun of “your” in relation to country or nation, the Chamorro version adds a layer of double meaning in resituating the people’s relation to the land as collective, rather than individualistic. Furthermore, double meaning surfaces in the abandonment of the English feminine pronoun “her” in relation to Guam (“her praise,” “her honor,” and “her glory). The gender neutral Chamorro language employs the possessive pronoun –ña as used in matunà-ña (its praises) more neutrally referring to “it” rather than him or her.

Divergence from the thematic threads of American literature in Guam transcend the double meanings associated with ethnicity and the investment of allegiance in an individual’s country versus a people’s land. Similar double meanings arise in relation to the notion of productivity and labor. The value of hard work, even when uncompensated, is celebrated in the previously discussed works such as “Following the Flag” and “Why Not Have Fun?,” especially

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649 The term Guamanian refers to any resident of Guam while Chamorro refers to the indigenous people of the island who trace their lineage to the first peoples who inhabited the Mariana Islands prior to contact with peoples from outside of the region.

650 Though the term nasion is often used in the Chamorro language to refer to a nation or country, this is derived from the Spanish language. There is no word for nation or country in the Chamorro language.

651 The Chamorro language is gender neutral except when using Spanish derivatives, in which case the gender rules of Spanish apply. For example, the Spanish word bonita, meaning beautiful, has been adopted by Chamorro speakers. When used to describe a man, the word is made gender specific and changed to bonito.
when such hard work is offered in the name of Uncle Sam. Yet, the manner in which Chamorro males conceptualized sound labor and work ethic, and for whom that labor was executed within the dominant subsistence economy that predated American colonialism persisted through the Naval period, at times subverting notions of superior American work ethic. Felix Camacho, for example, authored the Chamorro proverb “Yanggen chatmaigo’ hao, gef makmåta hao.” Literally, the proverb can be translated to mean that when you lack sleep, you are wide awake. Camacho offers his own interpretation of the proverb in the English language noting that it applies directly to fishermen and hunters. As Camacho notes, “It means that when you fish or hunt at night you will have good profit in the morning.”

In contrast to those works discussed which embrace labor that yielded either material monetary wealth and benefits or labor that could be interpreted as patriotic service, Camacho’s proverb speaks to the value of labor among Chamorro men as measurable through their catch at sea or in the jungles. The value of that catch was determined by the manner in which it could be utilized for the sustenance of the family unit and in the maintenance of mandatory exchanges of gifts and services associated with chenchule’. Here, the “profit” of subsistence living is measured in the yield of the labor, which in turn elevates the affluence of the Chamorro man who excels at che’cho’ låhi (men’s work). His self-sacrifice and toiling are not extensions of his loyalty to any nation, but rather, reflect his devotion to the extended family and village community. As Camacho’s proverb demonstrates, labor which earned either a wage or praise from Americans seems tacitly devalued among many Chamorro men of the time.

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652 Felix Camacho, “Chamorro Proverbs,” Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center. Camacho employed spelling and orthography no longer in use in Guam today. I elect here to transcribe his proverb into the current Chamorro orthography in use in Guam today to allow for greater accessibility among contemporary audiences.

653 Ibid.
The notion that manhood and masculinity could be performed and proven exclusively through military service is also challenged in the creative writings of several Chamorro men. While several poems previously discussed uphold soldiering, patriotic service, and the sacrifice of one’s life to the greater good of a nation as base line criteria for manhood, several Chamorro men offer alternate views. In his opinion, Miguel Salas argued that the mark of a good man who would reap the rewards of heaven rested in his ability to show kindness to his fellow man. He wrote: “Kindness is the best road to heaven it is just the same as if you are riding an automobile to Sumay. If you show kindness to the people you are riding an automobile to heaven.”\textsuperscript{654} The notion that manly qualities transcended soldiering and patriotism surface in the writings of several young other Chamorro male pupils. Sanchez, for example, identified politeness, truth, and respect as among several qualities that a young boy should strive to emulate. In Sanchez’s estimation, “When a boy said he will make a kite and then make one he is a boy of truth.”\textsuperscript{655} As Salas and Sanchez demonstrate, virtues and qualities associated with Chamorro masculinities persisted in creative writing despite the prominence of soldiering and patriotism as the dominant scripts of American masculinity. In several ways, the notions of kindness, truth, and respect, while not isolated to the Chamorro cultural framework, stand out as central elements of the umbrella cultural philosophy of \textit{inafa’maolek}. Each, like \textit{inafa’maolek} itself, dictates that the needs of others and the larger community as a whole take precedence over the individual needs and desires of a man. That these elements of \textit{inafa’maolek} persisted in the creative writing of young Chamorro males despite the pervasive influence of American patriotic and militaristic discourse reflects a notable trend of hybridization in Chamorro men’s creative writing in which

\textsuperscript{654} Miguel Salas, “Extract from paper on ‘Kindness’,” August 30, 1919, Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center.

\textsuperscript{655} Simon Sanchez, “Normal School papers dealing with explanations of abstract nouns,” August 30, 1919, Micronesian Area Research Center.
otherwise competing or divergent philosophies, attitudes, and beliefs become intertwined in various ways.

The medium of creative writing proved a space of ambiguity for many Chamorro men of prewar Guam. Some embraced the example set forth for them by American literature published on the island, and creative writing became a platform on which they could assert their likeness to American men and their values, attitudes, and beliefs. For these Chamorro writers, soldiering, patriotism, laboring, and compliance with American performance and behavioral standards proved prominent themes. For others, concepts that predated the American influence in Guam and that articulated the Chamorro worldview of inafa’maolek and the prevalence of the chenchule’ system proved the prominent thematic thread in their writing. Chamorro ethnic distinction, allegiance to land rather than nation, the value of subsistence production and reciprocity systems, and the notions of respect, kindness, and truth sit at the core of these writings. And several more reflect the coalescence of all of these virtues, demonstrating the complex evolution of Chamorro masculinities during the Naval period as that which was always distinct, yet accommodating to the changing social, political, and cultural times.

As Americans tried to familiarize Guam and its people by imbuing their own tropes and perspectives in the literary canon, Chamorros did not simply adopt them blindly and recycle them into their own writing. They likewise engaged in their own process of familiarization in an attempt to make sense of the newly arrived Americans through an increasingly prominent form of expression that was creative writing. This Chamorro process of familiarization facilitated the ability of native men to make sense of American ideas and themes in literature by reifying, rejecting, and interweaving them with Chamorro concepts in the space of creative writing. The transition of Chamorros from a culture that largely relied upon oral expression to one that
embraced writing as a form of creativity was not seamless, nor was it a transition that occurred on any large scale.

As Keith Lujan Camacho notes, Chamorros of prewar Guam lacked the literacy to produce or disseminate American written discourse through the island’s local print media to a large extent. Moreover, face-to-face interactions between Chamorros and the Americans producing written material in the monthly news sources was relatively rare. I further contend that these literacy issues impeded access to and the consumption of all forms of American media and popular culture to a marked degree. The Chamorro masses of the time did not only lack the literacy and formal education associated with active engagement with the written word, but further lacked competency in advanced English proficiency necessary to read, write, and comprehend the metaphors, symbolism, and other literary conventions characteristic of creative writing. Yet, as demonstrated in the writings presented in this chapter, Chamorro men found ways to rise above such constraints and make their way into the literary voices of prewar Guam.

As was the case with film and theater, literature too became a medium of entertainment and expression accessible to a small sector of Guam’s Chamorro population. By its very nature, literature has historically been a product of what is understood as “high” culture, or the yields of the smaller, literate, and socio-economically elite classes. Conversely, that which is understood to be “low” or mass culture has been associated with that which, although produced by a ruling class, was consumed across class lines to include the working-class strata of society. Though various mediums of American mass or popular culture were indeed products of high culture at one time, they underwent their own transition to mass culture. During the Navy’s tenure in Guam, however, such forms of mass culture including film, theater, and literature were relatively new for Chamorros and the transition of these mediums from high to low popular or mass culture

occurred at a notably later point in history for Guam than it did in the United States, as will be discussed later in this work.

Still, the consumption and appropriation of written literature, even among the smallest sector of the Chamorro elite of Guam proves just as compelling in considering the broader discursive nature literature would come to have on the masses over time. Efforts to maintain literature as a product of high culture in Guam became pronounced among Americans as young Chamorro men attempted to employ creative writing as a form of expression. In the United States, struggles between high and low culture have erupted into what Sociologist Herbert J. Gans situates into broader “cultural wars.” As he contends,

One of the longest lasting cultural struggles has pitted the educated practitioners of high culture against most of the rest of society, rich and poor, which prefers the popular cultures...In this war, the advocates of high culture attack popular culture as a mass culture that has harmful effects on both individuals consuming it and on society as a whole. The users of popular culture fight back mostly by ignoring the critique and rejecting high culture….\(^{657}\)

Many Americans viewed the attempt of Chamorro men to engage in high culture through literature as reflective of their inflated sense of self. Their efforts to shape representations of themselves and their island were viewed as largely futile and lacking in impact or legitimacy. Paul, for example, although ultimately belittling herself as an educator in Guam, disparages attempts among her young Chamorro male students to employ writing as a form of expression noting that “In expressing himself the Chamorro is handicapped by a lack of facility in the use of the English language and by a dearth of ideas to express, the latter resulting from his being cooped up in the little two-by-four Island of Guam.”\(^{658}\)

\(^{658}\) “Juan Kissed Carmen,” Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center.
Paul’s estimation of the Chamorro male’s lack of creative or rhetorical facility was shared by Naval Governor William W. Gilmer. In response to a creative essay composed by Sanchez that represented a “fair sample” of work produced by Chamorro students training to become teachers, Gilmer noted that “I think it is the most inane production I ever saw and I see no reason for printing it.”

Gilmer’s representative, identified only by the initials O.P.S., encouraged Paul to receive the governor’s otherwise callous remarks with an appreciation “of the humor” in them. Both Paul and Governor Gilmer’s highly critical posture in relation to Chamorro efforts to engage in the production of creative writing are representative of the prevailing notion that poetry was an esoteric art form of “high” white culture. Young Chamorro men who attempted to write in the genre were viewed as childlike and their work childishly lacking in originality or profound ideas expected of the products of high culture.

**Not-So-Popular American Culture: Chamorro Masculinities and the High Roots of Low Culture**

Common understandings of the pre-World War II social scene of Guam fashion the island as rich with the fixtures of American popular culture such as Hollywood flicks, soda fountains, and big band swing. Thus, Chamorros are embedded in that scene as eager consumers of various entertainment mediums, products, and ideologies that such popular culture afforded, and by extension, willing and complicit vessels in the dissemination of the larger American colonial agenda. Yet, as this chapter has demonstrated, engagement with American popular culture through mediums such as film, stage performance, and the literary arts were far more nuanced than any oversimplified producer-consumer dichotomy can capture. Chamorro men in particular, and as outlined in this chapter, stand out as especially complex agents in the consumption, interpretation, reconfiguration, and dissemination of American popular culture in

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659 OPS to Helen Paul, 1919, Helen Paul Collection, Folder H, Micronesian Area Research Center.
660 Ibid.
Guam as both Americans and Chamorros attempted to familiarize themselves with each other in light of their newly established political relationship. Chamorro masculinities, then, became equally fluid in this socio-historical context.

While various platforms of American popular culture indeed proved to be rich sites for the dissemination of American social, cultural, political, and economic ideals that the Navy sought to impress among Chamorro men, the issue of access among the native population to such culture was considerably limited. Such access was largely available to the smaller, socio-economically elite, and educated residents of Hagåtña. Even within this minority class, opportunities to access American popular culture were considerably infrequent and Chamorro men did not necessarily view such culture as particularly appealing. Carlos P. Taitano, a prominent businessman, attorney, and civic leader, remembers “We didn’t know anything about the outside world, about the American culture: How the youngsters like me, at the time, how they went to school or what they learned, what they sang, because we were not Americans. We were doing the Chamorro stuff.”

Torres describes that “Chamorro stuff” in relation to native men’s prewar entertainment, socializing, and aesthetic expression noting that “Entertainment is non-existent. It’s only when there’s a wedding or baptism and even funeral. Funeral is somber, but weddings, that is the big deal! During these times, we work together and we make songs and joke and this is how we entertain ourselves. This is how we find out what’s the latest in the village.”

Torres’s description of the “Chamorro stuff” alludes to what is collectively considered *kustumbren Chamorro*, or Chamorro custom. The labor and socialization that accompany weddings, baptisms, and even funerals provided the space for Chamorro men to engage in

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662 Torres, in communication with the author, August 13, 2014.
entertainment and socialization through *che’cho’ làhi*. Recreation throughout the Naval period for Chamorros remained predominantly centered on customs associated with the extended family, village community, and the Catholic Church. It was through these activities that Chamorro men could perform the accepted scripts of masculinity associated with *che’cho’ làhi*, contribute to the pervasive demand of reciprocity customs, and engage in socialization and entertainment all the while with their counterparts.

Given the markedly limited reach of American popular or mass culture in Guam during the prewar years, such culture as it operated among Chamorros is more aptly categorized as high culture. And the small numbers of Chamorro men who enjoyed membership in the circles within which high culture was produced and within which it was circulated sought ways to perpetuate the presumably superior “moral, mental, and physical culture…” of the increasingly Americanized social setting of Hagåtña.663 Such efforts to safeguard that station in life through American forms of entertainment and socialization became a driving goal for many of these men. On March 17, 1917, the Young Men’s League of Guam (YMLG) was formalized through the election of its officers.664 While several social organizations for Americans had been formed on the island, the YMLG was specifically convened by affluent Chamorro men, as well as several Filipinos who had settled in Guam “…with the intention of providing a means and a place for the meeting of the young men of the island.”665 The objective of the YMLG extended beyond simply creating a space for Chamorro men to socialize, but further sought to “…provide suitable
means of social intercourse and improvements, Entertainments, and development of physical, intellectual, and moral culture.”

The Young Men’s League of Guam enjoyed marked success in its prewar years. Just months after its first election of officers, the organization staged its first public variety show on July 3, 1917, that included speeches, musical performances, and dances. Remembered as a “splendid show,” the YMLG performance drew an estimated crowd of 1,100 audience members to the Cine Gaiety Theatre. By 1924, the organization had built a library with materials donated from a range of people including the Naval Governor, affluent members of the League, and American teachers. The YMLG expanded its efforts to boost social intercourse to include the formation of a baseball league, a handball court, and other sports.

On the surface, the formation of the YMLG can be read as indicative of the successful assimilation of Chamorro men, however few, into American high culture and a fervent desire among those men to allow their engagement with that culture to flourish. In this analysis, the self-proclaimed sophistication with which the members of the League embraced American forms of socialization was a manifestation of Chamorro men’s ability to mimic or even become their superior white colonizers. Here, the YMLG offers one fluid example of the ability of Chamorro men to rise above Paul, Gilmer, and others’ dismissive assessment of native men and their ability to engage in the production and consumption of high culture such as literature.

Surface analysis of the YMLG illuminates its membership as mirror images of American masculinity and high culture that challenge the Navy’s otherwise derogatory view of Chamorro men. In this sense, the formation of the League should stand out as a progressive advancement of

666 Ibid., 26.
667 “Splendid Show Given by the Y.M.L.G. …,” 3.
the native population toward the Navy’s overall goal of assimilation. Yet, the formation of the YMLG was met with pronounced resistance from both the Naval Government of Guam and the Catholic Church.⁶⁶⁹ Hagåtña’s Spanish Catholic parish priest, Padre Luís María de León, objected to attempts by Chamorro men to form a social organization noting that such efforts were not good for young Catholic men. Padre de León advised the parents of the young men seeking to form the organization to forbid their sons from doing so.⁶⁷⁰

Overall, Padre de León’s objection to the formation of the YMLG rested in his irrational fears that the young men would utilize the organization to contest the authority of the Church in Guam and insight young men to abandon their faith. Naval Governor William J. Maxwell apparently shared in Padre de León’s fears, and lent his support to the Spanish priest directing that any potential social organization for native men avoid “…interfering with the exercise of the right of the parish priest to instruct his flock…”⁶⁷¹

The insecurity of the top leaders in the Catholic Church and the naval government in Guam were compounded by apprehensions that desires to form the YMLG were not exclusively motivated by aspirations to emulate American culture and social intercourse. As a member of the League several decades after it was founded, Underwood acknowledges that the organization’s initial formation was largely reactionary. As he contends, the Navy’s civil club formed prior to World War II offered membership only to white men. Thus, the men of the YMLG mobilized to form their own social organization largely in response to the discriminatory nature of social organizations from which they were alienated. These reactionary roots of the League informed its social strategy which Rogers identifies as largely concerned with

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⁶⁶⁹ Ibid. Efforts began in 1916 to form an organization to be called the Young Men’s Institute. This organization later adopted the name Young Men’s League of Guam.
⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.
⁶⁷¹ Ibid.
“…work[ing] quietly to support Chamorro sports, culture, and identity…” 672 The YMLG’s reactionary formation to the whites-only social organization in Guam was perhaps not so quiet as Rogers contends, as the proceedings of the League were largely conducted in the Chamorro language.

The unwillingness of Church and Naval leaders on Guam to entertain efforts among Chamorro men to formalize a social organization was so pronounced that the founding members of the YMLG resorted to writing a “confidential” letter to US President Woodrow Wilson “…to ask [his] protection of [them] in [their] peaceful enterprise…” 673 The letter, and other concerted efforts among the first members of the YMLG eventually worked, facilitating the organization’s formal founding in 1917. Given the contentious climate within which the YMLG was formed, the explicit insistence of its Chamorro male membership to preserve and promote native culture and identity, and the posture of the League in opposition to the discriminatory policies of whites-only social organizations, the YMLG can be read as a genuine vehicle and expression of resistance. In this vein of analysis, Chamorro men carved out their own space and closer examination of the organization highlights the resistant posture of the League and the role it played in indigenizing American popular culture for various purposes.

The fears and resistance of the Church and the Navy in Guam in response to the YMLG can further be read as a manifestation of apprehensions that the Chamorro man, historically viewed by foreign men as childlike and in need of guidance from his superior, Anglo-Saxon counterpart, was transcending his station of inferiority. The potential for the Chamorro man to elevate himself socially, economically, and culturally threatened to disrupt the structures of hegemony otherwise enjoyed by the church and government institutions. Those fears were not

completely without merit, as evidenced in the YMLG’s persistence into the twenty-first century as a widely recognized community organization whose membership includes essentially every affluent Chamorro man, as well as non-Chamorros who now call Guam home. Today, the YMLG continues to boast a choice membership of the island’s former and current governors, congressmen, senators, judges, businessmen, archbishops, monsignors, educational administrators, law enforcement officers, civil servants, and the like. In several ways, these native men of power, prestige, and privilege have dislocated the foreign male from his historic position of social, cultural, and political power.

As this chapter has demonstrated, there exists a historical trajectory that informs present-day intersections between Chamorro masculinities and American popular culture. What was increasingly becoming popular culture (low mass culture) in the US as part of what Potter coins “a long evolution” was only beginning on Guam during the Navy’s administration of the island. It remained within the sphere of what can be regarded as high culture to which only a small minority of the native population had access. The post-World War II years in Guam would prove transformative, and several of the barriers that alienated Chamorros from American mass or popular culture would be dislodged and even eliminated altogether. Increased literacy, access to education, improved and more widely-available technology, changing socialization strategies arising from the alienation of native peoples from the land and sea, and the subsequent replacement of a subsistence economy with a capitalist economy all lent to the transition of American entertainment and recreation from high culture to low mass, popular culture in Guam during the post-World War II years. This chapter has tried to trace the origins of that trajectory, challenging oversimplified understandings of a clean and seamless importation of American
popular culture and a fervent desire among Chamorro men to embrace that culture at the expense of their own.
CHAPTER 7
NEGOTIATING MANHOOD: CHAMORRO MASCULINITIES IN PASTS, PRESENTS,
AND FUTURES OF GUAM HISTORY

This work began at the 2012 Change of Command ceremonies held in Guam and outgoing Joint Region Marianas Commander Paul Bushong’s contention that the people of the island needed to “man up” and conform to the ongoing militarization of the island. Bushong’s call for Guam and its people to man up provoked several questions and impassioned responses. Each underscored a seemingly contentious ground on which dominant views of Chamorro masculinities and their relationship to a long and ongoing history of US colonialism and militarism met head to head. This intersection of US militaristic colonial authority and Chamorro masculinities has been the central concern of this work which has examined critically and carefully the manner in which those masculinities have been understood, imagined, subverted, asserted, and re-evaluated through the specific lenses of education, economy and militarization, politics, and popular culture.

Perhaps the change of command ceremonies serve as an equally appropriate point at which to try draw this work toward some point of closure, or more aptly, toward a point at which we might identify future opportunities to interrogate Chamorro masculinities in the ongoing milieu of Americanization in twenty-first century Guam. While Bushong’s comments reflect the historical posture of the US military in relation to its colony in Guam and to the Chamorro male subjects it administered, his 2012 address reflected the stamina of that posture across time. The outgoing commander made clear his place as but one link in a vast genealogy of Naval and other military authorities of both times past and times yet to come. As Bushong’s successor Tilghman D. Payne remarked upon assuming the command of Joint Region Marianas, “A few months ago when I learned that I was coming to Guam I was very excited. There’s no place that epitomizes
more of what the Navy is about.” 674 But what exactly is the Navy about, and how precisely has and will Guam epitomize that?

**Layers of Manhood: Chamorro Masculinities across American Colonial Constructs**

This work has largely concerned itself with examining Chamorro men’s negotiations with US military colonialism. In particular, these negotiations have been interrogated for the several implications they had for the ongoing social construction of indigenous masculinities in the context of the Navy’s administration of Guam in the first half of the twentieth century. My examination of these implications began with revisiting and reevaluating myopic historiographies that have positioned Chamorro men as an endangered element of Guam’s historical and socio-cultural landscape whose few survivors have been read simply as reflections of the foreign men and masculinities that arrived on Guam’s shores to establish colonial rule. Those historiographies have likewise positioned Chamorro men and masculinities that diverged from the norms established by foreign men as deviant, backward, and even effeminate.

Indeed, successive and ongoing colonialisms in Guam have enshrined the island as a site of contestation upon which several institutions, ideologies, and other colonial constructs became embedded and through which Chamorro men and their masculinities came to be measured. As this study has endeavored to demonstrate, however, native men and masculinities in Guam remained fluid and complex across various American colonial constructs, at times transcending, renegotiating, or rejecting altogether their confines. Such maneuverings became patently clear in the particular spheres of American education, economy, militarization, politics, and popular culture.

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This work began with an acknowledgement that it would be limited in scope. One of the foremost limitations has rested in the approach to Chamorro masculinities through a seemingly a heteronormative context, or what R.W. Connell has theorized as “hegemonic masculinities.” That limitation largely arose out of my own narrow and presumptuous view of Chamorro masculinities that assumed the most appropriate point of departure from which to approach them was situated in a set of supposedly dominant or normative realities. In that regard, this work has indeed been limited due to a glaring absence of considerations of feminist, queer, gay, transgender, and other masculinities. What I have found, however, and what this work has ultimately demonstrated, is that which may appear “normative” or “hegemonic” in nature is exponentially layered, complex, diverse, and telling with regard to the agency of Chamorro men in their own history.

As Connell and James Messerschmidt assert of the trajectory of the concept of hegemonic masculinities, they were “…distinguished from other masculinities, especially subordinated masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it…” Naval policy in Guam certainly engendered the proliferation of various notions of manhood and masculinities based on American constructions of gender that were imported to Guam. And given the Navy’s position as the supreme colonial authority on the island, those notions became embedded theoretically as the standard against which other masculinities would be judged, legitimized, and even dismissed.

As demonstrated in the preceding chapters, only a small minority of the socio-economically elite of the island’s capital city came to reify the normative or dominant scripts of gender that mirrored those common among the American men in power in Guam. The vast majority became subject to the polar opposite which mandated their compliance with an economy that required their physical toil. Yet Chamorro men on both sides of the socio-economic class divide, and everywhere in between, found numerous ways to reappropriate that which was packaged and imported to Guam and reimagine and reshape it in ways that were meaningful to their own ongoing constructions of their gendered identities. In this sense, hegemonic or heteronormative masculinities among Chamorro men diverged from any sense of singularity or insularity that concepts of normativity might otherwise imply.

The establishment of the island’s first compulsory public education system in Guam as described in Chapter Three enforced for Chamorro men a largely prescriptive curriculum that prioritized assimilation and a heteronormative construct of masculinity that was rooted in physical labor. Here, the US Navy targeted the island’s youngest and presumably most impressionable portion of society and employed native children as vessels through which the assimilationist agenda might become embedded and advanced. In doing so, the Chamorro male body could serve a dual purpose of advancing American benevolent assimilation and in providing the labor force necessary for growing a successful economy. The emergence of such expectations in relation to the Chamorro male body established a seemingly dominant or normative script of masculinity for the masses in which the value of academic and intellectual aptitude paled in comparison to physical strength and manual skill.

Despite the restrictive and prescriptive nature of the education system, Chamorro men proved far more composite in their interactions with the mandates of the Naval Government of
Guam than they have previously been credited with in the historiographies. Their dexterity in navigating the mandates of an education system preoccupied with agricultural and industrial arts becomes apparent through a small sector of the Chamorro male student population that embraced the opportunities to obtain English language fluency through the school system. However limited that fluency, it was translated into opportunities for socio-economic class mobility as these men monopolized the skill to obtain employment as teachers, government clerks, businessmen, and civil servants. These highly coveted career paths and the ascent of the select few among the native male population into these ranks would solidify the formation of a core of elite, educated, English-speaking, and cash-earning native men. Thus, the education system served as primary site at which the socio-economic class structure was solidified and one of many ways through which Chamorro masculinities became scripted in the context of Americanization. Here, what evolved into “normative” masculinities was actually two separate and seemingly divergent trajectories of manhood.

In contrast to the small elite core that arose out of the education system, the vast majority of Chamorro men in prewar Guam did not have the ability, or perhaps the desire, to access the lucrative opportunities made available beyond agricultural and industrial training. As examined in Chapter Four, their prospects for careers in Guam were primarily limited to the farms and other spaces of manual labor. The Navy’s economic development of Guam, though preoccupied with establishing a capitalist, cash-based economy, largely relegated Chamorro men to agricultural production that would provide ample food sources for Americans living in Guam. As beasts of burden for the Navy administration, Chamorro men sought ways to improve their material circumstances in ways that might elevate their socio-economic class standing and offer them prospects beyond the farm and even beyond Guam. By and large, US military service
became the primary avenue that afforded Chamorro men with the ability to secure their material well-being while simultaneously asserting their legitimacy as viable men through succeeding in the exclusively masculine enterprise that was the US Navy.

Though these seemingly polar opposite spaces of masculinity emerged, Chamorro men proved far more layered in their engagements with the Navy. Even for those men who remained alienated from prospects of non-manual labor and socio-economic advancement, opportunities to improve their material and social circumstances presented themselves in military service. Here, many Chamorro men elected to pursue opportunities aboard US naval vessels, where their physical prowess might be performed, but in ways that yielded more lucrative cash wages and benefits, both highly coveted in the increasingly capitalist economy. Even in full uniform and having pledged oaths of allegiance to the nation whose military they were serving, those Chamorro men who attempted to navigate class divides through military service proved far more complex in their prioritization of family and communal obligation inherent to the Chamorro cultural framework.

Educational and economic policy worked in tandem with each other to promote the dominant role for Chamorro men as inextricably tied to physical labor. In both spaces, however, the expectations of the American colonial regime were never fully realized. Chamorro men proved adept at manipulating the education system in ways that allowed them access English language fluency and subsequently, career prospects in non-manual trades that afforded them opportunities at socio-economic advancement and affluence. This established a seeming polar divide between the classes, positioning those men who possessed advanced education, English language skills, and non-manual, wage-paying jobs in opposition to the larger masses of men.
who lacked English fluency and who were relegated to careers in manual labor offering menial or no wage-earning potential.

In the context of the socio-economic class divide, the Chamorro male body became a vehicle through which native manhood and masculinities would be measured. For the more affluent and powerful, albeit smaller, group of Chamorro men in the colonial center, what Connell and Messerschmidt coin as “the most honored way of being a man” largely equated to emulating American men. In this regard, normative manhood and masculinities for Chamorro men became largely characterized by English-language fluency, monetary wealthy, and non-manual or “white-collar” professionalism. Yet even the most affluent Chamorro men who emulated the normative, American scripts of masculinity cannot be read entirely as the antithesis of Chamorro masculinities steeped in the non-English, manual laboring, non-elite strata of society. The men of the Guam Congress provide a relevant case in point. They demonstrated a deftness for imbuing their own indigenous cultural framework even in the most American of colonial constructs.

As Chapter Five illustrates, Chamorro men of the Guam Congress proved fluid in occupying multiple spaces. They ascended the political ranks and carved out new space for native men in the American democratic political sphere. Though the Guam Congress was indeed founded by the US Naval Government and organized in similar fashion to American political institutions in the US, the Chamorro congressmen serve as tangible evidence that challenges binary understandings of native men as mirror images of their American superiors. Rather, these Chamorro congressmen crossed several boundaries demonstrating the manner in which the posturing of native men in American democracy was largely encoded with indigenous ideological and cultural notions of leadership and masculinity. Here, Chamorro men transcended
their surface personas as wealthy elite men thriving in an American institution and proved versatile and multifaceted in their political undertakings.

Though the Guam Congress on the surface appeared to be a classic American democratic political institution, its Chamorro congressmen made notable strides in nativizing the distinctly American institution. In their attempts to communicate in the language of the Americans and following the rules of order mandated for their institution, the congressmen embedded elements of the Chamorro world view and cultural framework to maintain their integrity and accountability to their native constituency. Here, the pervasiveness of mamâhlao in the context of political forthrightness very much aligned the congressmen to speak English the Chamorro way. Moreover, they rejected notions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and, rather than trying emulate their white male superiors entirely, insisted on preserving and asserting their Chamorro-ness through an insistence on ethnic distinction.

Where the colonial constructs of classroom education, capitalist economic development, militarization, and democratic political proceedings stand out as formalized spaces characteristic of the Navy’s governance of Guam, the arena of American popular culture had the potential to serve, and was often read as, a meeting ground at which the otherwise divergent socio-economic class groups might find a common ground through entertainment and leisure. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, popular culture was the hoped for unifying force that could draw the natives together despite their class distinctions. Indeed, popular culture served as the platform on which all Chamorros, rich or poor, could simply be American through their consumption of mass culture from the US. Yet as this work has illustrated, socio-economic class lines proved unremitting and largely prohibitive for Chamorro men in their attempts to access to American popular culture.
By and large, what qualified as American popular or mass culture in Guam during the prewar years evolved primarily as high culture accessible to a small elite population. Still, Chamorro men found ways to cross between the divides of class embedding new meaning on American popular culture and making it meaningful to them in various ways. For those in the lower rungs of the class system, they remained largely alienated from American popular culture and the venues at which it was disseminated. Yet, many employed what knowledge they did have of such culture and recoded it in ways that were meaningful to them. As discussed in depth in Chapter Six, some Chamorro men such as Juan G. Guzman, Jake Calvo, and Tomas Tanaka employed what knowledge they did have of American popular culture in ways intended to resist American and Japanese colonial authority in Guam. Even for those who did have access to American popular culture, they likewise embedded their own meaning, cultural framework, and creative eye in the reappropriation of that culture. Though seemingly not so popular in the sense of the word, mass culture proved a powerful and useful tool for Chamorro men in engaging in the socio-cultural arena, not merely as passive consumers, but as active agents in the dissemination and interpretation of American popular culture.

Chamorro men’s engagements with American popular culture were not confined to the processes of consumption, interpretation, and reappropriation. The mobilization of Chamorro men under the umbrella of social intercourse offers a lucid example of the resistant posture that Chamorro males assumed in the context of popular culture. Despite objections from the Catholic Church and Naval Government of Guam, the members of the Young Men’s League of Guam (YMLG) carved out a space for themselves in response to the racial discrimination that alienated native men from other social organizations. The reactionary nature of the YMLG is further evident in the insistence of its members to conduct their social intercourse in the Chamorro
language, despite the Navy’s persistent attempts to enforce English as the only acceptable form of communication beyond the home and church. Here, American popular culture is further made Chamorro and employed for Chamorro purposes. Whether consuming popular culture, resisting it, or finding ways to give it new meaning and relevance, Chamorro men who engaged in popular culture proved just as fluid in negotiating military colonialism as their counterparts in the more formalized educational, economic, military, and political spaces.

As demonstrated in the explorations of the specific sites of education, economy, military, politics, and popular culture, the engagements with US military colonialism among Chamorro men were largely layered, and thus, the ongoing social construction of native masculinities emerge as equally layered and complex. Where education sought to confine Chamorro men to manual labor in servitude to the colonial administration, native men proved astute at extracting more lucrative opportunities that might benefit them and facilitate their rise both materially within the colonial structure and socially in the broader community of Guam. Even those men who were unable to ascend the socio-economic ranks through carving out space in the English-speaking, cash-earning, and non-manual working class demonstrated a notable ability to maneuver the otherwise prescriptive and restrictive economic development policies that destined them to toil on their farms or remain confined to Guam.

These constant reimaginings and reshapings of colonial constructs such as education, economy, military, politics, and popular culture by Chamorro men illuminates the manner in which native men prove not only fluid and complex, but far more indigenized than previously acknowledged. Quite clearly, such men adopted and adapted norms of American manhood and masculinities, yet their imbuing of Chamorro concepts of manhood and masculinities is equally composite. As Messerschmidt and Connell contend hegemonic masculinities “…came into
existence in specific circumstances and were open to historical change. More precisely, there could be a struggle for hegemony, and older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones.” The specific historical circumstances through which hegemonic masculinities became embedded in twentieth-century Guam are clear, and the impact of American constructions of gender have no doubt influenced the ongoing development of Chamorro masculinities. Yet, as this work has shown, there are perhaps infinite layers to Chamorro manhood and masculinities. These were not merely displaced by more potent American or other masculinities. Rather, they withstood successive and persistent colonialisms and assimilationist efforts demonstrating that “Challenges to hegemony are common, and so are adjustments in the face of these challenges.”

Challenges and adjustments in the face of colonial impositions are a defining mark of the time period under review and Chamorro men’s negotiations with US military colonialism. These negotiations were patently marked by a complex interplay of compliance and resistance, acquiescence and apathy, and cooperation and compromise. Rather than reducing Chamorro men and their history to a singular response to American colonialism, or condemning the US Navy’s administration of Guam as an entirely uncomplex, domineering, or oppressive regime, these engagements between colonizer and colonized might more aptly be read as the impetus of the development or ongoing evolution of hybrid Chamorro masculinities that reflect the complex history of Guam.

Several scholars rooted in the field of Gender Studies have posited the value of viewing masculinities from the lens of hybridity. Sociologists Tristan Bridges and C.J. Pascoe, for example, define hybrid masculinities as “…men’s selective incorporation of performances and

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677 Ibid. 835.
identity elements associated with marginalized and subordinated masculinities and femininities. As the preceding chapters have illustrated, Chamorro men were indeed selective in what elements of performativity and identity arising out of dominant or hegemonic masculinities they appropriated in the construction of their gendered identities. As the colonial administration proved resolute in embedding its colonial agenda which was largely gendered, Chamorro men proved equally determined to adopt, adapt, resist, and remake elements of the hegemonic structures. In this regard, any presumption of a singular dominant or normative American masculinity proves a fallacy in its application to prewar Guam.

**Men, Money, and the Makings of Masculinities: Chamorro Men and Socio-Economic Class**

While this study has largely demonstrated the fluidity of Chamorro men in negotiating American colonial impositions, and the complexity of ever-evolving hybrid Chamorro masculinities as a result, the underlying framework within which these negotiations were situated was, by and large, socio-economic class. While several historians and other scholars reference class issues in their examinations of an array of topics relevant to Guam’s history, the pervasive role that class has played in Chamorro encounters with colonialism remains largely underinterrogated. In an attempt to address this shortcoming of the current practice of the history of Guam, this work has largely concerned itself with the ways in which class experiences and attitudes can be a useful framework for understanding the historical agency of Chamorro men and the myriad ways in which manhood and masculinities became shaped by those experiences and attitudes.

As gender scholar David Morgan contends, “Conventionally, the terrain of class and class struggle is located in the public sphere, the sphere of employment, where the deployment of

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wealth and property and politics is easily seen. The public sphere was also a sphere dominated by men as they engaged in employment or class and political action."\textsuperscript{679} With regard to Guam history specifically, Hattori similarly posits that both Chamorro men and women “…without money, without a blue-blooded lineage, without educational achievement, and without serving in elective office are typically ignored in history.”\textsuperscript{680} Indeed, Chamorro men of the socio-economically elite classes of prewar Guam are among the only indigenous agents in the island’s history who are mentioned by name and who receive considerable attention in the historic record. Chamorro men from the lower echelons of the class structure and Chamorro women as a whole fare minimally in that record.

In light of the limitations of the existing historical record, a driving motivation of this work has been to uplift out of obscurity and give voice to those Chamorro men who lacked the socio-economic class standing to warrant historical notoriety, but whose experiences and contributions were no less important in the construction of Chamorro manhood and masculinities. As the preceding chapters demonstrate, these men were not merely compliant and faceless natives who lent their bodies and minds to the colonial agenda. Though many of them in the lower classes indeed subscribed to the physical expectations of the Navy as promulgated by education and economy, their nuanced agency in doing so offers a far more complex view of the ways in which native men responded to, adopted, adapted, and resisted the colonial agenda. Whether they were farmers or sailors, each of these men straddled their cultural, familial, and communal obligations in ways that challenge assumptions of them as minions of the naval government.

\textsuperscript{679} Morgan, “Class and Masculinity,” 169.
In allowing some form of historical voice and recognition to the socio-economically inferior, this work has further sought to re-evaluate the ways in which the indigenous elite have been understood and celebrated in the historical record. Recognizing the manner in which such men have dominated the historical spotlight, this work has sought not to dismiss them entirely, but rather, to interrogate them more critically as native men that whose engagements with US military colonialism were far more complex and indigenized than previously credited. Though their socio-economic class standing indeed afforded opportunity and advantage that far exceeded that available to their counterparts in the lower classes, this did not necessarily set them on a trajectory to simply mirror the manhood and masculinities dominant among the men in the colonial administration. Instead, and as illustrated in the previous chapters, such men persistently maintained their indigenous identity, their cultural values and practices, and their worldviews whether in congressional session, in a movie theater, on a vaudeville stage, or at a desk composing poetry and fiction. In doing so, they directly challenge the manner in which they have been memorialized as fine specimens of the American assimilationist agenda. Rather, these men arise as multifaceted historical agents who influenced that which was brought to influence them.

I began the research for this work with the naïve and arrogant assumption that I was simply to get a sense of what Chamorro men were doing and how they behaved during the Navy’s tenure as the governing power in Guam. That presumptuous posture grew out of what I believed to be seemingly straightforward constructions of gender and a desire to engage the increasingly trendy realm of scholarship known as Gender Studies. What has become clear, however, is that this work is as much about Chamorro men’s engagements and negotiations with socio-economic class as it has been about native men’s engagements with American military
colonialism. As this work has demonstrated, class is an absolutely essential framework from which gender in Guam is both constructed and understood, and indeed, gender is likewise an essential framework for comprehending class as a pervasive socio-economic force in Guam’s past and present. In this complex entanglement, Chamorro men proved a deftness for maneuvering between, across, and within various boundaries and obstacles whether cultural, political, economic, or otherwise. As this work demonstrates, gender and class should never be disentangled in the doings of Guam history as each are absolutely relational to the other.

På’go yan Agupa’: Prospects for Chamorro Masculinities as a Historical Lens in the Twenty-First Century

The late Tongan scholar Epeli Hau’ofa argued that Pacific Islanders conceptualize the past in ways fundamentally different in comparison to Westerners. Speaking to linguistic terms for “the past” employed in a number Pacific Islander languages, Hau’ofa identifies the common thread between each in their literal translations in English to “front” or “ahead.” In the Chamorro language, for example, the term mo’na literally translates to “in front of” or “to move or place something in front of.” When used to describe time, however, mo’na takes on seemingly different meanings such as “first” or “before.” Hau’ofa asserts that several Pacific Islander languages’ conceptualization of the past as that which is in front, ahead, or before us is more than simply a linguistic construct or coincidence between islands and Islanders. As he contends of Pacific Islanders’ notions of their past,

The past then is going ahead of us, leading into the future, which is behind us. …from this perspective we can see the notion of time as being circular. …That the past is ahead, in front of us, is a conception of time that helps us retain our memories and to be aware of its presence. What is behind us cannot be seen and is liable to be forgotten readily. What

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681 På’go yan agupa’ – today and tomorrow.
682 Hau’ofa, “Pasts to Remember,” 460.
683 Ibid., 460.
is ahead of us cannot be forgotten so readily or ignored, for it is in front of our minds’
eyes, always reminding us of our presence.\textsuperscript{684}

Hau’ofa’s contention that the Pacific Islander worldview positions indigenous people of
the region to walk into their futures with their backs facing those futures and their eyes facing the
past is one of his more prominent theoretical conceptualizations. He positions it as part of a
broader genealogy of similar theoretical underpinnings proffered by other indigenous scholars of
the Pacific. That genealogy has since flourished in Pacific Islands scholarship, and several
others have gone on to deploy and develop this philosophy. I draw from that here not as a means
of regurgitating the propositions of the scholars before me, but more so because it speaks directly
to a common gripe I encounter as an instructor of Guam History, and as I would imagine, one
similar to those encountered by historians and scholars elsewhere. Whether from students
bemoaning the prescribed course of study at the University of Guam that requires coursework in
regional studies of which Guam History is a part, or from persons who are generally cynical
about the contemporary relevance of the island’s history, there persists a never-ending grumbling
which poses the question: “What’s the point of learning all this? It’s all in the past.” But is it
really?

The notion that what is in the past has passed has never resonated with me, as I have
always subscribed to Hau’ofa and others’ contention that the past is very much present and has
significant bearing over what lies ahead. The same rings true for this particular study of
Chamorro men and masculinities, and their intersections with US military colonialism. The sites
of American education, economy, military, politics, and popular culture continue to be spaces of
contestation in Guam and they prove vibrant and promising sites for further inquiry into
Chamorro masculinities as they continue to intersect with ongoing US colonialism and

\textsuperscript{684} Ibid., 460.

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militarism. Each of these spaces possesses powerful discursive elements just as they have in the past, and these continue to shape and reshape what it means to be a man in twenty-first century Guam amid perhaps the most pervasive American influences propagated through the rapid and universal processes of globalization occurring throughout the world.

At the 27th Annual Language Arts Conference (LAC) in Guam hosted by the University of Guam in 2014, classroom teachers, scholars, and community organizers from Guam and the broader Micronesian region gathered in the interest of “professional growth and enrichment in literacy.” As part of the conference’s opening plenary session, Deputy Superintendent of the Guam Department of Education Joseph Sanchez addressed the hotel ballroom full of public and private school teachers from the elementary, middle and high school levels. Sanchez offered both an inspiring and sobering address to the island’s educators. At once, his address rallied the teachers with a rousing call to embrace the notion that “We have to believe as an island community that we can achieve, that all students from Micronesia can achieve, and not just based on or in comparison to our counterparts in the United States.”

Sanchez’s address quickly shifted from the inspirational to the somber. The administrator sternly reminded the classroom teachers in the audience that several grave problems persisted in the education system of the island. Much like the first standardized tests issued in Guam in 1927 by the US Navy, island school children continued to demonstrate dramatic deficiencies on standardized tests now administered by the civil Government of Guam more than eighty-five years later. In particular, Guam students during the academic year 2013-2014 from the first through twelfth grades performed consistently “below basic” in the areas of

reading, language, and mathematics. The current state of education in Guam not only mirrored the performance shortcomings of students educated during the Navy’s tenure, but larger institutional problems persisted that harkened back to the prewar administration of education in Guam. Sanchez unapologetically and firmly reminded Guam’s teachers that

We gear our boys to do certain things. Same thing with our girls. Ethnicity? National origin? We know that there is institutional gender bias. We know that there is institutional racism out there. Socio-economic status? We have students that can’t afford to pay the fees for field trips. What do we do? We make them stay at school while we take those that can pay. If every child cannot go, then don’t go!...Our department still has a long way to go…

As Sanchez’s address at the LAC demonstrates, the education system in Guam, still subject to the US Department of Education’s mandates, continues to be plagued with many of the same institutional shortcomings that were prominent during the Navy’s administration of island schools. Those shortcomings, as they had in the past, continue to have implications for the ongoing construction of Chamorro masculinities. Sanchez acknowledges in particular that the islands schoolboys are engineered for certain things and that socio-economic class remains omnipresent in the education system. To what extent are institutional gender bias, racism, and socio-economic class primary obstacles for Chamorro men specifically to overcome?

As illustrated in Chapter Three’s review of the glaring absence of native men in higher education at the University of Guam, Chamorro and other Micronesian men continue to face obstacles in completing higher education as they make up the striking minority of students and a notable majority of those who withdraw from school before completing their degree programs.

687 Sanchez, “20/20: A Clear Vision for Education on Guam.” For academic year 2013-2014, the Guam Department of Education reported the scores achieved on the SAT10 standardized tests for island students in the first through twelfth grade. Across the grade levels, the scores achieved in the areas of reading, language, and mathematics were consistently rated at “below basic performance.” For grades 1 through 12, the percentage of students scoring below basic performance in each areas ranged as follows: Reading, 22-58%; Language, 26-69%; and Mathematics, 15-93%.

Potential links need to be drawn between the gender, race, and socio-economic biases in Guam’s public school system at the elementary, middle, and high school levels, and the ways in which such biases may be positioning Chamorro men in their pursuits of tertiary education. Such links absolutely require a careful historical consciousness of where Chamorro men have been in the past in relation to American education, and where they are situated in the present in relation to an education system that still has “a long way to go”. In several ways, this study has sought to encourage and provide a starting framework for approaching such discussions.

The overwhelming absence of Chamorro men in spaces of American education in contemporary Guam sits in striking contrast to the tremendous presence of native men in US military service. I posit that the two are inextricably linked to each other. In a 2005 attempt to persuade the US Federal Government to increase its military presence in Guam, and thereby increase federal spending on the island, Mark Forbes, former speaker of i Liheslaturan Guahan (the Guam Legislature), informed American officials that “The local population of Guam contains large numbers of military veterans and retirees. We may have the largest per capita number of veterans of any American community. Indeed, military service is a broad local tradition. Guam is a recruiter’s paradise”\(^689\)

The “broad local tradition” of Chamorro men’s enlistment in the US military and the trajectory that solidified Guam as a “recruiter’s paradise” has been taken for granted historically and Chamorro men who rise to the call of duty to the US have been fashioned as diehard patriots willing to lay down their lives for Uncle Sam for no reason other than blind loyalty and devotion to the US flag. Some have tried to add more complexity to the issue of Chamorro men’s high rates of military enlistment beyond the dimensions of patriotism and loyalty. Chamorro scholar

Laura Torres Souder has theorized the links between post-World War II military service and Chamorro notions of reciprocity noting that

Reciprocity continues to lie at the heart of the social world of Chamorros. Generosity, such as Uncle Sam’s, is understood and responded to within the framework of Chamorro exchange and obligation. The responsibility to reciprocate, as individuals and as a collective community, the benefits brought by Uncle Sam obligated Chamorros to give the best they had. And so our people gave precious land, and continue to offer their sons and daughters to show their appreciation to Uncle Sam. Obligation being a sacred duty, Chamorros have since been caught in a never-ending cycle of paying back.\textsuperscript{690}

Souder makes a valuable contribution to debates over the motivations for Chamorro men’s enlistment into US military service. By examining the cross-sections of indigenous cultural practices and philosophies such as reciprocity with the historical experience of Chamorros who witnessed the US military intervention that ended their wartime occupation by Japan, Souder adds complex layers to our understandings of Chamorro men and militarism. But what of the subsequent generations who have become more and more removed from the lived experience of war and liberation by the US military? Current attempts to explain the phenomenon of inflated enlistment figures from Guam, as well as from throughout the US affiliated states and territories in the Pacific, have leaned more toward an economic analysis. As illustrated in a \textit{USA Today} article, there is a widely held assumption that military enlistment among Pacific Islander is simply a matter of dollars and cents for the “impoverished” island nations and territories. As American journalist Greg Zoroya contends, “Impoverished young people from remote islands in the Pacific have for years flocked to the US military in search of higher wages and better futures.”\textsuperscript{691}

\textsuperscript{690} Laura M. Torres Souder, “Psyche Under Siege: Uncle Sam, Look What You’ve Done to Us,” \textit{Sustainable Development or Malignant Growth?} (Suva: Marama Publications, 1994), 194.

While the persistence of Chamorro cultural practice and philosophy, as well as economic motivations provide a useful lens to understanding native men’s subscription to US military service, further study is warranted in fully embracing the layered and hybrid nature of contemporary Chamorro men and their engagements with American capitalism and militarism in the present. As Chapter Four of this work contends, economic development and militarism in Guam have been and continue to be inextricably linked, and those links are further intertwined with men’s ongoing alienation from the educational sphere. The economic motivations for military enlistment in the late 1930s were compounded by a desire among Chamorro men to serve their families and contribute to the cycles of reciprocity. In doing so, they proved their manhood within a Chamorro cultural context employing the opportunities made available through American institutions, all the while satisfying expectations that they remain physically competent and strong.

The interworkings of economy, militarization, physicality, and manliness continue to underpin present-day Chamorro men’s negotiations with US colonialism and militarism. These were made plainly clear in an extensive interview with a 23-year-old University of Guam student and member of the Guam Army National Guard who requested to only be identified as “GB.” Describing his motives for and experience of enlisting in US military service, GB recalls that

I had a bunch of jobs. I worked at GMH (Guam Memorial Hospital). I worked at DNA Evolution as a sales association. I even worked at TGI Fridays as a special ops person, meaning you’re everybody’s bitch. You help out the back of the house, the front of the house, the bartenders. Seriously, you’re everyone’s bitch! I lost my job. I was financially unstable. I can’t go to school anymore. I was working two jobs to pay for school just to go to GCC (Guam Community College). I was supposed to enlist right after I got out of high school but then I decided to stay back. And then when I lost my job, that’s when I decided to jump into the military. The Army Guard, they had me! They said, “this is a list of jobs you could take, just pick one. On your AZVAB (Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery) you scored above 50 so we can give you the G.I.
Bill with the GI kicker. Right now we’re offering a 20 grand bonus too.” They just kept giving me so much perks. So I decided to go with the Guard.692

GB’s decision to enlist, which was largely based on all the perks he was offered, reinforces the inextricability of socio-economic advancement and militarism in Guam that also shares links to the educational struggle of native men. More provocatively, GB conveys a common perception among contemporary Chamorro men that menial labor with limited earning potential largely emasculates (an in turn feminizes) them and relegates them to positions of inferiority. Military enlistment offered GB a means of not being “everybody’s bitch.” Though the use of the term “bitch” here largely speaks to GB’s general sense of subservience, the term carries embedded meanings associated with pejorative references to women and womanhood. His employment of the term bitch adds a complex layer to his engagement with militarism in that enlistment not only afforded him an avenue toward financial gain, but it further afforded GB the ability to transcend his perceived state of inferiority and even emasculation that accompanied his working in a “bunch of jobs,” being “financially unstable,” and unable to complete higher education.

Perhaps more telling than GB’s notion that money and perks solidified his decision to “go with the Guard” was the persistent sense of ambivalence and ambiguity he encountered when enlisting and that he continues to wrestle with now that he is enlisted. GB remains proud of his decision to enlist noting that “…for guys here, there’s not much opportunities here on Guam to go out and start a good job right off the bat. So you need some base to jump off from. And the military is pretty much the best you could do.”693 Though GB’s sentiments might be read on the surface as a lament over perceived lack of choice for Chamorro men in the way of career prospects, he adds that he is proud of his service in the military in that, “Even though I moved

693 Ibid.
out of my parents house already, I can still go to the commissary and get groceries for them, go
gas up the trucks. I even built an extension to mom and dad’s house. We got cousins living in
there now. Not too bad for just a high school graduate. I know my family appreciates it.”

Here, GB reinforces the pervasive nature of Chamorro men’s desires to serve their extended
family and the role that military service provides in doing that.

Though GB has found gainful employment and has elevated himself socially,
economically, and within the extended family system of interdependence through military
service, his ambivalent and ambiguous posture in relation to such service persists. In his
summation, “When you look at it, the National Guard serves not only the Federal [government],
but we also serve GovGuam. We answer to the governor and the federal at the same time. It’s a
little bit more responsibility.”

The service that GB alludes to, which simultaneously panders
to both the US government and the local Government of Guam, more commonly known as
“GovGuam,” creates a space of ambiguity for many Chamorro men enlisted in the military. In
GB’s estimation

Yea, I think we serve America. That’s what it’s all about on TV, on the news. Serving
your country, doing your duty. Especially whenever an officer asks you, “why’d you
join?” You always say to serve your country. So you’re serving America, but you’re also
serving Guam. But there’s much more respect being here in Guam [in the National
Guard] than in active duty [abroad]. First and foremost, I’m Chamorro. You’re not
gonna see most of us running around with an American flag screaming “I’m proud to be
an American!” Not unless that’s what we’re ordered to do (chuckles). You can ask
anybody, even the Filipinos from Guam in the Guard. They’ll probably give you the
same answer – the island of Guam, the people of Guam come first.

GB’s assessment of where Guam Army National Guard members’ loyalties and allegiances lie is
telling of the ways in which Chamorro men’s enlistment in the US military, both historically and
at present, deserve far more interrogation and critical interpretation beyond what prevails in the

694 Ibid.
695 Ibid.
696 Ibid.
historiography. While US military enlistment continues to offer lucrative opportunities for material and social advancement, fulfilling cultural and familial obligations, and performing the baseline criterion of masculinity such as physical prowess, there remain complex, ambivalent, and ambiguous spaces in need of exploration. These spaces have their own histories, and a conscious effort to explore those histories begins in the first decades of US military colonialism in Guam.

GB’s sentiments shed additional light on the need for further study on the role of Chamorro men and masculinities in understanding Chamorro identity and its ongoing evolution in the present. GB’s contention that he and many of his fellow Guardsmen are “first and foremost” Chamorro harkens back to the insistence of Chamorro men to retain ethnic distinction even during the most aggressive of assimilationist efforts by the US Navy. Whether fighting in the Guam Congress for civil rights or against annexation to the Philippines as discussed in Chapter Five, or utilizing film, theater, or creative writing as explored in Chapter Six, Chamorro men of the prewar years demonstrated an unyielding propensity for insisting on Chamorro ethnic distinction. Their efforts to indigenize American institutions, practices, and forms of expression persist in the present.

More so than ever, the Chamorro identity has been called into question and come under fire in light of Guam’s increasingly multi-ethnic population and its ongoing status as a US colony which allows for very little, if any, local legislation that might otherwise preserve the rights of indigenous people to assert their position as the host culture of the island as taotao tåno’ (people of the land). Contestations over Chamorro identity and the manner in which that identity is valued in the larger community came to a head in 2011. After taking office in January of that year, Governor Eddie Baza Calvo delivered the State of the Island Address just two months later.
during which he began with “Good morning my fellow Guamanians.”697 That salutation offered by the newly elected Governor, a prominent Chamorro businessman, political leader, and the second member of the wealthiest Chamorro family on the island to serve as governor, was followed by several uses of the term Guamanian at a rate of six times as often as the word Chamorro.698 Moreover, the governor’s only use of the word Chamorro was in reference to Guam’s ancient history.

The governor’s overall use of the term Guamanian, and subsequently, his sparing use of the term Chamorro in the State of the Island Address sparked heated criticisms from his constituency. In particular, the late Chamorro senator and political activist Vicente “Ben” Cabrera Pangelinan charged Calvo with erasing the indigenous people of the island, noting that “There’s no more Chamorros in the governor's speech. He doesn't think we exist anymore, we're all Guamanians,. I beg to differ. I think we have four thousand years of history here and it can't be erased by the last 20, 30, 40, 50 years of being Guamanian and so it's sad we're relegated in our own homeland by our own governor to the back of the bus.”699 While Calvo eventually apologized to those who were offended by his word choice, he remained unapologetic for his use of the term Guamanian to the exclusion of the term Chamorro noting that “Guamanian” is inclusive of all people who live on Guam, those who are Chamorro and those who are not Chamorro.700 Now in his second term as Governor of Guam, Calvo remains firm in his resolve to serve his “fellow Guamanians” as evident in his most recent State of the Island Address in

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700 “Guam Chamorros Chagrined by Governor’s Address” and “‘Chamorro’ or ‘Guamanian’. ”
which the term was still affectionately used by the Guamanian governor, much to the ongoing
dismay of his Chamorro constituents.\textsuperscript{701}

The ongoing and oftentimes animated debate between Calvo and his fellow Guamanians
and those who prefer the ethnic distinction of Chamorros harkens back to the earliest days of
Chamorro men’s entry into the American democratic political sphere. Regardless of where one
might align himself in the ongoing debate over Chamorro ethnic distinction, its prevalence in
contemporary political spaces and debates warrants further consideration and promises new
avenues to understanding Chamorro men’s negotiations in the American democratic political
sphere with ongoing Americanization and indigenous identity. Given the diminished recognition
of men in Guam’s historiography as active protectors and bearers of Chamorro culture, continued
efforts to dig deeper into their notions of Chamorroness are long overdue.

In just these few examples of issues of concern and contestation, it becomes blatantly
clear that Chamorro men continue to wrestle with the attitudes, expectations, and contradictions
of American colonial constructs in Guam in 2015. It has been nearly one hundred and seventeen
years since the signing of the Treaty of Paris which effectively made Guam a colony of the
United States. Since then, and despite over a century of “getting to know each other,” Chamorro
men continue to navigate numerous spaces and boundaries in their ongoing and sometimes
uneasy interactions with Americans and their institutions, practices, ideologies, and expectations.

Gender more broadly and masculinities in particular, although theoretically grounded
and a part of ongoing, rigorous academic discourse, remain abstract and broad by their very
nature. Studies of Chamorro men and masculinities, then, must be equally broad and transcend
some of the conventional sources and methods common to historical undertakings.  This work


has employed the traditional sources of historical inquiry such as newspapers, government records and proceedings, and all the usual gems of government and private archives. Yet, those sources have proved largely limited in that they very infrequently, if at all, address gender directly. Thus, much has been left to careful, critical, and at times painful interpretation and re-interpretation. This work has attempted to embrace more nuanced approaches that extract from a wide range of unsuspecting sources in order to avoid as much as possible the dangers of taking too liberal an interpretive license. Indeed, a wealth of information and insight lay tucked away in piles of census data, interview transcripts, movies, poems, visual art, and perhaps most enlightening, in face-to-face engagements with manåmko‘ (elders) on their house porches or with the village boys by the barbeque pit on a Friday night. These have all been inspirational and eye opening for me, as I know they will continue to be in future endeavors of a similar nature.

Future studies of Chamorro masculinities are indeed in order and promising. This research has attempted to offer but one starting point for these future inquiries. Though limited in scope, this research offers a glimpse into the earliest decades of US military colonialism in Guam and the ways that Chamorro men negotiated that presence. At the very least, this work offers a framework that might inform future studies of Chamorro masculinities. More importantly, this work is meant to crack open the long historical silence of Chamorro men and masculinities. It is my hope that such silence remains a thing of the past, but one to which Chamorro men can look back upon meaningfully and critically in their present as they forge on as dynamic, distinct, and very much living agents in their ongoing encounters with US colonialism and militarism in Guam.
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