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Wayreading Chamorro Literature from Guam

By

Craig Santos Perez

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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in

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In the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Beth Piatote, Chair

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Abstract

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Professor Beth Piatote, Chair

This dissertation maps and navigates contemporary literature by indigenous Chamorro authors from the Pacific island of Guam. Because Guam has experienced more than three centuries of colonization by three different imperial nations, Chamorro language, beliefs, customs, practices, identities, and aesthetics have been suppressed, changed, and sometimes completely replaced. As a result of these colonial changes, many anthropologists and historians have claimed that authentically indigenous Chamorro culture no longer exists. Similarly, literary scholars have argued that contemporary Chamorro literature is degraded and inauthentic because it is often composed in a written form as opposed to an oral form, in English as opposed to Chamorro, and in a foreign genre (such as a novel) as opposed to an indigenous genre (such as a chant). This discourse of inauthenticity, I suggest, is based on an understanding of Chamorro culture and literature as static essences that once existed in a "pure" and "authentic" state before colonialism, modernity, and globalization. Countering these arguments, I view Chamorro culture as a dynamic entity composed of core, enduring values, customs, and practices that are continually transformed and re-articulated within various historical contexts and political pressures. Relatedly, I contend that Chamorro literature is a dynamic phenomenon comprised of an aesthetic genealogy that has also been transformed by colonialism and re-articulated by every successive generation of Chamorro authors. To understand these complexities, I enact a literary methodology that I term "wayreading," which involves tracking how the primary themes (*the content*) of Chamorro literature express the survival and vitality of Chamorro language, customs, values, and practices, as well as how the primary narrative structures (*the forms*) of Chamorro literature embody Chamorro aesthetics, technologies, and ecologies. While the first chapter of this project launches into a discussion of Chamorro cultural identity and literary authenticity, the subsequent chapters focus on representations of important Chamorro cultural symbols—including land, housing, navigation, and storytelling—in a wide range of contemporary Chamorro literary expressions. In the Conclusion, I assert that Chamorro literature is a symbolic decolonial act and a pragmatic decolonial tool in ongoing decolonization,

demilitarization, and sovereignty movements in Guam. This dissertation is significant because it highlights a relatively unknown indigenous literature, thus contributing to the intellectual traditions of Pacific Islander, Native American, and Global Indigenous Cultural and Literary Studies. Beyond the realm of the indigenous, this study also contributes to the fields of Hispanic, American, Post-colonial, and Comparative Ethnic Cultural and Literary Studies.

Dedications

I am grateful to my dissertation Chair, Professor Beth Piatote, for all her support, mentorship, guidance, and feedback during my time as a graduate student and throughout the research, writing, and editing of this dissertation. I would not be here without your efforts. I am grateful to my wonderful committee members, Professors Elizabeth DeLoughrey, Hertha D. Sweet Wong, and Tom Biolsi for their support, guidance, and feedback during my oral exams and throughout the dissertation process. I have learned so much from each of you and from your feedback.

I am grateful to the faculty and graduate students I have had the pleasure of studying with and learning from. I am grateful to the Ford Foundation for supporting me with a pre-doctoral diversity fellowship, as well as to the Ethnic Studies Department of the University of California, Berkeley, for the financial and institutional support. Special thanks to Francisca Cazares for helping me with administrative issues.

I am grateful to my family for teaching me the importance of education and for supporting my intellectual pursuits. This dissertation is dedicated to my parents: thank you for all the sacrifices you have made to enable me to further my education.

This dissertation is also dedicated to my wife, Brandy Nālani McDougall. Without you, I would not have had the strength or passion to complete this project. Thanks for all your aloha. Lastly, this dissertation is dedicated to my daughter, Kaikainali‘i Hāle‘ta McDougall Perez. Your cuteness helped me through the tough writing and research days.

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Preface

On Being *from* Unincorporated Territory: A Poetic Journey

"Where are you from?"

I am a native Chamorro from the Pacific Island of Guam.¹ My family predominantly identifies with our Chamorro heritage, but both my parents have multiple and complex lineages. My childhood was a mix of Chamorro customs, Catholic activities, and American cultural experiences. I attended public and Catholic schools, where I learned to read and write in the English language, and where I studied the history, politics, culture, and geography of the United States. Growing up, I played the American sports of baseball, football, and basketball, and I cheered for professional American sports teams. I watched American television shows and Hollywood movies. I read books by American authors. I ate imported American food, such as Spam and McDonald's. Even though Guam lies thousands of nautical miles from the continental United States, American colonialism was an intimately entangled part of the everyday lives of Chamorros.

When I was fifteen years old, my parents decided that our family would migrate across the ocean to the bay area of northern California, in search of economic and educational opportunities. Both my parents have a history of migration. My father was born on Guam, but he moved to southern California after he graduated high school in the 1960s. From there, he was drafted into the U.S. military and stationed at several foreign and domestic bases for his training prior to being sent to Vietnam. My mother was not born on Guam. Her mother, who is a Chamorro woman from Guam, married an American serviceman, and they were stationed at many bases throughout the states, until finally settling in California. My parents first met in California, and they lived there for many years before moving to Guam in the late 1970s. I was born on Guam in 1980, and grew up in the central village of Mongmong. In 1995, when I was 15 years old, my parents decided to move back to California. For them, it was a return; for me, it was a complete departure. For many years I felt unmoored, drifting, and lost while trying to navigate a new city, school, and continent (perhaps the most shocking aspect of this new life was learning to drive on the high speed freeways of California). The most common question that people asked me was "Where are you from?" I realized that in order to answer this question, I needed to wayfind the complex coordinates and difficult currents of

¹ Historically, the indigenous "Chamorro" people and the island known as "Guam" has been given many names with different spellings and political and cultural connotations, which I discuss in chapter one. For this dissertation, I employ "Chamorro" and "Guam" because it is the most commonly known and widely used. However, when quoting sources that utilize other names, I remain faithful to the sources.

indigenous identity, cultural ideologies, diasporic migrations, and colonial histories.

Poetry, History, and Activism

I began writing poetry about my childhood on Guam when I started classes at my new high school in California. Poetry helped me remember and maintain connections to home; poetry also helped me navigate my new surroundings. These early poems felt cathartic because they created a space to emotionally cope with the traumas of migration. After graduating high school, I attended the University of Redlands in southern California and gravitated towards the study of literature and creative writing. Then I decided to pursue a Master of Fine Arts degree in Creative Writing at the University of San Francisco. While continuing to write poems about my family and personal memories, I also began to conduct research about the history of Guam and the Chamorro culture. Most of what I knew about these topics came from listening to my parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles that I had grown up around. The official and unofficial sources of cultural and historical information not only provided context to my poems, but the information would become an integral part of my poetry.

When I was 26 years old, after having lived away from Guam for more than a decade, I completed the manuscript of what would become my first collection of poetry, *from unincorporated territory [hacha]*.² In the preface to that collection, I mapped the political history of Guam and noted how the island is often invisible on world maps, as well as on the maps of American cultural, historical, and political imaginaries. I wrote:

On some maps, Guam doesn't exist; I point to an empty space in the Pacific and say, "I'm from here." On some maps, Guam is a small, unnamed island; I say, "I'm from this unnamed place." On some maps, Guam is named "Guam, U.S.A." I say, "I'm from a territory of the United States."³

I also discussed how the word, "from," has multiple meanings for me besides being a marker of location and origin. Because a conversation about my origins is also a conversation about migrations, the word "from" makes me consider excerpts. Living in California felt fragmented and excerpted, like a part of me existed somewhere else. To embody this emotion in my work, every poem contains an italicized *from*, indicating that every poem is part of a larger whole. Similarly, the title of the book itself includes the *from*, indicating that the collection is part of a larger series that is continuing to unfold. Thus far I have written and published three books in the series,⁴ all of which address

² Craig Santos Perez, *from unincorporated territory [hacha]* (Kane'ohe, HI: TinFish Press, 2008).

³ Ibid., 7.

⁴ See *from unincorporated territory [saina]* (Richmond, CA: Omnidawn Publishing, 2010) and *from unincorporated territory [guma']* (Richmond, CA: Omnidawn Publishing, 2014).

issues of family, identity, culture, history, politics, ecology, migration, militarization, and colonialism. I have performed and shared my poetry in many countries, and my books have been widely read, reviewed, and taught.⁵ A body of scholarship focusing on my poetry in various intellectual contexts has also emerged in the past few years.⁶ I have reflected on my poetics in several essays and interviews that have been published and studied alongside my creative work.⁷ Even though I have now lived away from my home island for more than two decades, and my travels have taken me far beyond the Pacific Ocean and the shores of Guam, my poetry and everything that I have learned about my cultural identity and the history of Guam and the Chamorro people, has helped orient my life with a sense of purpose and direction.

Learning and writing about the long colonial history of Guam and the suppression of Chamorro culture compelled me to become involved in grassroots activism to address

⁵ My work has been taught in, or I have performed at, academic and literary venues in many countries, including Japan, England, France, Germany, Mexico, Israel, Fiji, Australia, Scotland, Russia, Hong Kong, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States. Reviews of my books have appeared in *Publishers Weekly*, *Asian American Literary Review*, *The Huffington Post*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, *Poetry Project Newsletter*, and *The Pacific Daily News*. For a full list and links to the reviews, see my Academia.edu profile: <https://hawaii.academia.edu/CraigSantosPerez>.

⁶ Paul Lai, "Discontiguous States of America: The Paradox of Unincorporation in Craig Santos Perez's Poetics of Chamorro Guam," *The Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3.2 (2011); Hsuan Hsu, "Guahan (Guam), Literary Emergence, and the American Pacific in Homebase and from unincorporated territory," *American Literary History* 24.2 (Summer 2012); Valerie Woodward, "'I Guess They Didn't Want Us Asking Too Many Questions': Reading American Empire in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific* 25.1 (Spring 2013), 67-91; Cathy J. Schlund-Vials, "'Finding' Guam: Distant Epistemologies and Cartographic Pedagogies," *Asian American Literature: Discourses and Pedagogies* 5 (2014), 45-60; Brandon Som, "Craig Santos Perez's from Unincorporated Territory: Reinscribing Native Presence and Transit in the Pacific," in *Citing Passages: Citational Poetics and Transpacific*, Ph.D. dissertation, English (University of Southern California, 2014); Ryan Clark, "The Appositional Project: Craig Santos Perez's from unincorporated territory [saina]," *Spoon River Poetry Review* (11/10/13), <http://www.srpr.org/blog/the-appositional-project-craig-santos-perez-from-unincorporated-territory-saina/>; Rob Wilson, "Oceania as Peril and Promise: Towards Theorizing a Worlded Vision of Trans-Pacific Eco-poetics," Paper presented at the Oceanic Archives and Transnational American Studies Conference, Hong Kong University, June 4-6, 2012; and Otto Heim, "Locating Guam: The Cartography of the Pacific and Craig Santos Perez's Remapping of Unincorporated Territory," in *New Directions in Travel Writing Studies*, edited by Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁷ For a link to interviews I have given, see my Academia.edu profile. My essays on poetics include: "I Lina'la' Tataotao Ta'llo': The Rhetoric and Aesthetics of Militarism, Religiosity, and Commemoration," in *Huihui: Navigating Art and Literature of the Pacific*, edited by Jeffrey Carroll, Brandy Nālani McDougall, and Georganne Nordstrom (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 50-71; "from Organic Acts: Tsamorita, Rosaries, and the Poem of My Grandma's Life," *Life Writing* (2015), 1-6; "from unincorporated poetic territories," in *The Force of What's Possible*, edited by Joshua Marie Wilkinson and Lily Hoang (New York: Nightboat Books, 2015); "from: A Poetics of Continuous Presence and Erasure," *Evening Will Come: A Monthly Journal of Poetics* Issue 28 (2013), online: <http://www.thevolta.org/ewc28-csperez-p1.html>; "The Turn, The Poem, and the Canoe," *Voltage Poetry Journal* (2013), online: <http://voltagepoetry.com/2013/01/03/craig-santos-perezs-the-turn-the-poem-and-the-canoe/>; "The Poetics of Mapping Diaspora, Navigating Culture, and Being From," *Doveglion Literary Journal* (2011), online <http://www.doveglion.com/2011/04/craig-santos-perez-the-poetics-of-mapping-diaspora-navigating-culture-and-being-from-part-6/>.

these issues. In 2006, I joined the bay area chapter of *Famoksaiyan*, a group of young, diasporic Chamorros who were advocating for decolonization, demilitarization, cultural revitalization, and political self-determination. We created and distributed informational pamphlets about the negative impacts of militarization at different Chamorro cultural events in California. We also hosted our own political events to raise awareness about Guam's colonial status and establish solidarity ties with other minority and indigenous groups. For me, this activism culminated in 2008, when I joined two other *Famoksaiyan* members and journeyed to the United Nations in New York City to testify to the Special Committee on Decolonization (Fourth Committee). In my testimony, I highlighted the history of ecological contamination caused by the military presence on Guam, and detailed how the military buildup threatened to intensify environmental degradation.⁸ After moving to Hawai'i in 2010, I have become involved with several Hawaiian and Pan-Pacific activist groups that focus on advocating for political decolonization, demilitarization, cultural revitalization, food sovereignty, youth empowerment, and environmental protections. My involvement includes organizing, writing educational material, delivering lectures or speeches, and performing political poetry. My engagement with poetry has not only guided me to a deeper understanding of my identity, culture, and history, but it has also compelled me to become politically engaged with many of the issues that I address in my poetry.

Indigenous Identity and Authenticity

Throughout my journey as a diasporic Chamorro poet and activist, I have faced many questions from Chamorros and non-Chamorros alike (as well as my own internal questions) about "authenticity." I have been told many times that I do not look like a Pacific Islander (I am often mistaken as Mexican). I have been told that I am not Chamorro enough because I have lived more than half my life away from Guam. I have been told that my poetry is not indigenous enough because it is written (as opposed to chanted) predominantly in English and influenced by Western "avant-garde" techniques. Accusations of inauthenticity not only create hurt feelings and identity crises, but they also ignore the complexity and dynamism of indigenous subjectivities and aesthetics. Furthermore, these accusations often felt like they were intended to undermine, delegitimize, and devalue my work as a poet and activist. These charges acted as storm winds and rough waves trying to throw me off course.

My experiences made me think more critically about how colonialism affected (and continues to affect) indigenous peoples, cultures, identities, histories, politics, and literatures. In turn, I began to think more critically about indigenous rights movements and the potential of decolonization and sovereignty. I enrolled in the Comparative Ethnic Studies Ph.D. degree program at the University of California, Berkeley, to develop a

⁸ My testimony is collected in *Hita Guåhan: Chamoru Testimonies to the United Nations*, New York, NY—2008, *Famoksaiyan* pamphlet (2008), http://www.minagahetzine.com/hita_08.pdf.

deeper understanding of the experiences of Pacific Islanders and other indigenous peoples within U.S. empire. The years I have spent researching for my area exams and for this dissertation have given me the opportunity to learn from many indigenous scholars and authors. I have been inspired by how indigenous peoples around the world continue to fight for indigenous rights through activism, education, scholarship, and literature. My dissertation, then, is a way for me to honor my cultural and intellectual genealogy, as well as my aesthetic heritage and literary kinship network. Completing this long and difficult journey has given me a renewed sense of my Chamorro cultural identity, survival, and vitality, as well as a renewed belief in the power of literature to inspire, empower, and transform. Even though I have often felt lost and drifting in my diasporic life, after reading and wayfinding the ocean of indigenous and Chamorro literature and scholarship, I feel more confident about navigating the future.

Introduction

Wayreading Chamorro Literature from Guam

Where do we go from here? We are in uncharted waters, or maybe in familiar waters, unable to recognize the signs that show the way. Am I the navigator? Are we moving? Are the islands moving? Have we been following the navigator, so well-guided we don't even know the navigator is here?

With my diminishing eyesight, I try to expand my vision. I have stopped looking for signs and started feeling for signs. The islands are moving, and we are being guided. I felt my first wave, felt my first star and felt my first island here in recent memory.⁹

—Cecilia C. T. Perez

Summary

This dissertation maps and navigates contemporary literature by indigenous Chamorro authors from the Pacific island of Guam. Because Guam has experienced more than three centuries of colonization by three different imperial nations, Chamorro language, beliefs, customs, practices, identities, and aesthetics have been suppressed, changed, and sometimes completely replaced. As a result of these colonial changes, many anthropologists and historians have claimed that authentically indigenous Chamorro culture no longer exists. Similarly, literary scholars have argued that contemporary Chamorro literature is degraded and inauthentic because it is often composed in a written form as opposed to an oral form, in English as opposed to Chamorro, and in a foreign genre (such as a novel) as opposed to an indigenous genre (such as a chant). This discourse of inauthenticity, I suggest, is based on an understanding of Chamorro culture and literature as static essences that once existed in a "pure" and "authentic" state before colonialism, modernity, and globalization. Countering these arguments, I employ "articulation theory" to conceptualize Chamorro culture as a dynamic entity composed of core, enduring values, customs, and practices that are continually transformed and re-articulated within various historical contexts and political pressures. Relatedly, I contend that Chamorro literature is a dynamic phenomenon comprised of an aesthetic genealogy that has also been transformed by colonialism and re-articulated by every successive

⁹ Cecilia C.T. Perez, "Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey" (MA Thesis, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1997), 24.

generation of Chamorro authors. To navigate these complexities, I enact a literary methodology that I term "wayreading," which involves tracking how the primary themes (*the content*) of Chamorro literature express the survival and vitality of Chamorro language, customs, values, and practices, as well as how the primary narrative structures (*the forms*) of Chamorro literature embody Chamorro aesthetics, technologies, and ecologies. While the first chapter of this project launches into a discussion of Chamorro cultural identity and literary authenticity, the subsequent chapters focus on representations of important Chamorro cultural symbols—including land, housing, navigation, and storytelling—in a range of contemporary Chamorro literary expressions. In the Conclusion, I assert that Chamorro literature is an important form of activism in ongoing decolonization, demilitarization, and sovereignty movements in Guam. This dissertation is significant because it highlights a relatively unknown indigenous literature, thus contributing to the intellectual traditions of Pacific Islander, Native American, and Global Indigenous Cultural and Literary Studies. Beyond the realm of the indigenous, this study also contributes to the fields of Hispanic, American, Post-colonial, and Comparative Ethnic Cultural and Literary Studies.

From Wayfinding to Wayreading

Throughout this dissertation, I develop an interpretive methodology that I term, wayreading, which involves conceptualizing indigenous cultural identities as complex articulations as opposed to static entities; centering indigenous literary productions within indigenous intellectual, historical, cultural, and political contexts; examining contemporary aesthetic forms through the lens of customary indigenous oral, visual, and performative arts; and foregrounding the role that indigenous literature plays in imagining and enacting decolonization.

The concept of wayreading is inspired by the theory and praxis of Pacific wayfinding, navigation, and canoe traditions. Chamorro voyaging traditions extend to the very invention of the sail and outrigger; in fact, the words for mast, sail, and outrigger are among the oldest words in Austronesian languages.¹⁰ In "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery: Austronesian Seafaring, Archipelagic Rethinking, and the Re-mapping of Indigeneity," Vicente Diaz describes the Pacific wayfinding technique of *etak*, or "moving islands," as a method that calculates distance and position by "triangulating the speed of the islands of departure and destination with that of a third reference island. This is accomplished, furthermore, by plotting these islands courses in the celestial sky, which in effect serves as a veritable map for the world below."¹¹ Figuratively, the islands are

¹⁰ David Lewis, *The Voyaging Stars: Secrets of the Pacific Island Navigators* (New York: WW Norton & Company, Inc, 1978), 55.

¹¹ Vicente M. Diaz, ""Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery: Austronesian Seafaring, Archipelagic Rethinking, and the Re-mapping of Indigeneity," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 2:1 (Fall 2011), 26.

moving along star courses. Diaz explains another important technique, *pookof*, which refers to "the inventory of creatures indigenous to a given island, as well as their travel habits and behavior."¹² If you see a bird native to a certain island, then you know that island is nearby; thus, islands *expand* and *contract*.¹³ Additionally, wayfinders read marine and atmospheric signs to aid in navigation, such as cloud formations and wind patterns, star formations and sun positions, wave currents and ocean efflorescence.¹⁴ Amidst this movement, the canoe feels still and unmoving "at the center of a circle of sea and sky, trusting mind and senses within a cognitive structure to read and interpret nature's signs along the way as the means for maintaining continuous orientation over vast oceanic distance to remote, intended island destinations."¹⁵ Because the islands move, "one must always know their location at any given time, as indexed by their signs in the natural and supernatural worlds. To lose one's place, to not know where one's island is, or to no longer be possessed by that island, is to be perilously lost at sea."¹⁶ As evident, Pacific wayfinding is an important and culturally grounded form of mapping, literacy, reading, and interpretation.

Because of the profound conceptual elements of wayfinding, scholars have explored navigation as a critical framework to envision and interpret the mobile complexities of Native Pacific cultures and identities. As Diaz writes: "The conceptual takeaway from *etak/moving islands* as a technology to measure time/space is that indigenous subjectivity can similarly be understood as a technology if not a measure of time/space."¹⁷ In the pivotal essay, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge,"¹⁸ Diaz and J. Kehaulani Kauanui argue that indigenous Pacific identities are more than a pure, unchanging set of practices and values that were defined in the ancient past and that any deviation or change marks impurity and inauthenticity. Instead, they view Native Pacific

¹² Ibid., 27.

¹³ While I focus on the figurative nature of *etak* and *pookof*, Diaz shows how islands *literally* move when their natural resources are extracted and exported around the world, when they have been obliterated by military weapons testing, or when they disappear under rising tides. Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery," 26-7.

¹⁴ See Greg Dening, *Beach Crossings, Voyaging across Times, Cultures, and Self* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

¹⁵ Will Kyselka, *The Hawaiian Sky* (Honolulu: The Bess Press, 1989), 54.

¹⁶ Vicente M. Diaz and Kauanui, J Kehaulani, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 13, Number 2 (2001), 317.

¹⁷ Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery," 27.

¹⁸ Vicente M. Diaz and Kauanui, J Kehaulani, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 13, Number 2 (2001), 315-342.

identities as articulated assemblages of meanings, customs, practices, values, subjectivities, and discourses that represent a group, and change in response to historical conditions, political pressures, or colonial force. Crucial to this reconceptualization is “articulation theory.” James Clifford, in “Indigenous Articulations,” questions “the assumption that indigeneity is essentially about primordial, transhistorical attachments” because such an assumption tends to “bypass the pragmatic, entangled, contemporary forms of indigenous cultural politics.”¹⁹ At the same time, Clifford finds it reductive to “see indigenous, or First Nations claims as the result of a post-sixties, ‘postmodern’ identity politics...functioning as ‘invented traditions’ [because this perspective] brushes aside long histories of indigenous survival and resistance, transformative links with roots prior to and outside the world system.”²⁰ Articulation theory offers a non-reductive conception of cultural transformation wherein “inner elements have, historically, been connected with ‘exterior’ forms, in processes of selective, syncretic transformation.”²¹ Understanding identity as an “articulated site of indigeneity” resists viewing indigenous culture as inauthentic or merely political and invented; instead, articulation theory “evokes a deeper sense of the ‘political.’”²² In this dissertation, I understand Pacific identities as articulated in response to different structural regimes of identification and representation, such as education and media; anthropological and ethnographic research; memory and historiography; national, tribal, and international law and governance; theoretical ideologies of culture, tradition, and modernity; tourism, militarism, and agricultural industries; religions and spiritualities; beliefs about gender and sexuality; and media, music, art, film, and literature. I believe that viewing native culture and identity as sites of articulation and struggle honors the complexity of indigenous identities while also highlighting indigenous survival, continuity, vitality, and agency.²³

Thus, Pacific wayfinding and navigation—as methodologies of reading and interpreting complex signs—becomes a "deep, substantive and compelling vantage point

¹⁹ James Clifford, “Indigenous Articulations.” *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 13, Number 2, (Fall 2001), 472.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 478.

²² Ibid., 473.

²³ For other scholars who employ navigation as a conceptual tool for understanding Pacific cultures, see Epeli Hau’ofa, “The Ocean in Us,” in Dreadlocks in Oceania I, edited by Sudesh Mishra and E. Guy (Suva: Department of Literature and Language, University of the South Pacific): 124-148; and Margaret Jolly, “On the Edge? Deserts, Oceans, Islands,” *The Contemporary Pacific* Volume 13, Number 2 (2001): 417-464. For more on Pacific and Indigenous identity formations, see Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities & Cultural Politics*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Eva Marie Garrouette, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University Of California Press, 2003); and *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Roman and Littlefield, 1999).

with which to map and move what are after all the mobile coordinates of indigenous cultural and political consciousness.”²⁴ Figuratively, indigenous identities and cultures are not static, unchanging islands; instead, native cultures *move* like islands move, which is to say that native selves *change and articulate* across historical periods and geographic locations. As moving islands represent transformative indigenous subjectivities, the *pookof* of these moving islands represent the assemblages of cultural signs and markers that we might associate with a given indigenous population. Wayreading, therefore, is a productive strategy to interpret these signs and understand their meanings.

In addition to navigating the complexities of indigenous cultures and identities, critical wayfinding is a compelling framework through which to conceptualize Pacific narratives, discourses, and literatures. Narrativity relates to wayfinding because navigational techniques rely on narratives. For example, before voyagers left their island of origin, they learned and memorized the *etak* and *pookof* of their journey through navigational chants, stories, and “song maps.”²⁵ Oftentimes, these narrativized “mnemonic map[s] for travel”²⁶ were inherited across generations. Diaz speaks to the importance of narratives when he argues that native identities are “fundamentally discursive and narratological” because native subjectivities are shaped by the narratives and discourses of race, class, gender, sexuality, and more. In other words, indigeneity equals “time/space/self/narrative.”²⁷

The narrative quality of Pacific wayfinding has made it a prevalent methodology and symbol in Pacific literature and literary studies. In *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures*,²⁸ Elizabeth DeLoughrey employs Pacific navigational techniques to interpret the spatial, historical, and geographic complexity of island literatures and subjectivities. Furthermore, she emphasizes how navigation highlights islander agency and “nonwestern epistemologies of time-space.”²⁹ DeLoughrey also points out how the ocean-going vessel—the canoe—has become a crucial theme, concept, and “master trope for Pacific literary production.”³⁰ The first novels, poetry collections, literary journals, and anthologies written and edited by indigenous Pacific islanders were indeed conceptualized as symbolic canoes carrying

²⁴ Diaz, “Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery,” 21-2.

²⁵ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, “The Song Maps of Craig Santos Perez,” *Transmotion* 1:1 (2015).

²⁶ Diaz, “Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery,” 22-27.

²⁷ Ibid., 27.

²⁸ Elizabeth DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007).

²⁹ Ibid., 3.

³⁰ DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 129.

their narratives "towards a new Oceania," to quote the famous phrase by Samoan writer Albert Wendt.³¹ Within many texts, canoes and navigation function as important tropes for migration and diaspora, departure and return, and personal and cultural journeys. Moreover, the voyaging canoe is a "vital and sustaining" icon, symbol, theme, and metaphor to express a "transoceanic imaginary that highlights vast kinship networks and the agency of the first indigenous settlers."³² Throughout the sea of Pacific literature, the canoe is a "vessel of blood" and a "crucial bodily metaphor of a people's connection to their genealogy, history, and sovereignty."³³ Thus, the techniques of navigation and their attendant "maritime narrative legacies"³⁴ have shaped how I conceive wayreading as a methodology to map, read, plot, and interpret Pacific cultures, identities, and literatures.

While rooted in the tradition of Pacific wayfinding, I also situate wayreading within the traditions of indigenizing literary methodologies. Tuhiwai Smith defines "indigenizing" as centering our critical or creative practices within indigenous ecologies, images, languages, themes, metaphors, stories, identities, histories, cultural practices, values, traditions, aesthetics, and epistemologies.³⁵ Scholars have indigenized Pacific literary theory by centering the cultural, linguistic, historical, social, and political themes and contexts of Pacific writing, which also involves foregrounding the continuing impact of colonialism and the struggle for cultural revitalization and political decolonization.³⁶ While I focus on Pacific literary scholarship in this dissertation, Native American literary studies has a rich history of indigenizing literary theory within Native American

³¹ See Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania," *Manoa Review* 1:1 (January 1976): 49-60.

³² Ibid., 96.

³³ Ibid., 108.

³⁴ Ibid., 129.

³⁵ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: ZED Books, 1999): 142. Other texts about the importance of Indigenous methodologies include Robert Warrior, "The Native American Scholar: Toward a New Intellectual Agenda," *Wicazo Sa Review* 14:2 (Fall 1999), 46–54; Ines Hernandez-Avila and Stegano Varese, "Indigenous intellectual sovereignties," *Wicazo Sa Review* 14:2 (Fall 1999), 77–92; Jelana Porsanger, "An Essay About Indigenous Methodology," *NORDLIT* 15 (2004): 105-20; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Yvonne S. Lincoln, and Norman K. Denzin, eds., *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Sage Publications, Inc, 2008); and Shawn Wilson, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing Co., Ltd, 2009).

³⁶ A few key texts that discuss the importance of Pacific contexts in the analysis of Pacific literature include Sina Va'ai, *Literary Representations in Western Polynesia: Colonialism and Indigeneity* (Samoa: National University of Samoa, 1999); Haunani-Kay Trask, "Writing in Captivity: Poetry in a Time of Decolonization." *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Bowman & Littlefield, 1999): 17-26; and Konai Helu Thaman, "Of Daffodils and Heilala: Understanding (Cultural) Context in Pacific Literature," *Navigating Islands and Continents: Conversations and Contestations in and around the Pacific*, edited by Cynthia Franklin, Ruth Hsu, & Suzanne Kosanke (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000): 40-50.

epistemologies.³⁷ Both these intellectual traditions have guided my thinking about wayreading and encouraged me to center my interpretation of Chamorro literature within Chamorro contexts.

Complementing the engagement with indigenous contexts, wayreading also prioritizes analyzing contemporary indigenous literature through the lens of customary indigenous aesthetics. Many Pacific literary scholars have searched for and theorized multiple "literary antecedents" to contemporary Pacific Literature.³⁸ For example, Peggy Dunlop affirms that the major antecedent of Samoan literature is the oral tradition:

Samoans relish the spoken word. The development of Samoan writing must be set against this tradition of language to be understood. The love of words, building up into logical argument and woven into intricate plots, allusion and innuendo, are all here. The development of an indigenous written literature has been slow, following a pattern evident in other developing countries moving from an oral to a written literacy.³⁹

Taking the analysis further, *ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui* details how aesthetic elements in contemporary Hawaiian poetry, such as dualistic pairings, repetition, chant, rhyme schemes, connectors, closing lines, and other mnemonic devices are drawn from customary Hawaiian orature.⁴⁰ Epeli Hau‘ofa puts it most poetically when he figures contemporary Pacific literature as "silent story-telling," and the act of reading as "listen[ing] to stories told silently by invisible tellers."⁴¹

³⁷ A few essential sources include Paula Gunn Allen, "The Sacred Hoop: A Contemporary Perspective." *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine Side in American Indian Traditions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 63. Simon Ortiz, "Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism," *MELUS: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States* 8, no. 2. Summer, 1981: 12.

³⁸ I first encountered this phrase in Va'ai, *Literary Representations in Western Polynesia*, 37. Other sources that appraise finding cultural specific antecedents and theories: Vilsoni Herenoki & Sig Schwarz, "Four Writers and One Critic," *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Bowman & Littlefield, 1999): 62; Selina Tusitala Marsh, "Theory 'versus' Pacific Islands Writing: Toward a Tama‘ita‘i Criticism in the Works of Three Pacific Islands Woman Poets," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*. Eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Bowman & Littlefield, 1999): 339-347; and Steven Edmund Winduo, "Unwriting Oceania: The Repositioning of the Pacific Writer Scholars Within a Folk Narrative Space," *New Literary History* 31.3 (Summer 2000): 605.

³⁹ Peggy Dunlop, "Samoan Writing: Searching for the Written Fagogo," *Pacific Islands Communication Journal* 14.1 (1985): 41-2.

⁴⁰ *ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui*, "He Lei Ho‘oheno no nä Kau a Kau: Language, Performance, and Form in Hawaiian Poetry," *The Contemporary Pacific* 17.1 (2005): 29-81.

⁴¹ Epeli Hau'ofa, "Oral Traditions and Writing," *Landfall* 176 44.4 (1990): 402-11.

In addition to orality, several scholars have considered how the "abundance of visual and material cultural production in precontact Pacific societies provides viable and legitimate antecedents to writing."⁴² Examples include tattooing, lei (flower garlands), spiral art, pottery, weaving, petroglyphy, carving, canoe design, architecture, dress, and cartography.⁴³ Indigenous performance arts and dance (such as hula) has also been read as a narrative art.⁴⁴ Albert Wendt notes that even though Pacific writers have experimented with realist, modernist, and postmodernist modes, at the heart of these experiments are "the indigenous ingredients: the techniques of oral storytelling and other oral traditions; art, dance and music; and indigenous philosophies and visions."⁴⁵ Beyond the Pacific, many Native American scholars have theorized contemporary Native American literature through tribal-centric aesthetics.⁴⁶ Wayreading contemporary Chamorro literature, therefore, involves placing contemporary Chamorro literature in conversation with ancestral Chamorro aesthetics.

My wayreading methodology owes a debt to a master navigator of indigenous literatures, Chadwick Allen, who has developed a sophisticated interpretative art to navigate indigenous literatures.⁴⁷ Throughout his scholarship, Allen weaves "the methodologies for the productive interpretation of a continually expanding body of contemporary literatures that place indigenous histories and politics, cultures and worldviews, and multiple realities at their vital center" with the "methodologies for engaging indigenous *aesthetic systems and technologies* in the interpretation of twentieth-

⁴² Teaiwa, Teresia, "What Remains to Be Seen: Reclaiming the Visual Roots of Pacific Literature," *PMLA* 125.3 (2010): 730-6.

⁴³ Albert Wendt, "Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body," *Span* 42-3 (April 1996): 26-7; ho'omanawanui, "He Lei Ho'oheno no na Kau a Kau," 64; Robert Sullivan, "The English Moko: Exploring a Spiral," *Figuring the Pacific: Aotearoa and Pacific Cultural Studies*. Eds. Howard McNaughton and John Newton (Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 2005): 12-28.

⁴⁴ See ho'omanawanui, "He Lei Ho'oheno no na Kau a Kau."

⁴⁵ Wendt, *Nuanua*, 3.

⁴⁶ See Leslie Marmon Silko, "Language and Literature from a Pueblo Indian Perspective," *Critical Fictions*, edited by P. Mariani (Dia Foundation for the Arts, 1991); Susan Berry Brill de Ramirez, *Contemporary American Indian Literatures and the Oral Tradition* (Tucson: U of Arizona Press, 1999); Daniel Heath Justice, *Our Fire Survives the Storm: A Cherokee Literary History* (University of Minnesota Press, 2006); Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Tribal Theory in Native American Literature: Dakota and Haudenosaunee Writing and Indigenous Worldviews*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); James Cox, *Muting White Noise: Native American and European American Novel Traditions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

⁴⁷ Chadwick Allen, *Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012, xix.

and twenty-first century indigenous literary texts.⁴⁸ Allen closely examines how indigenous aesthetics and technologies (such as earthworks, navigation, pictographs, weaving, and carving) function not only as a text's "primary theme," but also as a "primary logic for its elaborate formal structures and multiple structural patterns."⁴⁹ To me, Allen's scholarship highlights the exciting possibilities of wayreading Chamorro literature.

Lastly, wayreading involves being attentive to how indigenous literature contributes to decolonial movements. Wendt describes how Pacific literature is an important "part of the process of decolonization and the cultural revival that was taking place in [the Pacific]."⁵⁰ According to Wendt, literature creates spaces for Pacific Islanders to "[indigenize] and [enrich] the language of the colonisers and [use] it to declare our independence and uniqueness; to analyze colonialism itself and its effects upon us; [and] to free ourselves of the mythologies created about us in colonial literature."⁵¹ Pacific literature also articulates stories of "marvelous endurance, survival and dynamic adaptation, despite enormous suffering under colonialism."⁵² Indeed, the relationship between decolonization and Pacific literature is a prevalent topic in literary criticism,⁵³ as well as in Native American literary studies. Scholars have illustrated how native literature contributes to decolonization by serving the interests of community, supporting the sovereignty and formation of Native nations, and reflecting the social,

⁴⁸ Ibid., xvi-xvii.

⁴⁹ Ibid., xxx.

⁵⁰ Wendt, *Nuanua*, 2.

⁵¹ Ibid., 3.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Nearly every study of Pacific Literature invokes the important role that literature has played in Pacific decolonial movements. A few prominent examples include, Paul Sharrad, ed., *Readings in Pacific Literature* (Wollongong, Australia: New Literature Research Centre, University of Wollongong, 1993); Patrick Morrow, *Post-colonial Essays on South Pacific Literature* (Lewiston, NY: Eddwin Mellen Press, 1998); Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, editors, *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific* (New York: Bowman & Littlefield, 1999); Sina Va'ai, *Literary Representations in Western Polynesia: Colonialism and Indigeneity* (Samoa: National University of Samoa, 1999); ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, "Ha, Mana, Leo (Breath, Spirit, Voice): Kanaka Maoli Empowerment through Literature," *American Indian Quarterly* (Winter & Spring 2004/Vol. 28, Nos 1&2), 86-91; Michelle Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Michelle Keown, *Postcolonial Pacific Writing: Representations of the Body* (London: Routledge, 2009); Susan Najita, *Decolonizing Cultures in the Pacific: Reading History and Trauma in Contemporary Fiction* (London: Routledge, 2008).

political, and cultural realities, struggles, and resistances of Native peoples.⁵⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I highlight how Chamorro literature and Chamorro authors inspire and contribute to movements of liberation, decolonization, and self-determination.

To summarize, wayreading involves interpreting Chamorro culture as dynamic, transformative, and resilient (as moving islands of articulated meanings); understanding Chamorro literature as articulations of Chamorro identity, culture, experience, and aesthetics; centering Chamorro literary productions within Chamorro intellectual, historical, cultural, and political contexts; examining contemporary Chamorro literary forms through the aesthetics of customary Chamorro oral, visual, and performative arts; and foregrounding the role that Chamorro literature plays in imagining and enacting decolonization.

Locating Guam in the Pacific and in Pacific History

Guam is the largest and southernmost island of the Marianas archipelago,⁵⁵ a fifteen-island chain that extends 500 nautical miles in a north-to-south crescent across a part of the northwest Pacific Ocean known as Micronesia.⁵⁶ Guam lies approximately 6,000 miles west of California and 4,000 miles west of Hawai'i; 1,500 miles east of the Philippines; 1,600 miles south of Japan; and 2,800 miles north of Australia. To find Guam on a map, locate 13 degrees north latitude and 144 degrees east longitude. Be warned: this tiny island does not appear on many maps.

The Marianas archipelago was first settled by Chamorros who sailed in outrigger canoes from the region known as Austronesia⁵⁷ between 2000 and 1500 BC. Even though

⁵⁴ Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, “The American Indian Fiction Writers: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism, the Third World, and First Nation Sovereignty,” in *Why I Can’t Read Wallace Stegner*, edited by Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (Madison: U of Wisconsin Press, 1996): 80. Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1995): 124; Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 11.

⁵⁵ Guam is 212 square miles. The fifteen volcanic islands of the Marianas archipelago include Guam, Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, Saipan, Farallon de Medinilla, Anatahan, Sarigan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, Agrihan, Asuncion, Maug, and Farallon de Pajaros. The combined land area of the archipelago is nearly 400 square miles.

⁵⁶ In 1832, French explorer Jules-Sebastian-Cesar Dumont d’Urville classified the Pacific into three “culture areas”: Micronesia, Polynesia, and Melanesia. The name, “Micronesia,” derives from the Greek *micros* (small) and *nesos* (island). The region comprises thousands of islands in the Pacific, including the island groups of Kiribati, Nauru, the Marianas, the Marshalls, Palau, Yap, Chuuk, Pohnpei, and Kosrae. For a political history of Micronesia, see David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944–1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998). For an explanation of the Pacific culture areas, see Michelle Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ Austronesia refers to Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Taiwan. Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny’s Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 37.

the "unparalleled seaborn expansion"⁵⁸ across the Pacific occurred "millennia before Europeans ventured from eyesight of their shores,"⁵⁹ Europeans would eventually arrive. In 1521, Magellan made landfall on Guam, which became "the first inhabited island in the Pacific Ocean known to Europeans."⁶⁰ He named the archipelago, "Islas de las Velas Latinas," or "Islands of Lateen Sails," referring to the ubiquity of Chamorro outrigger canoes. Spain nominally claimed Guam and the Philippines in 1564, establishing its first colonies in the Pacific and Asia. The first cargo of products from Asia was delivered to Mexico that year via the Acapulco-Guam-Manila trade route. In the following decades, galleons loaded with silver from Mexico (along with soldiers, merchants, missionaries, government officials, mail, and supplies) disembarked from Acapulco and re-provisioned off Guam before arriving in the Philippines to trade with Chinese merchants. When the galleons returned to Acapulco, the products made their way across the New World and the Atlantic Ocean to European markets. The Spanish empire mapped "a great circular loop around the Pacific north of the equator" with Guam as "a sure and useful landmark and stopover on the trans-Pacific trade route."⁶¹

In 1668, Spanish authorities officially colonized the island and shortly thereafter initiated the Christian conquest of the Pacific by establishing a mission to Guam, as well as the first European educational institution in the Pacific, the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán.⁶² The Jesuit priests acted as "agents of empire" for the *patronato real*: "a complex system of patronage between the church and state [that] provided the administrative, financial, and military support needed to establish a colonial government and permanent settlement."⁶³ The Catholic authorities renamed the archipelago, "Islas de Marianas," to honor the Queen of Spain, Maria Ana de Austria, who funded the mission. Many Chamorros resisted the conversion efforts, which led to nearly three decades of active conflict known as the "Spanish-Chamorro Wars" (1668-1695). By the end of the war,

⁵⁸ David Lewis, *The Voyaging Stars: Secrets of the Pacific Island Navigators* (New York: WW Norton & Company, Inc, 1978), 54.

⁵⁹ Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery," 26.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 1.

⁶¹ Ibid., 15.

⁶² The Colegio de San Juan de Letrán was a seminary. For a more detailed history of Spanish colonization in the Pacific, see Francis X. Hezel, S.J., "From Conversion to Conquest: The Early Spanish Mission in the Marianas," *Journal of Pacific History* 17 (1982): 115-120; Francis X. Hezel, S.J. "From Conquest to Colonization: Spain in the Marianas, 1690-1740." *Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 23, 1988: 137-155; and Rainer F. Buschmann, Edward R. Slack Jr., and James B. Tueller, editors, *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World 1521-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

⁶³ Cynthia Ross Wiecko, "Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire: The Spanish-Chamorro War and Ecological Effects of Conversion on Guam, 1668-1769," *World History Connected* (October 2013), accessed 28 May 2014, http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/10.3/forum_wiecko.html.

Christian conversion, military conquest, and foreign disease led to massive Chamorro depopulation. The surviving population was subjected to the Spanish "ecclesiastic policy" of *reducción*, or the "forced relocation and concentration of the population from rural areas into villages with a garrison and church."⁶⁴ Chamorros across the archipelago were forcefully removed and relocated to a small number of villages and an even smaller number of islands (Guam and Rota). This facilitated the colonization, conversion, acculturation, and taxation efforts, which would continue for more than two centuries.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 effectively ended Spanish control of the Marianas.⁶⁵ In defeat, Spain sold the fourteen northern Mariana Islands to Germany, and Guam became a territory of the United States, along with the other former Spanish colonies of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba. The acquisition of these new territories created a controversy within American politics and popular opinion about whether or not these territories should be incorporated into the nation, and if constitutional rights should apply to the populations of these new territories. These questions were taken up by a series of landmark Supreme Court cases, collectively known as the Insular Cases, dating from 1901-1922. The Court ultimately decided that the rights of the constitution and citizenship do not automatically apply to the new possessions, but would instead be determined by Congress. This decision created a new political category of the "unincorporated territory," which meant that a territory could be a possession of the United States without becoming a fully incorporated part of the nation. The Insular Cases thus "signal[ed] a rupture in the previous logic of territorial acquisition. Overseas imperialism is not simply an extension of westward continental expansion but a new perspective that allowed for unincorporation as opposed to the two choices of incorporation or colonial control."⁶⁶

From 1898-1941, the U.S. Navy administered Guam and established schools,

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ For historical and political context on the war of 1898, see Louis A. Perez Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Durham: The U of North Carolina Press, 1998); Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Harvard University Press, 2005); Bonnie M. Miller, *From Liberation to Conquest: The Visual and Popular Cultures of the Spanish-American War of 1898* (Amherst: the U of Massachusetts Press, 2011); and Hsuan Hsu, "Circa 1898: Overseas Empire and Transnational American Studies," *The Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3(2), 2011.

⁶⁶ Paul Lai, "Discontiguous States of America: The Paradox of Unincorporation in Craig Santos Perez's Poetics of Chamorro Guam," *The Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3.2 (2011), 5. For more on the history of territorialization, see Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Arnold H. Leibowitz, *Defining Status: A Comprehensive Analysis of United States Territorial Relations* (Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989); and Kal Raustiala, *Does the Constitution Follow the Flag?: The Evolution of Territoriality in American Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

hospitals, businesses, and roads as part of their "civilizing" and "militarizing" mission.⁶⁷ Just as Guam was strategic to Spain's trans-Pacific trade route, Guam became a strategic location for U.S. military transports traveling between San Francisco, Hawai'i, and the Philippines. In 1914, Japan seized the northern Mariana islands from Germany, forming the "new Japanese frontier in the equatorial Pacific."⁶⁸ In December 1941, Japan invaded Guam and defeated the U.S. forces, uniting the archipelago under Japanese rule and giving Guam the "dubious distinction" of being one of the only "fully inhabited part[s] of the U.S. to be occupied by an enemy in the war."⁶⁹ Guam was renamed "Omiya Jima," or "Great Shrine Island," and Japanese authorities initiated several militarizing and civilizing projects in order to transform Guam into a strategic base for Japan's vision of a "Co-Prosperity Sphere of Greater East Asia."⁷⁰

On July 21, 1944, the U.S. military began its invasion of Guam, eventually defeating the Japanese forces and re-claiming the island. After the war, the fourteen northern Mariana islands became part the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, administered by the U.S. until the 1970s, at which point the political status of the islands changed to the "Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands."⁷¹ Guam, on the other hand, remained an "unincorporated territory" and its residents became U.S. citizens in 1950.⁷² Throughout the following decades, the U.S. militarily refurbished Guam into an "unsinkable U.S. communications and logistics platform, monitoring satellites and missiles, supporting antisubmarine and B-52 bomber operations, and harboring

⁶⁷ For scholarship on various aspects of the "Naval Era" of Guam, see Anne Perez Hattori, *Colonial Disease: US Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Penelope Bordallo Hofschneider, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam, 1899-1950* (Saipan: CNMI Division of Historic Preservation, 2001); Robert Anacletus Underwood, "American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam." PhD diss., (University of Southern California, 1987); Christine Taitano DeLisle, "Navy Wives/ Native Lives: The Cultural and Historical Relations Between Naval Wives and Chamorro Women in Guam, 1898-1945" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008); Vicente Diaz, "Paved With Good Intentions... Roads, Citizenship and a Century of American Colonialism in Guam," (paper presented at the Centennial of the Spanish American War Summer Seminar, Obermann Center for Advanced Study, University of Iowa, 1998).

⁶⁸ Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), 16. See also Wakako Higuchi, "Japanisation Policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941-1944," *The Journal of Pacific History* 36.1 (2001), 19-35.

⁶⁹ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 169.

⁷⁰ See Peattie, *Nan'yō*.

⁷¹ See Howard P. Willens, *An Honorable Accord: The Covenant Between the Northern Mariana Islands and the United States* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002) and Don A. Farrell, "The Partition of the Marianas: A Diplomatic History, 1898-1919." *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies*, 2:2 (Dry Season, 1994), 273-301.

⁷² See Vivian Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam," Ph.D. Dissertation, Social Work and Political Science (The University of Michigan, 2000).

prepositions supply ships for rapid deployment strike forces.⁷³ Today, Guam remains an unincorporated territory and one of the most important U.S. military bases.⁷⁴

Since Magellan made his fateful landfall, empires have invaded, occupied, and exploited Guam's "strategic" location and topography, making it one of the longest, continuously colonized places in the world.⁷⁵ Caught in the undertow of empires, Chamorros have endured violent and traumatic cultural, geographical, and political disenfranchisement and dispossession. Even though Guam's strategic value rendered it "far more significant than islands much larger, much less isolated, and much better known,"⁷⁶ Guam has remained largely invisible (or, at most, a mere footnote)⁷⁷ on most global maps and world histories.

Locating Guam in the Sea of Pacific Literature

Just as it is difficult to locate Guam on a map, it is difficult to find Chamorro literature in the sea of Pacific literary studies. Even though scholars have mapped the coordinates of Pacific literature and employed navigational techniques to interpret Pacific texts, Guam has been largely absent from the itinerary. When I began this dissertation a few years ago, I felt disoriented because no other scholars had previously mapped the routes of Chamorro literature from Guam.

The first major anthology of Pacific literature, *Lali: A Pacific Anthology* (1980), edited by Albert Wendt, introduces the main coordinates of Pacific literature but does not include any Chamorro writers:

⁷³ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 51-2.

⁷⁴ For a political and cultural history of militarization in Guam, see Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "The Exceptional Life and Death of a Chamorro Soldier: Tracing the Militarization of Desire in Guam, USA," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. by Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2010); Keith L. Camacho and Laurel A. Monnig, "Uncomfortable Fatigues: Chamorro Soldiers, Gendered Identities, and the Question of Decolonization in Guam," in *Militarized Currents*, 147-79; Gwen Kirk and Lisa Natividad, "Fortress Guam: Resistance to U.S. Military Mega-Buildup," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 10, 19:1 (May 10, 2010), accessed April 15, 2014, <http://japanfocus.org/-Gwyn-Kirk/3356>; and Catherine Lutz, "US Military Bases on Guam in Global Perspective," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 10, 30:3 (July 26, 2010), accessed April 15 2014, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-catherine-lutz/3389>.

⁷⁵ Guam is one of the last remaining colonies on the United Nations List of Non-Self-Governing Territories. See "United Nations and Decolonization," *United Nations Website*, accessed 12/14/14, <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/nonselgovterritories.shtml>.

⁷⁶ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 1.

⁷⁷ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "My Island Is One Big American Footnote," in *The Space Between: Negotiating Culture, Place, and Identity in the Pacific*, ed. by Marata Tamaira (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, 2009): 120-122.

The new Pacific literature examines (and laments), often angrily, the effects of colonialism. It argues for the speeding up of decolonization; the development of cultural and national and individual identity based firmly on our own ways, values, and visions. The quest is for self-respect and the forging of forms of expression which are our own. But, more importantly, like writers elsewhere our writers are explaining us to ourselves and to one another, and adding details to the faces, organs, hopes, and dreams of each of our cultures. They are helping us to understand who we are, where we are, where we came from, and where we might be going, by singing their own individual songs, by plotting their own paths through the Void.⁷⁸

Wendt's follow-up anthology, *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in English Since 1980* (1995),⁷⁹ also does not include Chamorro writers. A vast majority of the writers in *Lali* and *Nuanua* were from islands in Polynesia and Melanesia that were former British colonies served by the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. The only writers from Micronesia were from Kiribati (a former British colony) who attended schools in Fiji. Wendt noted that while he was aware of writers in Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand, he did not include work from these places because writers there were already editing their own anthologies. Guam is never mentioned. As I will show, the invisibility of Chamorro literature has less to do with editorial and scholarly oversight than it has to do with the impact of colonialism on literary education and creative production in Micronesia generally, and the Marianas in particular. Furthermore, the colonial partition of the Pacific separated the writers in Guam from the other centers of literary creation in Melanesia and Polynesia. For example, the mapping of Pacific literature often begins in the 1970s in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, New Zealand, and Australia. While writers from the "commonwealth" were aware of each other's works, the majority of Micronesian writers remained on the edge of the Pacific literary map.

Journeying into Pacific literary studies reveals the same phenomenon: Guam and Chamorro literature is not discussed in any of these critical texts that would emerge, including *Essays on Pacific Literature* (1978); *Silence and Invisibility: a Study of the Literatures of the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand* (1986); *Readings in Pacific Literature* (1993); *New Pacific Literatures: Culture and Environment in the European Pacific* (1993); *Post-Colonial Literatures in English: Southeast Asia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, 1970-1992* (1996); and *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity*

⁷⁸ Lali is considered the first major anthology of Pacific literature. Albert Wendt, ed., *Lali: A Pacific Anthology* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1980), xvi.

⁷⁹ Albert Wendt, ed., *Nuanua: Pacific Writing in English Since 1980* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995).

in the New Pacific (1999).⁸⁰ It was not until Michelle Keown's 2007 monograph, *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania*, that Guam is sighted in the sea of Pacific literary studies. In all, the "literature of Guam" section is a small island of text (one paragraph, five sentences):

The literature of Guam: The final locus of literary activity in the 'American Pacific' to be discussed here is Guam, a Micronesian island, annexed by the US in 1898, which remains an unincorporated US territory. In comparison to Hawai'i in particular, Guam features few publishing opportunities for local writers: the literary journal *Storyboard*, established in 1991, is the only regular local forum for the publication of contemporary creative writing, although Micronesian oral literature has been collected and disseminated in schools throughout Guam and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Named after an Indigenous art form from Belau (Palau) in which stories are presented visually, *Storyboard* published art, poetry, fiction, and non-fiction in English and other Pacific languages, particularly those of Micronesia, thus serving a similar 'regional' function as *Mana* at USP, or the UHP journal *Mānoa* and *The Contemporary Pacific* (established in 1989). Members of various US Micronesian territories have also published sporadically outside Micronesia, and a number of anticolonial poems and stories by writers from the 'American Pacific' (including Guam, the Marshall Islands, American Samoa, and Belau/Palau) were published in the 1992 literary anthology *Te Rau Maira* (ed. Crocombe et al.). In addition to the anticolonial material discussed in Chapter 3, this anthology includes a wide range of lyric poems and stories exploring the spiritual significance of the natural world, and celebrating the endurance into modern times of 'traditional' Micronesian cultural practices such as oratory, ritual dance, and weaving.⁸¹

As you can see, not a single Chamorro writer or any specific Chamorro text is actually named or discussed. Driven by the invisibility of Chamorro literature, this dissertation attempts to make the literature of Guam visible within the larger map of Pacific literary studies.

Before mapping Chamorro literature from Guam, it is important to describe in

⁸⁰ Raymond Pillai & Ruth Finnegan, eds., *Essays on Pacific Literature* (Suva: Fiji Museum, 1978); Norman Toby Simms, *Silence and Invisibility: a Study of the Literatures of the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1986); J. McLaren, *New Pacific Literatures: Culture and Environment in the European Pacific* (New York: Garland Publishing Incorporated, 1993); Mark Williams, *Post-Colonial Literatures in English: Southeast Asia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, 1970-1992* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1996); Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, eds., *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999).

⁸¹ Michelle Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 132-3. USP stands for the University of the South Pacific and UHP stands for the University of Hawai'i Press.

more detail the forces that made Chamorro literature invisible. In the “Editor’s Comments” of a 1996 issue of *Storyboard: A Journal of Pacific Imagery*,⁸² Jeannine E. Talley explained the absence of Chamorro and Micronesian literature in the anthologies and scholarship for Pacific literature:

One does not have to dig too deeply to discover why there is an accumulated body of literature produced by Polynesians and Melanesians, but a dire lack of representative works from Micronesia. Support and encouragement. For at least three decades the University of the South Pacific in Fiji and the University of Papua New Guinea have encouraged the development of indigenous writers in the South Pacific through workshops, special training and emphasis on creative writing and finally by publishing the efforts of a number of writers. Unfortunately there has not been this kind of nurturing of indigenous writers in Micronesia. In an effort to end this kind of inequity *Storyboard* was created, publishing its first volume in 1991.⁸³

Talley’s claims are supported by the findings of anthropologist Karen Nero, who attested: “The educational institutions established on Guam and in the former US Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands never supported the arts in a manner comparable to the University of the South Pacific or the University of Papua New Guinea.”⁸⁴ Surveying the course offerings at various institutions, Mark E. Skinner further found that of the ten literature courses at the University of Guam, only one (offered once every other year) focused on “Literature of Guam, Micronesia, & the Pacific”; the Community College of Micronesia (Pohnpei) offered six literature courses, only one being “Literature of the Sea”; the Northern Marianas College in Saipan offered two literature courses, an introductory class and “Modern American Literature.”⁸⁵ Overall, the lack of educational exposure to other

⁸² Issues of *Storyboard* date from 1991-2001, 2006, and 2009 to the present. The first literary journal to emerge from the University of Guam was *Xanadu*, published once in 1966, and featuring work by students and faculty members of Chamorro and non-Chamorro descent. Between 1981-3, the journal was resurrected as *Xanadu II*.

⁸³ Jeannine E. Talley, ed., *Storyboard: A Journal of Pacific Imagery* (Mangilao: University of Guam, 1996), 5.

⁸⁴ Karen L. Nero, “Missed Opportunities: American Anthropological Studies of Micronesian Arts,” *American Anthropological Studies of Micronesian Arts* (1998), 256. In contrast, university journals such as *Kovave* (University of Papua New Guinea), *Manā* (University of the South Pacific, Fiji), *Manoa* and *The Contemporary Pacific* (University of Hawai‘i, at Mānoa) created spaces for Pacific writers to publish their literary and critical works. In addition, Mana Publications released a series of regional anthologies edited by Wendt that featured writers from Fiji, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa.

⁸⁵ Mark E. Skinner, “Contemporary Micronesian Literature: A Preliminary Bibliography,” (MA Thesis, University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, 1990).

postcolonial, Third World, and indigenous literatures; the paucity of publishing opportunities; and the colonial partitioning from other centers of Pacific literary production were all "major factor[s] in constraining local research, publication and other forms of expression"⁸⁶ in the western Pacific. The body of Micronesian literature was, as Skinner puts it, "stunted" in its "infancy."⁸⁷

While all the aforementioned statements are true, I argue that there is another reason why Guam and Chamorro literature is often not included: *scholars have not questioned the perception that Guam lacks literature*. In a sense, it became easy for scholars and editors to stop looking for Chamorro literature because it was widely believed that it did not exist in any substantial form. Plus, why bother looking when there so much visible, accessible literature emerging from islands in Polynesia and Melanesia.

This dissertation is significant because it expands the canon—or, in Pacific terms, the canoe—of Pacific literature by venturing deeper into the archive of Chamorro literature from Guam to reveal a vibrant, growing body of creative and critical writing, much of which is discussed here for the first time. Because Micronesian literature has often been excluded from discussions of Pacific literature, this dissertation is also important because it launches Pacific literary studies towards fulfilling its promise and potential of becoming "truly regional, transdisciplinary in practice, attentive to both the landscapes and seascapes of Oceania, inclusive of local or indigenous epistemologies, and active in the recognition and promotion of all the ways knowledge from the region can be expressed."⁸⁸

Plotting Chamorro Literature and Literary Studies

Anyone seeking to plot Chamorro literature will only get so far following the established routes of Pacific literary studies. One of the main reasons for this fact is that much of Chamorro literature and literary studies is unpublished, archived, and out-of-

⁸⁶ Ron Crocombe, "Pacific Histories: Perceptions from Within," *Pacific History Association Newsletter* 12 (1984), 8.

⁸⁷ Skinner, "Contemporary Micronesian Literature," 3.

⁸⁸ David Hanlon, "The 'Sea of Little Lands': Examining Micronesia's Place in 'Our Sea of Islands,'" *The Contemporary Pacific* (Volume 21, Number 1), 99. Hanlon's essay speaks to the marginalization of Micronesia within the larger field of Pacific Studies, which he describes as "one of relative absence or, at best, minimal inclusion" (91). While my dissertation only focuses on one island from Micronesia, I am currently working on a monograph about Micronesian literature.

print; or, if it is published, it has not circulated widely.⁸⁹ The most substantial critical map of contemporary Chamorro literature is Robert Tenorio Torres's 1991 thesis, "Selected Marianas Folklore, Legend, Literature: A Critical Commentary,"⁹⁰ which was eventually published in 2003 and 2004 as three linked essays ("Pre-Contact Marianas Folklore," "Colonial and Conquest Lore of the Marianas," and "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas") in the *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*.⁹¹ Torres defines "Marianas Literature" as oral and written literature created by natives and non-natives in or from the Marianas archipelago. He distinguishes between "regional writing" (literature written in English that "assumes an audience familiar with Western literature, but unfamiliar with Pacific themes and forms") and "national local writing" (literature by local writers written either in English, a mix of English and Chamorro, or primarily in Chamorro about "local themes").⁹² While I appreciate Torres's multicultural and archipelagic approach, this dissertation will focus only on indigenous Marianas literature, or Chamorro literature, which I define as oral and written aesthetic expressions composed by authors of Chamorro genealogical descent. I also focus only on Chamorro writers from *Guam*, including Chamorro writers who live on Guam and those

⁸⁹ Examples include: Naoto Sudo, "Colonial Mirror Images of Micronesia and Japan: Beyond the Tug of War between 'Americanization' and 'Japanization,'" *Postcolonial Text* 1.1 (2004); Monique R. Carriveau Storie, "All Fifty Kathousand Cousins: Chamorro Teachers Responding to Contemporary Children's Literature Set in Guam," Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Arizona, 2009); Sharleen J. Q. Santos-Bamba, "The Literate Lives of Chamorro Women in Modern Guam," Ph.D. Dissertation (Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2010); Paul Lai, "Discontiguous States of America: The Paradox of Unincorporation in Craig Santos Perez's Poetics of Chamorro Guam," *The Journal of Transnational American Studies* 3.2 (2011); Craig Santos Perez, "Signs of Being: Chamoru poetry and the work of Cecilia C. T. Perez," *Jacket2* (2011), <http://jacket2.org/article/signs-being>; Paul Sharrad, "Filling in the Blanks: Mariquita, a Hybrid Biography from Guam," *New Literatures Review: Islands Special* (2011), 149-162; Hsuan Hsu, "Guahan (Guam), Literary Emergence, and the American Pacific in Homebase and from unincorporated territory," *American Literary History* 24.2 (Summer 2012); Valerie Woodward, "'I Guess They Didn't Want Us Asking Too Many Questions': Reading American Empire in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific* 25.1 (Spring 2013): 67-91; Cathy J. Schlund-Vials, "'Finding' Guam: Distant Epistemologies and Cartographic Pedagogies," *Asian American Literature: Discourses and Pedagogies* 5 (2014): 45-60; and Brandon Som, "Citing Passages: Citational Poetics and Transpacific Identities," Ph.D. dissertation, English (University of Southern California, 2014).

⁹⁰ Robert Tenorio Torres, "Selected Marianas Folklore, Legend, Literature: A Critical Commentary," *MA Thesis* (San Diego State University, 1991).

⁹¹ Torres, "Pre-Contact Marianas Folklore: A Critical Commentary," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 2.1-2 (2003), 3-15; "Colonial and Conquest Lore of the Marianas: A Critical Commentary," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 2.1-2 (2003), 23-30; "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas: A Critical Commentary," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 3.1-2 (2004), 26-44.

⁹² Torres, "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas," 27.

who are from Guam but reside in various diasporic locations.⁹³

Torres categorizes Marianas literature into four periods: "pre-contact" (pre-1521), "colonial and conquest" (1521-1898), "post-colonial" (1899-1941), and modern (1944-present). I do not employ Torres's historical frame because it is problematic. While most historians agree that Magellan's "discovery" of Guam in 1521 marked the beginning of the Spanish Colonial Era, the United States possession of Guam after the war of 1898 was a *continuation* of colonialism and not a movement towards a post-colonial status. For this dissertation, I focus on the most recent generations of Chamorro literature, or what I call "New Chamorro Literature," to echo Torres's formulation of the "New Marianas Literary Tradition."⁹⁴ I also situate the term "new" within the movement of "New Pacific Literature," which refers to contemporary literature by indigenous Pacific Islanders that first emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, the most active period of Pacific cultural revitalization, political decolonization, and national independence movements.⁹⁵

Torres examines a wide-ranging survey of Marianas literature. His primary sources for pre-colonial and colonial era literature include the four major collections of Chamorro folklore: Eve Grey's *Legends of Micronesia* (1951), the Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library Staff's *Legends of Guam* (1971), Mavis Werner Van Peenan's *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam* (1974), and the Guam Department of Education's *Legends of Guam* (1981).⁹⁶ These collections sourced oral folktales from pre-19th century archival documents and 20th century anthropological research, as well as from oral interviews with Chamorro elders. Torres's archive of contemporary Marianas literature encompasses novels, poetry collections, and literary magazines, including: *Xanadu* (University of Guam literary journal); Louise Stout's *Kalou: A Legend of Saipan* and William Peck's *I Speak the Beginning* (folklore collections); Robert Lund's *Hour of Glory* and Chris Perez Howard's *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam* (prose fiction and nonfiction); and Juan A. Sanchez's "Ode to John F. Kennedy" and John Mazur's *Pacific*

⁹³ As I will show in chapter four, migration and diaspora are central themes in Chamorro literature and central experiences in Chamorro culture and history.

⁹⁴ Torres, "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas," 42.

⁹⁵ For a survey of New Pacific Literature, see Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing*.

⁹⁶ Eve Grey, *Legends of Micronesia* (Saipan, CNMI: Trust Territory Literature Production Center, 1951); Mavis Werner Van Peenan, *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam* (Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1974); Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library Staff, *Legends of Guam* (Agana, Guam: Guam Museum, 1971); Guam Department of Education, *Legends of Guam* (Agana, Guam: Guam Department of Education, 1981).

War, *Saipaniana*, and *Typhoons in Paradise* (poetry).⁹⁷ Overall, Torres's bibliography is non-comprehensive due to certain texts being either out-of-print or unavailable.

My dissertation is not a comprehensive survey of *all* Chamorro literature from Guam; instead, I focus on an archipelago of texts that speak directly to the themes of Chamorro cultural identity. The most well-known text that I discuss—and offer a new reading of—is Chris Perez Howard's *Mariquita*, which is one of the few works of Chamorro literature that has been examined by other scholars. Two other primary sources include unpublished, mixed-genre manuscripts composed of poetry, short stories, and prose essays: Cecilia C. T. Perez's "Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey" (1997) and Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz's "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi: The Journey of Our Words" (2010), neither of which have received much critical attention. Additionally, I devote an entire chapter to one of the few avant-garde Chamorro literary texts, Lehua Taitano's published collection of poems, *A Bell Made of Stones* (2013). Lastly, I analyze individual poems by Chamorro authors Anne Perez-Hattori, Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Melvin Won Pat-Borja, and Bernadita Camacho-Dungca, as well as poem by spoken word youth poetry group on Guam.⁹⁸ I focus predominantly on Chamorro poetry because the formal elements of poetry allow for a discussion of Chamorro aesthetic forms. However, I acknowledge that prose fiction can also lead to discussions of form, and I hope to examine more of these texts in the future,

⁹⁷ Robert Lund, *Hour of Glory* (New York: John Day Company, 1950); Juan A. Sanchez, "History's Four Dark Days: A Memorial Ode to the Late John Fitzgerald Kennedy," (Saipan, CNMI: Trust Territory Printing Office, 1965); *Xanadu & Xanadu II*, various editors, 1966, 1981-3 (Mangilao: University of Guam, 1966 & 1981-3); Louise Stout, *Kalou: A Legend of Saipan* (Saipan, CNMI: Trust Territory Printing Office, 1970); William Peck, *I Speak the Beginning* (Saipan, CNMI: Commonwealth Arts Council, 1982); Chris Perez Howard, *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam* (Suva, Fiji: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1986); John Mazur, *Pacific War*, *Saipaniana*, and *Typhoons in Paradise* (Long Beach, CA: John Mazur, 1990).

⁹⁸ Cecilia C. T. Perez, "Signs of Being: A Chamoru Spiritual Journey" (MA thesis, Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1997). Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz, "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi—The Journey of Our Words" (MA thesis, Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2010); Lehua Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones* (Hawai'i: Tinfish Press, 2013).

especially the Chamorro novel, a genre that has grown in the past few years.⁹⁹

Because Torres is the major scholar of Chamorro literature, it is important for me to engage with his methodology and findings. Torres interprets Chamorro literature through folklorist, postcolonial, and new historicist theories. He analyzes the major motifs, themes, and imagery of Chamorro folklore and legends to conclude that pre-colonial oral stories celebrated Chamorro pride and power, creating "tales out of native mythology to explicate the origins and sources of geographic features, animals, or mysterious occurrences."¹⁰⁰ However, Torres shows how Chamorro folklore changed after Spanish colonialism to focus on "positive depictions of Christian and Spanish images," moving away from "native traditional themes and genres towards European models with their tales of miracles, Christian imagery, and other Spanish motifs."¹⁰¹ When interpreting contemporary Chamorro literature, Torres maps how colonialism changed Chamorro literature from an oral to a written medium, from Chamorro to English language, and from indigenous forms to Western and European genres.¹⁰² These dramatic changes lead Torres to question the authenticity of these texts. Torres proclaims:

Contemporary Marianas literature reflects the condition of the people today—deterritorialized and estranged from its past. Chamorro, the native tongue, becomes the foreign language; the new society that has emerged out of the ashes

⁹⁹ Many Chamorro authors not discussed in Torres or in this dissertation deserve critical attention. Peter Onedera is perhaps the most prolific Chamorro author, with several prose collections, *Cheffla gi i Manglo (Whistle in the Wind)* (2006) and *Gi i Tilu Gradu (In the Third Grade)* (2009), and many plays. P.C. Munoz published several poetry collections in the 1990s (now out of print). Prose writer Tanya Chargualaf Taimanglo has recently self-published a short story collection, *Attitude 13: A Daughter of Guam's Collection of Short Stories* (2010) and a novel *Secret Shopper* (2013). In the last few years, there have been an exciting number of Chamorro novelists release self-published novels, including Steven LeFever's *Beautiful Escapade* (2011), Stephen Tenorio's *An Ocean in a Cup* (2011), and M.B. Wilmot's *Quixote in Ramada: An Indigenous Account of Imperialism* (2013). Additionally, several anthologies of Chamorro literature have appeared: *Chamoru Childhood*, edited by Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Victoria Leon Guerrero, and Craig Santos Perez (Berkeley, CA: Achiote Press, 2009); *Pacific Collection: Reading for Civic Reflection*, edited by Kimberlee Kihleng (Agana, Guam: Guam Humanities Council, 2011); and *Word of Mouth: Pacific Stories from Guam (Sinangan Ginen i Pachot: Estorian Pasifiku Ginen Guahan)*, edited by Literary Arts Council (Agana, Guam: Literary Arts Council, 2014). Two special features on Chamorro literature have also appeared in literary journals: "Four Contemporary Chamoru Poets," *The Offending Adam Special Feature* (2011) and "Kantan Chamorrita: Contemporary Chamoru Poetry," *The Platte Valley Review* 33 Special Feature (2011), both edited by Craig Santos Perez. Other excellent writers include Victoria Leon Guerrero, Balthazar Aguon, Evelyn Flores, Julian Aguon, Maria Yatar, Keith Camacho, Christine DeLisle, Arielle Lowe, Clarissa Mendiola, Dakota Alcantara-Camacho, and Jacob Camacho, to name a few.

¹⁰⁰ Torres, "Colonial and Conquest Lore of the Marianas," 23.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Torres, "Pre-Contact Marianas Folklore," 3.

of World War II is Western and distant from the traditional Chamorro culture... Today, the literature is no longer intended for continuing the spirit of traditional folklore and oral traditions, but rather more towards a Westernized and Eurocentric, regional perspective.¹⁰³

To Torres, contemporary Chamorro writers are severed from their native literary heritage, and their works bear the signs of literary acculturation and demise. If a Chamorro author does include cultural references and Chamorro language, then Torres figures these writers as a hybrid "composition of native traditions and foreign influences."¹⁰⁴ While I agree with Torres's assessment that colonialism has indelibly shaped Chamorro literature, I disagree that contemporary Chamorro writers are severed from our indigenous culture and aesthetic traditions, or that we have become hybridized.

I classify Torres's conclusions as a form of fatal impact cultural and literary theory.¹⁰⁵ "Fatal impact theory" refers to the idea that Pacific Islanders and their cultures were fatally impacted by contact with Western cultures, and that Pacific Islanders were passive victims to colonialism, destined to become assimilated or extinct. This theory is based on the conception that indigenous culture is a static, bounded essence that once existed in a "pure" and "authentic" state before contact, but has become degraded and inauthentic because of colonialism, modernity, and globalization. The danger of this perception is that it disempowers native peoples by disconnecting us from our indigeneity and leaving us lost in a sea of inauthenticity and hybridity. I write against fatal impact cultural theory, especially as applied to Chamorro identity. I draw from "articulation theory," Native Pacific cultural studies, and Native American Studies¹⁰⁶ to show that indigenous identities and literatures are more than a pure, unchanging set of practices and values that were defined in the ancient past and that any deviation or change marks impurity and inauthenticity. Instead, I wayread Chamorro identities and literatures as assemblages of meanings, customs, practices, values, subjectivities, and discourses that change in response to historical conditions, political pressures, or colonial force.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰⁴ Torres, "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas," 42.

¹⁰⁵ "Fatal impact" has been a major trope in Pacific historiography and cultural studies. See, for example, Alan Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific 1769-1840* (London, 1966).

¹⁰⁶ A few key sources that consider indigenous identities include Vicente M. Diaz and Kauanui, J Kehaulani, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 13, Number 2 (2001), 315-342; Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities & Cultural Politics*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Eva Marie Garrouette, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University Of California Press, 2003); and *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Roman and Littlefield, 1999).

Furthermore, I wayread Chamorro identities and cultures as shaped in response to different structural regimes of identification and representation. Wayreading culture and identity as sites of articulation and struggle honors the complexity of indigenous identities and literatures while also highlighting indigenous survival, continuity, vitality, and agency.

Charting the Dissertation

This introduction described the theory and practice of Pacific wayfinding, which formed the foundation of my own interpretive methodology, wayreading. Overall, wayreading involves conceptualizing indigenous cultural identities as complex articulations; centering indigenous literary productions within indigenous intellectual, historical, cultural, and political contexts; examining contemporary aesthetic forms through the lens of customary indigenous oral, visual, and performative arts; and foregrounding the role that indigenous literature plays in imagining and enacting decolonial activism. After defining wayreading, I situated this practice within the traditions of Native Pacific, Native American, and Global Indigenous Cultural and Literary studies. Then, I traced the main routes of Pacific literary studies and explain the invisibility of Guam and Chamorro literature within the field. Lastly, I mapped the major scholarship of contemporary Chamorro literature, with a specific focus on writers from Guam. Ultimately, I argued that Chamorro culture is a dynamic entity composed of core, enduring values, customs, and practices that are continually transformed and re-articulated within various historical contexts and political pressures. Relatedly, I argued that Chamorro literature is a dynamic phenomenon comprised of an aesthetic genealogy that has also been changed by colonialism and re-articulated by every successive generation of Chamorro authors. In the end, I suggested that wayreading opens our eyes to how the primary themes (the content) of Chamorro literature express the survival and vitality of Chamorro language, customs, values, and practices, as well as how the primary narrative structures (the forms) of Chamorro literature embody Chamorro aesthetics, technologies, and ecologies.

Chapter One, “The *Etak* and *Pookof* of Chamorro Identity: Cultural Colonialism, Decolonial Indigeneity, and Literary Authenticity,” will map the roots and routes (the markers and signs, the *etak* and *pookof*) of Chamorro cultural identity and aesthetics so that the reader will be able to navigate the complexities of contemporary Chamorro literature. I will begin by charting the formation of a “Chamorro worldview,” followed by plotting the history of Spanish, American, and Japanese cultural colonialism on Guam and its impacts on Chamorro cultural identity. I will also show how claims about the extinction of “authentic” Chamorro culture contributed to and justified ongoing colonialism. Next, I will map the phenomenon of literary colonialism in Guam and how it transformed Chamorro aesthetics (orature, song, music, dance, etc) and led to the claim that authentic Chamorro literature no longer exists. To counter, I will contend that Chamorro culture and literature are articulated sites of indigenous identity and aesthetics.

This first chapter will map the course for the remainder of this dissertation, plotting the complex coordinates of Chamorro cultural and artistic continuance, revitalization, and transformation.

With our conceptual map in mind, we will embark on our journey in Chapter Two, "Weaving Aerial Roots: Eco-theology, Environmental Imperialism, and Earth Aesthetics in Chamorro Women's Writing." Our destination texts will be "Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey" (1997), by Cecilia Perez, and "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi: The Journey of Our Words" (2010), co-authored by Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz. This chapter will make landfall by grounding us in the importance of *i tano* (the land) as a symbol and site of Chamorro identity, belonging, and ecological thought. First, we will learn and pay our respects to the Chamorro creation story, or what a term a "first story" of indigenous settlement and belonging, as an "eco-theology," or articulation of ecological ethics. After, we will familiarize ourselves with Chamorro spiritual beliefs about and ancestral connections to the land as ancestor, kinship network, and site of co-belonging and mutual care. We will then learn the tragic history of ecological imperialism that has devastated the environments of Guam and alienated Chamorros from the land through plantationism, urbanization, militarization, and tourism. In turn, we will explore the inspiring history of Chamorro reclamation of ancestral lands and the struggle over indigenous land rights. I will then wayread various pieces from the aforementioned manuscripts to show how the primary themes of these texts articulate a women-centered, Chamorro eco-poetics in order to restore indigenous stories of the sacredness of the land and inspire ecological healing and land reclamation. For both texts, I will illustrate how their formal structures embody a Chamorro "earth aesthetics"¹⁰⁷ of the banyan tree, a revered symbol in Chamorro cultural identity. By the time we depart this chapter, we will appreciate why they say that land is the soul of Chamorro culture.

After surveying the land, we will turn our attention towards the houses that occupy this land, and the relationship between housing architecture and Chamorro identity. Chapter three, "The Chamorro House of Story: *I Guma' Latte*, Architectural Colonialism, and Na(rra)tive Housing," wayreads the most well-known text of Chamorro literature, *Mariquita, a Tragedy of Guam* (1986). This creative nonfiction book is set during the Japanese Occupation of Guam and tells the story of the author's Chamorro mother, Mariquita, a young woman whose home, family, and life is torn asunder by World War II. First, we will tour the origins and ruins of customary Chamorro housing architecture, known as *i guma' latte*, and acquaint ourselves with its forms, functions, and values. We will then study the blueprints of "architectural colonialism," detailing how colonial forces changed indigenous dwelling spaces and consequently disrupted Chamorro housing practices and familial ties. I will then wayread several passages from

¹⁰⁷ The phrase "earth aesthetics" is inspired by Glissant's idea of an "aesthetics of the earth," which refers to appreciating beauty even in environments ravaged by colonialism and degradation. I use "earth aesthetics" to refer to the aesthetic designs of nonhuman nature. As I will show in more detail in Chapter 3, the earth aesthetics of a banyan tree refers to its formal elements of woven, aerial roots. Edouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

Mariquita that relate to the primary theme of housing, situating my analysis within the field of Housing Studies. We will discover that colonial forces use housing structures to control, discipline, and surveil indigenous peoples; on the other hand, we will also witness how indigenous peoples transform and indigenize houses to assert agency and resilience. Since *i guma' latte* was a space of storytelling, customs, rituals, family, and genealogy, I will end by developing the concept of "na(rra)ative architecture" to connect the aesthetics, form, and function of Chamorro architecture to the craft, structure, and purpose of *Mariquita*. Long after our stay at the Chamorro house of story ends, the voices housed within the pages of *Mariquita* will echo within the walls of our memory.

Our next destination will take us away from the lands and houses of Guam and into the vast expanse and far flung locations of the Chamorro diaspora (ranging from North Carolina to California). Chapter four, "The Flying Proa: Outrigger Aesthetics, Colonial Mobilities, and Diasporic Indigeneity," wayreads the avant-garde poetry collection, *A Bell Made of Stones* (2013), by Lehua Taitano. First, we will navigate the cultural currents of Pacific voyaging traditions, the colonial history of restricting indigenous mobilities, and the decolonial revitalization of seafaring practices and customs in Guam and the Pacific. We will also consider the figure of the canoe, and the idea of seafaring, as powerful symbols of Chamorro migration and diasporic cultural identity. As we will see, one of the primary themes in Tatiano's poetry is navigation, and some of the questions her work raises include: Why have so many many Chamorros migrated from Guam? How do diasporic Chamorros stay connected to home and articulate their cultural identity? Can literature heal diasporic Chamorros from the trauma of migration? In terms of poetic form, I will argue that Taitano's visual experimentation with typography and visual poetry embodies Chamorro outrigger design and navigational techniques. In the end, we will catch a glimpse of the distant horizons and furthest stars of the Chamorro experience, an especially important recognition within Chamorro cultural studies as the Chamorro diasporic population continues to grow and outnumber our on-island kin.

Together, we will turn our canoes once again towards the western Pacific, catch the trade winds, and return to Guam. Chapter five, "Singing forwards and backwards: *Kåntan Chamorrita*, Intertextual Orality, and Chamorro Spoken Word Poetry," addresses one of the only surviving forms of Chamorro orature: *Kåntan Chamorrita*, a call-and-response, extemporaneous, communal, oral poetry. We will discuss the form and function of this ancestral form, and review how literary scholars have theorized orality in relation to written indigenous literatures. I will wayread the interwoven aesthetics of the *kåntan chamorrita* as embodied in the intertextual references between intergenerational Chamorro poets, Michael Lujan Bevacqua and Anne-Perez Hattori. Furthermore, I will argue that the *kåntan chamorrita* is replicated in the recent establishment of Chamorro spoken word youth poetry and the proliferation of slam poetry competitions on Guam. Overall, I propose that new Chamorro written and spoken word poetry re-articulates the communal situations and aesthetic forms of the *kåntan chamorrita* tradition. At the end of this chapter, we will listen to Chamorro poets weaving our voices together in new,

exciting forms—singing backwards to our near and distant ancestors, and singing forwards to our future descendants.

Our journey will conclude with a final gathering, a farewell, and the promise of new beginnings. The conclusion, "Prutehi yan Difendi": Chamorro Literature as Symbolic and Pragmatic Decolonial Activism," will wayread Chamorro literature as an important act of decolonizing colonial representations of Chamorro history, culture, and identity, as well as a pragmatic tool in the Chamorro decolonization, demilitarization, and sovereignty movements. We will meet two intergenerational Chamorro poets, Bernadita Camacho-Dungca and Melvin Won Pat-Borja, and bear witness to how their poetry has been employed in political spaces to question and challenge Guam's colonial status, and to advocate for the protection of our land, our home, our people, our culture, and our future.

A Chamorro poet once described the passage of Chamorro lives as parallel to the shape of a canoe: "The journey commences with a star falling from the sky to signify a birth and is represented by the slightly turned up bow of a canoe. The journey continues throughout life, much like the narrow hull of a canoe. Finally, the journey concludes upon the death of an individual when one's spirit travels upward along the turned-up stern of a canoe and returns as a star that is recovered into the sky."¹⁰⁸ Similarly, we will passage through this dissertation as in a canoe, wayreading the moving stars, waves, islands, and texts of the Chamorro literary archipelago. And even though we will inevitably reach the end of this dissertation (and of our journey), we will always be able to look up to the sky, read the stars and the ocean, and find our way home.

¹⁰⁸ Maria Yatar, "Navigating Modernity," presentation at the 16th annual Guam Association of Social Workers Conference (1995): n.p. Quoted in Lilli Perez, "An Ethnography of Reciprocity Among Chamorros in Guam (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1998): 36.

I

The *Etak* and *Pookof* of Chamorro Identity: Cultural Colonialism, Decolonial Indigeneity, and Literary Authenticity

In looking at the reflection of Chamorro identity
we find that it is not a smooth, glassy surface we see.
With all the forces of nature we find that we are looking at reflections,
as multi-faceted, as full of color, texture and moods, and depths
and as ever-changing as the ocean's surface.¹⁰⁹

—Cecilia C. T. Perez

This chapter navigates the complex coordinates and histories of Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics. As I will show, three centuries of colonialism suppressed, supplanted, and changed nearly every aspect of Chamorro life. This led scholars to believe that “authentic” Chamorro culture was fatally impacted, had become impure and “inauthentic,” and was ultimately destined to become extinct. Similarly, I will describe how colonialism transformed and sometimes erased Chamorro aesthetic practices. As Chamorros adapted to the introduction and imposition of foreign aesthetics, scholars argued that Chamorro arts and literature no longer resembled the accepted vision of “authentic” and “traditional” Chamorro aesthetics, and instead signaled artistic acculturation, demise, and extinction. This colonial history deeply scarred the Chamorro psyche and created a profound identity crisis. Furthermore, colonial administrations used this discourse of racial, cultural, and artistic impurity to justify increased acculturation and colonization efforts, and to deny Chamorro claims of indigeneity, decolonization, self-determination, and sovereignty. I challenge this fatal impact cultural and literary theory¹¹⁰ in this chapter by bringing together an emerging body of scholarship that

¹⁰⁹ Cecilia. C. T. Perez, "De-liberating liberation: A discussion of the expression of Chamorro identity through symbols of American patriotism," Unpublished Paper (1994), 22. Quoted in Mary Therese F. Cruz, "(Re)Searching Identity: Being Chamorro in an American Colony," Ph.D. dissertation, Political Science (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2012), 61.

¹¹⁰ "Fatal impact theory" refers to the idea that Pacific Islanders and their cultures were fatally impacted by contact with Western cultures, and that Pacific Islanders were passive victims to colonialism, destined to become extinct. "Fatal impact" has been a major trope in Pacific historiography and cultural studies. See, for example, Alan Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact: An Account of the Invasion of the South Pacific 1769-1840* (London, 1966).

conceptualizes and wayreads indigenous Chamorro culture and identity as articulated, dynamic, transformative, and resilient. Aligned with this scholarship, I also highlight studies that wayread Chamorro arts and literature can be understood as expressions of Chamorro cultural and aesthetic continuity, articulation, and vitality.

This chapter aims to map the roots and routes of Chamorro cultural identity and aesthetics so that the reader will be able to navigate the subsequent discussion about the complexities of contemporary Chamorro literature. As I outlined in the introduction, wayreading is a form of interpretation that takes into account indigenous contexts, thus it is a reading strategy that locates the *etak* and *pookof* of indigenous cultures, which are the moving signs of indigenous presence, such as indigenous language, values, customs, beliefs, ecologies, histories, technologies, and aesthetics. By wayreading the signs in Chamorro literature, I highlight the continuity, resistance, resilience, and vitality of Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics—even if these revelations exist in a non-indigenous language or genre.

Chamorro Identity, Cultural Colonialism, and the Discourse of Inauthenticity

The fact that three culturally and linguistically different colonial powers (Spain, Japan, and the United States) have controlled Guam and its Chamorro population has resulted in complex historical, cultural, and political entanglements and intimacies. This complexity is evident in the struggles over the origin, meaning, and orthography of the names "Chamorro" and "Guam," whose contestations reflect the ongoing struggle to define Chamorro culture and identity.

One theory is that Chamorro derived from Chamori, a term that refers to high-ranking chiefs. Another theory suggests that Chamorro derives from Spanish and translates as "he who has his head shorn," which points to the way Chamorros shaved their heads leaving only a topknot.¹¹¹ In historical archives, several other spellings exist, including Tsamoru, Chamorru, Chamoru, and CHamoru. Following World War II, a new name, "Guamanian" emerged and attempted to swallow Chamorro identity. Depending on who you asked, Guamanian either referred to Chamorros from Guam (as opposed to Chamorros from the Northern Mariana Islands), to any person who lived on Guam whether they were Chamorro or not, to an Americanized Chamorro, or to a diasporic Chamorro.¹¹² In 1993, the Chamorro Language Commission held public hearings about a proposal to officially recognize the name "Chamoru," which many argue reflects an

¹¹¹ Elizabeth A. Paulino Diego, "Reclaiming Identity in Articulating What It Means To Be Chamorro: A Phenomenological Study of the Indigenous Peoples of Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, School of Professional Studies (Gonzaga University, 2010), 73.

¹¹² For a discussion of the meanings and origins of "Guamanian," see Robert Taitano Underwood, "On Being Guamanian—Guamese—Guamite—Guamian Chamorro," *Xanadu II* (Spring 1982), 1-13.

indigenous orthography and politics.¹¹³ This debate opened the path for others to completely abandon Chamorro *and* Chamoru for another term not suggestive of the Spanish language, such as "I Taotao Tano," which translates as "The People of the Land."¹¹⁴ Today, "Chamorro" remains the most widely used and accepted name and spelling for the indigenous people of the Marianas.

Similarly, the name "Guam" has a contested history. On maps and in archival documents, the island has also been referred to as Goaam, Goam, Guan, Guana, Guajan, and Guahan.¹¹⁵ The Japanese and Spanish named the island: Omiya Jima (Great Shrine Island), Isla de los Ladrones (Island of the Thieves) and Isla de las Velas Latinas (Island of the Lateen Sails). Guam was declared the island's official name after it became a territory of the United States. The U.S. military code name for Guam is *Duva*, and Guam has other American nicknames, including "The Tip of the Spear, Trailer park of the Pacific, Sleepy Hollow, USS Guam, Fortress Guam, and Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier."¹¹⁶ A proposal to officially rename Guam to what many argue is the island's indigenous name, Guåhan (which translates as "we have" or "a place that has"), sparked controversy and debate.¹¹⁷ The fact that we *have* many names—both externally imposed and internally professed—reflects not only a "little war of nomenclature,"¹¹⁸ but also a long history of struggle over defining and representing Chamorro culture and identity.

Attempts to define Chamorro culture and identity have been undertaken since Europeans first made landfall on Guam in the 16th century. The earliest cultural descriptions characterized "ancient" Chamorros as free and independent, without a lord or

¹¹³ For discussions about this controversy, see Cruz, "(Re)Searching Identity," 3.

¹¹⁴ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 73-4. Different names and spellings often denote different political identities. For example, Chamoru is seen as reflecting a more indigenous identity than Chamorro, while I Taotao Tano is seen as the most indigenous choice. See Cruz, "(Re)Searching Identity," 3, and Gina E. Taitano, "Chamorro vs. Chamoru," *Guampedia*, accessed January 30, 2015, [http://guampedia.com /chamorro-vs-chamoru](http://guampedia.com/chamorro-vs-chamoru).

¹¹⁵ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 14.

¹¹⁶ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Ghosts, Chamorros and Non-Voting Delegates: Guam! Where the Production of America's Sovereignty Begins," Ph.D. dissertation, Ethnic Studies (University of California, San Diego, 2010), 81.

¹¹⁷ In 2010, the Governor of Guam at the time, Felix P. Camacho, changed the official name of Guam to Guåhan via Executive Order. See Executive Order No. 2010-06, Office of the Governor, Accessed February 20, 2015, [http://documents.guam.gov /sites/default/files/EO-2010-06.pdf](http://documents.guam.gov/sites/default/files/EO-2010-06.pdf). Like the Chamoru versus Chamorro distinction, many people consider "Guåhan" as the most indigenous name of the island.

¹¹⁸ Underwood, "On Being," 1.

superior.¹¹⁹ The "Chamorro Worldview" consisted of beliefs in spirits and a primal attachment to the land and sea.¹²⁰ The main values of Chamorro culture included *inafa'maolek* (interdependence), *chenchule'* (reciprocity), *mamahlao* (shame), and *respetu* (respect).¹²¹ Thus, "traditional" Chamorro culture "shared numerous cultural similarities with other Pacific, especially Micronesian, peoples described at the time: clan-based social networks, economically based on fishing and agriculture, cemented within a kin-structure of female descent principles."¹²² This formulation of Chamorro cultural identity functioned as the benchmark for racial and cultural "purity." Furthermore, the pre-contact period during which the pure Chamorro lived and functioned as the only "indisputable period of authenticity."¹²³

Conceptions of Chamorro culture changed dramatically after encounters with Spanish, American, and Japanese cultural colonialism. The period of Spanish colonization is characterized as a period of "Hispanicization."¹²⁴ Spanish rule disrupted, undermined, and outlawed Chamorro customs, while implementing and enforcing Spanish cultural practices. Catholic missionization, considered the most profound force in shaping Chamorro identity during the Spanish era,¹²⁵ caused Chamorros to abandon their gods and religious practices associated with birth, death, and marriage. The colonial Spanish policy known as *reducción* removed Chamorros from their ancestral lands and relocated the population into mission settlements centered around the Catholic Church. The removal from traditional settlements "led to the disintegration of land-use practices which in turn, had a domino effect on other cultural practices. The eventual removal of Chamorros into mission settlements moreover, led to the destruction of the traditional

¹¹⁹ For example, see Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage: A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, Translated and edited, R.A. Skelton from the manuscript in the Beinecke Rare Book Collection and Manuscript Library of Yale University (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 60.

¹²⁰ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 75.

¹²¹ Ibid., 64.

¹²² Laural Anne Monnig, "'Proving Chamorro': Indigenous Narratives of Race, Identity, and Decolonization on Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2007), 62.

¹²³ Ibid., 65. The list of texts that reify this vision of authentic Chamorro are numerous. One powerful example is the Department of Chamorro Affairs' *Chamorro Heritage: A Sense of Place— Guidelines, Procedures, and Recommendations for Authenticating Chamorro Heritage* (Hale'-ta Series) (Hagatna, Guam: Department of Chamorro Affairs, Research, Publication and Training Division, 2003).

¹²⁴ See Robert Underwood, "Hispanicization as a Socio-Historical Process on Guam," Unpublished paper (Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 1979).

¹²⁵ See Vicente Diaz, *Repositioning the missionary: rewriting the histories of colonialism, native Catholicism, and indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

clan and caste systems of social organization.¹²⁶ Many Chamorros who survived Spanish conquest, conversion, and disease intermarried with Spanish settlers, creating a *mestizaje* (or *mestizo*) population that would become a "focal point of colonial divisions of society," as well as a central cultural identity in Guam during the Spanish Era.¹²⁷ Spanish cultural colonialism managed to change nearly every aspect of Chamorro cultural identity, so much so that many believed that Chamorro culture no longer existed in a pure or authentic form.

The idea of Chamorros as *mestizaje* continued into the American Era. The Americans viewed Chamorros as "Hispanicized Catholics whose indigenous culture and language no longer existed."¹²⁸ In 1947, Anthropologist Laura Thompson asserted: "The indigenous population of the Marianas continued to diminish until, by the middle of the nineteenth century, no full-blooded natives survived. However, the Chamorros mated with the newcomers and soon after the conquest, a hybrid group began to emerge."¹²⁹ Historian Rodney Rogers echoed the same sentiment: "pure-blooded Chamorros became a dwindling minority until finally absorbed by the end of the nineteenth century into a hybrid neo-Chamorro mixture."¹³⁰ Americans also perceived Chamorros as inferior, lazy children in need of development and civilization.¹³¹ Thus, the Navy established new laws and policies that aimed to "extinguish vestiges of [Chamorro culture] contrary to [American] ideas of what constituted an advanced society."¹³² To facilitate cultural Americanization, the Navy deported Spanish priests and prohibited Catholic practices (which were replaced with patriotic American celebrations) in order to disrupt the grip of the church.¹³³ In turn, the establishment of an American education system acculturated Chamorros by teaching American history and geography, health and hygiene, reading and writing in the English language, and industrial and agricultural skills.¹³⁴ American sports,

¹²⁶ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 93.

¹²⁷ Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 69.

¹²⁸ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 108.

¹²⁹ Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People* (Binghampton, NY: Vail-Ballou Press, 1969 [1947]), 35.

¹³⁰ Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 84.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., 106.

¹³³ See Anne Perez Hattori, "Colonialism, Capitalism and Nationalism in the US Navy's Expulsion of Guam's Spanish Catholic Priests, 1898-1900," *The Journal of Pacific History* 44.2 (2009), 281-302.

¹³⁴ See Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 106. See also Robert Underwood, "American education and the acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Southern California, 1987).

such as baseball, were also introduced to further discipline Chamorros. From 1898 to 1941, the Navy aspired to transform Chamorros into productive, disciplined, educated and sanitary Americans.¹³⁵

Even though the "Japanisation" of Chamorro culture and identity only lasted three years (1941-1944), it left a lasting impression. Japanese authorities initiated several militarizing and civilizing projects to "eradicate forty years of American symbols, values, and, ultimately, [American] loyalty among the Chamorros."¹³⁶ The Japanese viewed Chamorros as "'too small in size to be called a race [and] too [culturally] devastated to be called one tribe.'"¹³⁷ Thus, Chamorros were seen as culturally stunted, lazy, and in need of a "mother body" capable of "promoting their growth."¹³⁸ The core of the Japanisation policy involved education, with an emphasis on Japanese language, moral values, music, and exercise. School ceremonies "centered on Japan's Emperor, the nation state, history, and war."¹³⁹ According to Naoto Sudo,

The 'Japanization' of Guam peaked during the summer of 1942. The island and all of the towns had been given Japanese names. The schools were re-opened to teach Japanese language and traditions. All American books were burned. The young children were required to attend classes each morning, and instead of pledging allegiance to the American flag, they now bowed to the emperor of Japan.¹⁴⁰

Beyond education, the Japanisation policy included forced agricultural and military labor in order to teach the Chamorros the Japanese spirit of "hard work and devotion."¹⁴¹ Despite the focus on education and labor, it was Japanese wartime atrocities that most deeply affected Chamorro identity.

Because the return of the American military ended Japanese occupation and wartime atrocities, Chamorros were more willing than before to embrace America as a "liberator." Robert Underwood posited: "the [war] experience left a psychological legacy

¹³⁵ See Hattori, "Navy Blues: US Naval Rule on Guam And the Rough Road to Assimilation, 1898-1941," *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, Volume 5, Number 1 (Fall 2014), 13-30.

¹³⁶ Keith L. Camacho. *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 44.

¹³⁷ Wakako Higuchi, "Japanisation Policy for the Chamorros of Guam, 1941-1944," *The Journal of Pacific History* 36.1 (2001), 21.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 24.

¹⁴⁰ Naoto Sudo, "Colonial Mirror Images of Micronesia and Japan: Beyond the Tug of War between "Americanization" and "Japanization."" *Postcolonial Text*, 1.1 (2004), n.p.

¹⁴¹ Higuchi, "Japanisation Policy," 27.

of fear of non-American control and helped generate a relationship of gratitude and debt."¹⁴² Chamorro "codes of indigenous indebtedness"¹⁴³ ignited feelings of patriotism and loyalty to the United States, feelings that would be bolstered by the pursuit and granting of U.S. citizenship in 1950. Diaz further notes how the experience of Japanization boosted the process of Americanization in the post-war period:

The 'Americanization' of the Chamorros (and the quest for US citizenship) received a big boost from the Japanese. The Japanese invasion, and especially Chamorro memories of the brutal occupation, accomplished in less than three years what US Naval officials could not do in almost fifty...they fused the Chamorros to their colonial overseer, with religious zeal and cultural prescriptions of gratitude and loyalty.¹⁴⁴

Amidst this newfound loyalty amongst Chamorros, the American education system on Guam expanded and continued to emphasize American history and culture, as well as the English language. The presence of American culture also expanded with the introduction of American television and media in the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁴⁵ Laura Souder once described the effect of this new media as having the acculturative power to convince Chamorros that "Guam has become an overseas suburb of Los Angeles County."¹⁴⁶ Beyond education and media, scholars have pointed to how militarization has Americanized Chamorro identity. Not only was the military a major employer of civilian labor after World War II, but Chamorros enlisted in the U.S. armed forces in record numbers in subsequent decades. Today, the most successful military recruiters are based on Guam, and Chamorros have one of the highest rates of enlistment per capita than any other state or territory.¹⁴⁷ Overall, Chamorros have become "the most Americanized of all groups of Pacific Islanders associated with the U.S. They have been seen as trying to be more American and, as a consequence, cannot adequately or accurately even describe

¹⁴² Underwood, "American Education," 181.

¹⁴³ Vicente M. Diaz, "Deliberating 'Liberation Day': Identity, History, Memory, and War in Guam," in *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*, ed, T. Fujitani, White, and Yoneyama (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 161.

¹⁴⁴ Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary*, 13.

¹⁴⁵ See Underwood, "Role of Mass Media in Small Pacific Societies: The Case of Guam," *Pacific Islands Communications Journal* 10 (1981), 60-72.

¹⁴⁶ Laura Marie Torres Souder, *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America Inc, 1992), 41.

¹⁴⁷ See Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "The Exceptional Life and Death of a Chamorro Soldier: Tracing the Militarization of Desire in Guam, USA," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. by Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2010).

their identity and culture."¹⁴⁸

The history of cultural colonialism on Guam has led to both a crisis of identity and a crisis of political legitimacy. Michael Perez notes that the Chamorro identity crisis is "marked by an especially pervasive American cultural hegemony which appears to have generated a disturbing cycle of cultural annihilation and identity crisis."¹⁴⁹ This disturbing cycle involves internalizing the displacement from one's ancestry, the loss of cultural practices and values, the perception of the Chamorro as lazy and primitive, and the desire for American culture.¹⁵⁰ Chamorro identity crisis also "entails social invisibility resulting from racial homogenization, in which indigenous elements tend to be further watered-down or negated."¹⁵¹ Overall, this crisis has created a "social psychological ambivalence"¹⁵² about the authenticity and value of Chamorro culture and identity—so much so that the "acceptance of the American point of reference produced Chamorros who no longer wanted to be Chamorro."¹⁵³ In addition to creating a crisis of Chamorro identity, colonial acculturation has created a political crisis. As Monnig argues, the racialization of Chamorros as mixed and impure functioned to justify political disenfranchisement:

By giving [Chamorros] this racial identity, [colonial administrations] wrestled legitimacy and authenticity away from Chamorros—classifying them as mixed, confused, small in number, and extinct both culturally and linguistically. As the racial reasoning goes, because they are all these things, they are not worthy of self-rule, independence and self determination.¹⁵⁴

The history of cultural colonialism not only reified a static conception of pure and authentic Chamorro identity, but it also created a crisis for subsequent generations of Chamorros whose identities were inevitably shaped by Hispanization, Japanization, and

¹⁴⁸ Monique R. Cariveau Storie, "All Fifty Kathousand Cousins: Chamorro Teachers Responding to Contemporary Children's Literature Set in Guam," Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Language, Reading, and Culture (University of Arizona, 2009), 354.

¹⁴⁹ Michael Perez, "The Dialectic of Indigenous Identity in the Wake of Colonialism: The Case of Chamorros of Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Sociology (University of California, Riverside, 1997), 142.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 134.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 70-1

¹⁵² Ibid., 71.

¹⁵³ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 134.

¹⁵⁴ Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 119.

Americanization. Colonial authorities justified their civilizing missions by viewing Chamorros as impure, inauthentic, and incapable. Ultimately, this racial discourse justified ongoing disempowerment and disenfranchisement of Chamorro culture, identity, and political aspirations.

Indigenism, Cultural Continuity, and the Re-Articulation of Chamorro Identity

Even though the specificities of the Chamorro experience are unique, many indigenous peoples around the world have experienced cultural colonialism. In response to this history, an international movement of indigenous peoples emerged in the 1960s, empowering indigenous peoples with a sense of shared identity and empowerment. One of the major sites of this struggle was at the United Nations (UN), which formulated a working definition of indigenous peoples:

Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems.¹⁵⁵

In *The Origins of Indigenism*, Ronald Niezen describes this working definition as providing "the conceptual origins and practical focus of indigenous identity."¹⁵⁶ *Indigenism* became "a new global identity—or a new way of formulating traditional identities based on notions of loyalty to family and community, ancestral wisdom, permanent homelands, and cultural durability—and, in the process, opening up new strategies of resistance to the centralizing tendencies of states."¹⁵⁷ Articulating an indigenous identity helped indigenous peoples and their allies advocate for indigenous rights, particularly for the fundamental right of self-determination. Since the establishment of the UN, over 80 formerly colonized countries have exercised self-determination and gained independence. The last remaining countries still waiting to achieve this status—including Guam—are listed on the UN list of non-self-governing

¹⁵⁵ J. R. M. Cobo. Study of the problem of discrimination against indigenous populations. UN Document E/CN.4/Sub.2/I 986/7 and Add.4. United Nations Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection against Minorities, 1987: 49.

¹⁵⁶ Ronald Niezen, *The origins of indigenism: Human rights and the politics of identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 9.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., xvi.

territories.¹⁵⁸

The international decolonization, indigenous rights, and self-determination movements that emerged during the 1960s (especially the decolonization and sovereignty movements that emerged in the Pacific) deeply influenced Chamorro culture, identity, literature, and politics.¹⁵⁹ The fact that other islands in Micronesia (classified as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the 1960s) were negotiating their political status with the U.S. also inspired Chamorros to envision themselves in the context of decolonization.¹⁶⁰ Armed with the language, politics, and history of indigenous rights, several Chamorro rights groups emerged in the 1980s and 1990s that employed indigenous identity as their major political strategy to advocate for Chamorro language revitalization, land reclamation, decolonization, self-determination, and sovereignty. Some of these groups included the July 7th Committee, the People's Alliance for Responsive Alternatives (PARA), Para'Pada Y Chamorros, the Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPI-R), I Nasion Chamoru (The Chamorro Nation), Guam Landowners coalition, Ancestral Landowners Coalition, Ritidian Family Association, Fuitsan I Famalao'an Chamoru, and the Commission on Self-Determination.¹⁶¹ An umbrella organization, the Colonized Chamorro Coalition, formed to foster "more international connections to groups of Native American and Puerto Rico activists, with attempts to widen the field of discourse and opposition to the US."¹⁶² Souder discusses this phenomenon:

¹⁵⁸ See Niezen, xv-xvi. For a deeper history of the international indigenous movement, see Lotte Hughes, *The No-Nonsense Guide to Indigenous Peoples* (London: New Internationalist & Verso Books, 2003); S. J. Anaya, *Indigenous peoples in international law* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004); K.S. Coates, *A global history of indigenous peoples: Struggle and survival* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); D. Maybury-Lewis, *Indigenous peoples, ethnic groups, and the state* (2nd ed.) (Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2002); R. J. Perry, *From time immemorial: Indigenous peoples and state systems* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996); H. Minde, editor, *Indigenous peoples: Self determination, knowledge, indigeneity* (Netherlands: Eburon Delft, 2008); L. Rodriguez-Pinero, *Indigenous Peoples, postcolonialism, and international law: The ILO regime (1919-1989)* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005); P. Thornberry, *Indigenous Peoples and human rights* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2002), and Jeffrey Sissons, *First Peoples: Indigenous Cultures and their Futures* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).

¹⁵⁹ For a brief history of decolonization in the Pacific, see Stewart Firth, "Decolonization," in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History*, edited by Robert Borofsky (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 314-332. For a look at decolonization in the context of literature, see Keown, *Pacific Islands Writing*.

¹⁶⁰ For a history of this period in Micronesia, see David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

¹⁶¹ For a history of Chamorro decolonial activism, see Vivian Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Social Work and Political Science (University of Michigan, 2000). See also Bevacqua, "Ghosts, Chamorros and Non-Voting Delegates."

¹⁶² Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 115.

Guam has witnessed the popularization of the term indigenous in the [1980s]. Responding to the articulation of Chamorro self-determination as an issue of indigenous rights, a growing number of people on Guam now view the political status question in terms of the concept of indigenous rights.¹⁶³

The focus on indigenous political activism not only inspired Chamorro cultural revitalization, but it also ignited feelings of "justifiable pride in the rebirth of cultural consciousness and the celebration of their heritage. This is part of the Chamorro search for identity and expression as Chamorros."¹⁶⁴

As Chamorros began to assert their indigenous identity and rights into the public sphere, critics began questioning the authenticity of these assertions. As Monnig notes:

In comparison to their Pacific Islander neighbors, [Chamorro] colonial mixtures—racial and cultural—inauthenticated their indigenous status. It was perceived that the Yapese, the Pohnpeians, the Palauans, etc., were “real” Pacific Islanders who still had recognizable, unique, and “traditional” cultural traits and phenotypic consistency. Chamorros, on the other hand, practiced too much culture which had roots in the Philippines, Spain, or the US, and their phenotypes were too varied to be consistent with the notion of a “bounded,” “truly” indigenous group.¹⁶⁵

For Chamorro activists and advocates, "proving" indigeneity became important because "Chamorros must validate their existence 'as an identifiable and distinct cultural group' before they can effectively pursue self-determination... In other words, their peoplehood must be articulated through terms which fit international discourses about what it is to be indigenous."¹⁶⁶ If Chamorros could not *prove* their indigeneity, then they would be discounted and excluded from international, national, and local avenues for self-determination. As a result, activists and scholars have contested accusations of inauthenticity by invoking “articulation theory” to understandings of Chamorro culture and identity. First, this involves exhibiting the survival and continuity of pre-colonial Chamorro language, culture, values, and identities despite centuries of cultural colonialism. For example, Elizabeth Diego argues: "Chamorro identity remains distinctly Chamorro as evidenced by the strong presence of unique cultural practices and values

¹⁶³ Laura Souder-Jaffery. “Preface,” in *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People, I Derechon I Taotao*, edited by Laura Souder-Jaffery and Robert A. Underwood, (Mangilao, Guam: Chamorro Studies Association and Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1987), vii-viii.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 158.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 31.

that remain viable in contemporary Chamorro life."¹⁶⁷ These markers of Chamorro identity include Chamorro language, values (such as *inafa 'maolek*), and practices (such as weaving, fishing, and farming). In turn, re-thinking Chamorro culture involves articulating Chamorro agency and cultural transformation. Carmen Kasperbauer describes this phenomenon as "Chamorrocization":

We often hear about the "Hispanicization" or "Americanization" of Chamorro culture, but we seldom hear about the "Chamorrocization" of visiting cultures. It is true that the Chamorro culture has been exposed to the influences of the Spanish, American and Japanese cultures for many, many years, but it is not true that the Chamorro culture is just an imitation of these cultures. Many ancient Chamorro customs and traditions still survive. Sometimes they are disguised as Christian practices, and sometimes they have been given a form, but they are still Chamorro in substance.¹⁶⁸

While the discourse of extinction and inauthenticity suggests that Chamorros are passive vessels for colonial cultures, articulation theory suggests that Chamorros possess agency to re-articulate their identities and to engage and negotiate with foreign cultures for their own purposes and interests (even if these negotiations are not always equal in terms of power). Chamorro culture and identity are, therefore, "contested sites on which indigenous identity combined with exogenous identity are created, challenged, and then recreated."¹⁶⁹

The movement of indigenous peoples and rights inspired Chamorros to re-claim the continuities of Chamorro culture and to re-think and *wayread* the transformative agency of Chamorro identity. An understanding of Chamorros as a complex, indigenous peoples formed the foundation of Chamorro resistance and political activism. As Michael Perez summarizes, acknowledging and honoring the survival and resilience of Chamorro identity has facilitated "cultural renewal, re-articulation, and continuity, but also provide[d] a powerful emotive force of consciousness crucial to political contestation, organization, and mobilization that ultimately propels indigenous resistance and an identity movement."¹⁷⁰ As I will show in the next section, the political stakes of indigenous cultural recognition is echoed in the debates about the production of Chamorro literature.

¹⁶⁷ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 256.

¹⁶⁸ Carmen Artero Kasperbauer, "The Chamorro Culture," in *Kinalamten Pulinikat: Sinenten I Chamorro, Issues In Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective* (Agana, Guam: The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 26-38.

¹⁶⁹ Cruz, "(Re)Searching Identity," 31-2.

¹⁷⁰ Perez, "The Dialectic of Indigenous Identity," 72-3.

Chamorro Literature, Aesthetic Colonialism, and the Discourse of Inauthenticity

The discourse of authenticity not only haunts the discourse of indigenous cultural identities, but it also haunts the discourse of indigenous aesthetics. Similar to how the conception of authentic indigenous culture was delineated by pre-colonial values and customs, ideas of authentic indigenous aesthetics was defined by pre-colonial aesthetics practices. These aesthetic practices include customary orature, weaving, dance, music, architecture, regalia, floral arts, petroglyphy, carving, canoe design, and tattooing, to name a few (I discuss in more detail several pre-colonial Chamorro aesthetic practices in subsequent chapters of this dissertation). Chamorro pre-colonial aesthetics are described as expressing Chamorro cultural values, a primal attachment to the land and sea, and a connection to ancestors and spirits. In that way, Chamorro aesthetics reflected many other Micronesian, Pacific, and indigenous art forms. This formulation of Chamorro aesthetics functioned as a benchmark for indigenous artistic "purity." Furthermore, the pre-contact period during which pure Chamorro arts were made functioned as the indisputable period of aesthetic authenticity.

Indigenous arts began to change as a result of aesthetic colonialism, a phenomenon that highlights how colonial aesthetic practices displaced, suppressed, influenced, and sometimes completely replaced indigenous aesthetic traditions. As indigenous artists negotiated these colonial pressures, scholars began to question the authenticity of these new expressions by indigenous artists. One prominent example can be found in *Other Destinies: Understanding the American Indian Novel*, written by Louis Owens. He characterizes contemporary indigenous literature as facing the problem of authenticity because native writers are always contending with foreign, literary dispositions and impositions: the idea of a single authored text; a non-native genre; the English language; and the "irreversible metamorphosis from oral, communal literature to the written commodity of published work."¹⁷¹ Because Owens figures the Indigenous writer as always coping with these foreign transformations and their attendant identity crisis, Native writing exists precariously in foreign space—a space where indigeneity may vanish at any moment. This exemplifies fatal impact literary theory, which is the idea that indigenous aesthetics is destined to become extinct after contact with foreign, colonial aesthetic practices.¹⁷² As I will show, this framework of literary demise has been detrimentally applied to contemporary Chamorro aesthetics.

Following the above trend, when Chamorro arts and literature changed and

¹⁷¹ Louis Owens, *Other Destinies: Understanding the American Indian Novel* (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1992), 11.

¹⁷² While I will contest these claims in terms of Chamorro literature, Simon Ortiz's challenges this discourse of authenticity in "Towards a National Indian Literature: Cultural Authenticity in Nationalism," *MELUS: The Journal of the Society for the Study of Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States* 8, no. 2. Summer, 1981.

adapted to colonial aesthetic influences, scholars began to question the authenticity of new Chamorro aesthetic practices. For example, American folklorist Mavis Van Peenan, in *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam* (originally published in 1945), argues that centuries of Spanish colonialism and the ongoing pressures of Americanization have pushed Chamorro folklore towards extinction:

There are many reasons why Guam's folklore will disappear. The carabao, that animal so necessary to the island, so symbolic of it, was killed by the Japanese and eaten for food, and soon exterminated. The family and neighborly groups which previously came together for an evening of storytelling and reminiscing now attend the movies. The young people speak English. They are Christians. The pretty Chamorro girls will find husbands among the thousands of American military men on Guam. Many of these girls will leave their Island with their husbands. Many Chamorro boys will join American Armed Forces and "see the world" and settle in parts far from Guam. The time will come when few remember the stories told of "Our Before Time Ancestors" and the Chamorro legends, uncollected, unwritten, will be forgotten, one by one.¹⁷³

While this apocalyptic vision of Chamorro acculturation, disappearance, and amnesia may seem like an exaggeration, it became the dominant vision of Chamorro cultural and aesthetic expression. Contemporary Chamorro writers will always already contend with this fatal impact narrative because it is based on the widely accepted assumptions of what is authentic indigenous Chamorro culture, identity, and literature. Echoing Van Peenan, W.M. Peck, in *I Speak the Beginning: Anthology of Surviving Poetry of the Northern Mariana Islands*, writes:

[Chamorro] ancestors no longer speak to their descendants, for the descendants have ceased to listen, and have lost understanding of the once-rich, now partially-obsolete vocabularies, the raunchy idioms, the complex metaphors, the terse (almost short-hand) code expressions that ancestors used to express their poignant, most tender, most robust sentiments.¹⁷⁴

Chamorro literature is, thus, in "acute danger of extinction."¹⁷⁵ Another scholar, Robert Tenorio Torres, directly addresses how the severed connection between ancestral and contemporary Chamorros has affected the production of Chamorro literature. He writes:

¹⁷³ Mavis Warner Van Peenan, *Chamorro Legends on the Island of Guam* (Micronesian Area Research Center Publication no. 4) (Mangilao, GU: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1974), 36-7.

¹⁷⁴ William Peck, *I Speak the Beginning: Anthology of Surviving Poetry of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan: Commonwealth Council for Arts and Culture, 1982), i.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

"Sadly enough, the native Chamorro writer has become estranged from the precontact literary traditions, Before Time Ancestors, and must forge a new identity within the bounds of these contemporary influences."¹⁷⁶ Torres concludes that Chamorro literature is "no longer intended for continuing the spirit of traditional folklore and oral traditions, but rather more towards a Westernized and Eurocentric, regional perspective."¹⁷⁷ Van Peenan, Peck, and Torres express conceptions of Chamorro literature based on essentialist notions of Chamorro culture and identity. These notions create an un-crossable divide between the traditional and the modern, positioning Chamorro writers in a severed space of alienation, precarity, and endangerment. Chamorro literature becomes inauthentic and does not fit the classification of a pure indigenous literature.

Despite the discourse of aesthetic inauthenticity, other scholars have re-conceptualized contemporary Chamorro aesthetics through the lens of articulation theory. Put another way, scholars have engaged questions of authenticity and indigenous identity by *wayreading* the cultural and aesthetic continuities and re-articulations of new Chamorro arts and literature. In "Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam," Diaz critiques Van Peenan directly and offers a counter-narrative of Chamorro cultural survival, adaptation, and articulation. He insists:

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 an immutably bounded, neatly contained thing that was once upon a time characterized by essential qualities, pure and untainted.¹⁷⁸

Instead of seeing the changes in Chamorro culture as "signs of cultural demise," Diaz sees these signs as illustrating indigenous "survival and vitality, indeed, eternal vigilance for future possibilities." In relation to aesthetics, Diaz focuses on discursive acts and Chamorro identity. He emphasizes how the "multiple origins and destinations that inhabit Chamorro culture are Chamorro by virtue of their discursive claims, that is, by virtue of Chamorro ways of speaking as well as unique Chamorro ways of doing things."¹⁷⁹ Here, Diaz draws our attention to the continuity and re-articulations of Chamorro discursive, aesthetic, and cultural acts. This form of attention, crucial to the act of *wayreading*, tracks how new Chamorro arts and literature articulate the "roots and routes of Chamorro

¹⁷⁶ Robert Tenorio Torres, "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas: A Critical Commentary," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 3.1-2 (December 2004), 42.

¹⁷⁷ Torres, "Pre-Contact Marianas Folklore: A Critical Commentary," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 2.1-2 (December 2003), 4.

¹⁷⁸ Vicente M. Diaz, "Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific* Volume 6, Number I (Spring 1994), 31.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 52-3.

cultural survival at various slices of its history, and at various sites—geographical and cultural—of its expression."¹⁸⁰

Other scholars have challenged fatal impact aesthetic theories by *wayreading* contemporary Chamorro dance, music, and children's literature. Judy Flores, in "Art and Identity in the Mariana Islands: The reconstruction of 'ancient' Chamorro dance,"¹⁸¹ draws from her experience as the folk arts coordinator for the Guam Arts Council in 1986. In order to follow the guidelines of the Folk Arts Division of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), Flores needed to "identify, encourage, document and showcase the traditional folk arts of Guam."¹⁸² The NEA defined "traditional" art forms as practices that had been passed down for at least two generations. At the time, the most prevalent and visible form of Chamorro art was a movement of Chamorro dance that emerged in 1984, led by Chamorro Frank Rabon and his group, the Taotao Tano' Dancers. Flores faced a dilemma because these dances had not been passed down since pre-colonial times because Chamorro dances had long been replaced by Spanish and American dances. Instead, the dances were created by Rabon based on "only educated guesses at what the ancient dances might have been."¹⁸³ As a child on Guam, Rabon grew up learning the Spanish waltz and the cha-cha. When he attended college in Washington state, he joined a Polynesian student group and learned their dances, eventually becoming a professional Polynesian dancer in Hawai'i and Guam in the 1970s. In 1984, Rabon established the Taotao Tano' dances on Guam and began to choreograph Hawaiian hula dances set to Chamorro music. Rabon was inspired to re-create Chamorro dances when he learned more about pre-colonial Chamorro dance through archival sources. To Flores, Rabon's dances are Chamorro not because they have been passed down for generations, but because they innovatively represent "Chamorro beliefs that have persisted through colonial transformations and local appropriations."¹⁸⁴ As such, these new Chamorro dances re-articulate Chamorro identity through "a very emotive form of consciousness raising within the community."¹⁸⁵

Similar to Flores, historian Michael Clement Jr. *wayreads* contemporary Chamorro music. His dissertation, "Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance: The Subaltern

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 32.

¹⁸¹ Judy Flores, "Art and identity in the Marianas Islands: The reconstruction of 'ancient' Chamorro dance," in *Pacific Art: Persistence, Change and Meaning*, edited by Anita Herle, Nick Stanley, Karen Stevenson and Robert L. Welsch (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 2002): 106-113. See also, Judy Flores, "Art and Identity in the Mariana Islands: Issues of Reconstructing an Ancient Past," Ph. D. dissertation (University of East Anglia, 1999).

¹⁸² Ibid., 106.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 108.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 109-110.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 110.

Narrative in Chamorro Language Music,"¹⁸⁶ maps how Chamorro music changed from the Spanish era to the end of World War II. He observes:

Most Chamorro songs are composed in western styles introduced in the twentieth century. The common styles are country and western, cha-cha, *batsu* (waltz), polka, rock and roll, jitterbug, and pop ballads, though Chamorro music has been composed in virtually every style imaginable. Some of the songs are translations of popular American songs. Many others are adaptations of American songs, in which melodies are borrowed but songs are re-arranged or modified in various ways and original lyrics are completely discarded for new Chamorro ones.¹⁸⁷

Since Chamorro music does not "necessarily conform to modern expectations of what indigenous music should sound like,"¹⁸⁸ one could interpret Chamorro music as a sign of an impure, inauthentic, and degraded practice. However, Clement Jr. argues that Chamorro music is a site of Chamorro survival, vitality, and resilience. To illustrate, he points to how Chamorro songs became a "vehicle for the perpetuation of the Chamorro language." Moreover, these songs "told stories about past and contemporary life from Chamorro perspectives, countering the homogenizing effect of English language media, education and entertainment options that dominated the Guam's public sphere."¹⁸⁹ The practice of adapting and borrowing foreign musical styles "demonstrates the ways Chamorros helped define the colonial encounter, selecting which foreign influences they found useful or enjoyable."¹⁹⁰ He further suggests that even though "Chamorro songwriters readily adapted foreign melodies that they found appealing, they did not generally attach political significance to a song's national origins. Instead, melodies served as platforms for improvisation, and as a way to tell stories that had meaning to fellow Chamorros."¹⁹¹ Beyond being a sign of Chamorro agency in the face of aesthetic colonialism, Clement Jr. asserts that Chamorro songs were also "intuitively understood as resistance to Spanish/American/Japanese cultural hegemony."¹⁹² Lastly, Clement Jr. maps how Chamorro language songs have "roots that are traceable to the pre-colonial era

¹⁸⁶ Michael Clement Jr., "'Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance: The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music,' Ph.D. Dissertation, History (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2011).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 2.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 107.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

[through] apparent continuities in musical sensibilities, particularly in humor, competitiveness, extemporaneity, and word phrasing."¹⁹³ Overall, *wayreading* contemporary Chamorro language music as an articulation of Chamorro agency, adaptation, and continuity reveals Chamorro aesthetic and cultural resilience and resistance.

While Diaz, Flores, and Clement navigate articulations of Chamorro identity and aesthetics in Chamorro discourse, dance, and music, Monique R. Carriaveau Storie *wayreads* Chamorro children's literature in her dissertation, "All Fifty Kathousand Cousins: Chamorro Teachers Responding to Contemporary Children's Literature Set in Guam."¹⁹⁴ Storie defines Chamorro cultural authenticity "as a complex matrix of cultural images, a community's value system and personal experiences."¹⁹⁵ Thus, she theorizes that texts accrue cultural authenticity through the presence of Chamorro language, themes, values, customs, beliefs, physical details, characterization, historical figures, and local geographies.¹⁹⁶ These signs of Chamorro culture (what other scholars have termed "markers of authenticity," "cultural identifiers," and "summarizing symbols")¹⁹⁷ can be wayread as the *pooko* of Chamorro culture and identity. Thus, in her analysis of several contemporary Chamorro children's books, Storie suggests that the presence of these signs evidence Chamorro identity and vitality. Chamorro literary authenticity, then, is "not just about recognizing an accurate image but rather is about understanding how cultural elements and cultural values are melded into authentic or true meanings through the written word or by an artistic rendering."¹⁹⁸

Van Peenan, Peck, and Torres have suggested that new Chamorro aesthetic practices are impure and inauthentic because they no longer resemble pre-colonial Chamorro aesthetics practices. Thus, new Chamorro art and literature were signs of artistic demise. However, Diaz, Flores, Clement Jr, and Storie have insisted that *wayreading* new Chamorro discursive and aesthetic acts reveals the continuities and re-articulations of Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 287-8.

¹⁹⁴ Monique R. Carriaveau, "All Fifty Kathousand Cousins: Chamorro Teachers Responding to Contemporary Children's Literature Set in Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Language, Reading and Culture (University of Arizona, 2009). See also Storie, "'That's So Chamorro': Representations of Culture in Chamorro Realistic Fiction," *Diversity in Youth Literature: Opening Doors through Reading*, edited by Jamie Campbell Naidoo and Sarah Park Dahlen (Chicago: Ala Editions, 2013): 83-93.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 12.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 331.

¹⁹⁷ I first encountered "markers of authenticity" and "cultural identifiers" in Monnig, "Proving Chamorro," 42, and "summarizing symbols" in Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging," 135.

¹⁹⁸ Storie, "All Fifty Kathousand Cousins," 385.

Conclusion

Centuries of cultural colonialism suppressed, supplanted, and changed Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics. This led scholars to believe that “authentic” Chamorro customs and practices were fatally impacted and destined to become extinct. New generations of Chamorros and Chamorro artists were seen as impure and inauthentic. Colonial administrations used the discourse of racial impurity to justify acculturation and colonization efforts, and to deny Chamorro claims of indigeneity, decolonization, self-determination, and sovereignty.

To counter these fatal impact narratives, scholars and activists insisted that Chamorro culture and identity should be seen as an articulation of surviving practices and values, along with the dynamic changes in response to external influences and pressures. In terms of aesthetics, scholars note how each generation of Chamorro artists articulate a new and dynamic form of Chamorro expression. As Flores notes, "The creation of art that exhibits ties with their indigenous past reaffirms that [Chamorros] are different from their colonizer. It is a strategy to transcend the dominant reference group by relocating [Chamorro] frames of reference and empowering themselves."¹⁹⁹ Or, as Mary Therese Cruz wrote, "Chamorus continue to reaffirm their identity through innovative representations of their beliefs and realities."²⁰⁰

Wayreading, as an interpretive methodology, navigates the complex articulations of Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics because it maps and locates the moving signs of indigenous presence, such as indigenous language, values, customs, beliefs, ecologies, histories, technologies, and aesthetics. *Wayreading* thus reveals the continuity, resistance, resilience, and vitality of Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics—even if these revelations exist in a non-indigenous language or genre. In each subsequent chapter of this dissertation, I *wayread* different examples of Chamorro literature that explore important symbols of Chamorro culture and identity, including land, banyan trees, houses, canoes, and storytelling. I will show how the primary themes (the contents) articulate Chamorro cultural symbols and identities. Furthermore, *wayreading* will show how the primary narrative structures (*the forms*) of Chamorro literature articulate customary Chamorro aesthetics, technologies, and ecologies. Ultimately, this dissertation asserts that New Chamorro literature has been—and continues to be—a crucial vessel for expressing the continuities and resilience of Chamorro identities, as well as the vital possibilities of Chamorro futures.

¹⁹⁹ Flores, "Art and identity in the Marianas Islands," 107.

²⁰⁰ Cruz, "(Re)Searching Identity," 126.

II

Weaving Aerial Roots: Eco-theology, Environmental Imperialism, and Earth Aesthetics in Chamorro Women's Writing

Scientists have shown that Chamorros have lived in Guam for more than 4,000 years, sharing a unique and social relationship with the land and sea. Chamorros are commonly referred to as taotao tano', which literally means "people of the land"; it is also a way of indicating that a person is native to these islands. Land is the soul of our culture; it, together with the sea, gives life to the Chamorro, the value of land to today's Chamorro is nothing less than life-giving. Therefore, the issue of land persists as an essential component to the survival of the Chamorro people especially in the face of persistent exploitation of land.²⁰¹

—Michael Phillips

Ecotheology, Taotaomo'na, and the Chamorro Creation Story

In the beginning, Fu'una and her brother Puntan decided to sacrifice their lives to create Guam and give birth to the Chamorro people.²⁰² Fu'una took apart Puntan's body and transformed his back into the land, his chest into the sky, and his eyebrows into rainbows. She changed one of his eyes into the sun, and the other into the moon. Fu'una then sacrificed her own life so that the sun would shine, the land would blossom, and the waters would flow. Her body became Fouha Rock, which is located in the bay of Humåtak (Umatac), a village in southern Guam.²⁰³ Chamorro people were birthed from Fouha Rock and its surrounding sands.

The Chamorro creation story, and its multiple variations, has been passed down for thousands of years and "constitutes one of the most important oral histories of the

²⁰¹ Michael F. Phillips, "Land," in *Kinalamten Pulitikat: Sinenten I Chamorro, Issues in Guam's Political Development: The Chamorro Perspective* (Agana, Guam: The Political Status Education Coordinating Com-mission, 1996), 3.

²⁰² The names of Fu'una and Puntan are sometimes spelled Fo'na and Pontan.

²⁰³ Fouha Rock is also known as Creation Point. The village derives its name from the word *uma*, which means to carry something on the back or a heavy load on the shoulders. Leo Babauta, "Umatac (Humåtak)," *Guampedia*, accessed 7/5/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/umatac-humatak/>.

Chamorro people.²⁰⁴ Fu'una and Puntan are considered the earliest Chamorro ancestors "who through blood and genealogy are bound to all Chamorros."²⁰⁵ To honor their creators, Chamorros annually pilgrimaged to Fouha Rock, made offerings, and sought blessings for their seeds, crops, and fishing implements to ensure successful harvests. While the Chamorro creation story and the practices associated with the pilgrimage are often read as evidence of pre-Christian spirituality and ancestor worship, I interpret the story through the lens of "ecotheology," which is the study of the "ethical and ecological implications of reading, interpreting, and transmitting foundational stories."²⁰⁶

One ethical and ecological implication of the Chamorro creation story is the belief that kinship, gender, and land customs are interwoven. The relationship between Puntan and Fu'una show that the sibling relationship is paramount, and that Chamorro siblings "relied strongly on each other to protect family property, raise the children of the family, and generate assets to keep the family well-endowed."²⁰⁷ Thus, men and women were respected as contributing members of society in which "gender roles were balanced equitably so that men and women shared power and responsibility."²⁰⁸ In the Chamorro land tenure system, families controlled land tenure and usage rights, and both men and women had different obligations to sustainably care for the land and its resources. However, land was inherited through the women's lineage, reflecting the overall matrilineal aspects of Chamorro society.²⁰⁹

Because land was created from the bodies of Puntan and Fu'una, Chamorros view land as an ancestor; thus, land, genealogy, and spirituality are interconnected. Chamorros often refer to themselves as "i taotao tano," or "people of the land," and several villages on Guam are named after body parts, such as Barrigada (flank), Tiyan (stomach), Hagatna (blood), and Mongmong (the sound of a heartbeat). In Chamorro epistemology, the spirits of the dead continue to dwell on and in the land. Referred to as "taotaomo'na," the spirits were "treated as members of the family and referred to by name or through terms of endearment. Given this intimate arrangement, these sorts of taotaomo'na were

²⁰⁴ Anne Perez Hattori, "Folktales: Puntan and Fu'una: Gods of Creation," *Guampedia*, accessed 7/7/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/puntan-and-fuuna-gods-of-creation>.

²⁰⁵ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Chamorro World View," *Guampedia*, accessed 7/7/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/chamorroworldview>.

²⁰⁶ Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley, "Introduction: Towards an Aesthetics of the Earth," in *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literatures of the Environment*, edited by Deloughrey and Handley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 15.

²⁰⁷ Bevacqua, "Chamorro World View."

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Dominica Tolentina, "Ancient Chamorro Kinship and Land Tenure," *Guampedia*, accessed 8/9/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/ancient-chamorro-kinship-and-land-tenure/>.

thought to dwell on the *tāno'* (land) of their descendants.²¹⁰ The taotaomo'na had the "power to do good or evil for the living. These spirits each had a district to guard and were worshipped in rituals by the living. Many of the spirits had individual names and histories fixed by myths."²¹¹ When Chamorros died, they were often buried in the earth beneath the family home so that their spirits could continue to support and protect the family. Indeed, "in times of life-threatening danger or crisis, it would be these spirits that Chamorros would call to for aid."²¹² One especially prevalent space that the taotaomo'na are believed to dwell is within the space of *i trunkun nunu*, or the giant banyan tree. The banyan species that is indigenous to Guam begins as an epiphyte from seeds dropped by birds onto other trees, which sends down "aerial roots" that embrace and ultimately strangle the host tree. After the roots enter the ground, they form a compound trunk. The branches will send down thread-like, hanging roots that intertwine and fuse as they reach for the ground. They enter the soil and will eventually become thick supporting props, forming new trunks. A single tree can over time resemble a grove. Chamorros consider the banyan tree sacred because it is believed that *i taotaomo'na* dwell within the roots of the tree.²¹³

Another ethical and ecological implication of the Chamorro creation story is the belief in reciprocity and mutual care between nature and human beings. If the land is your ancestor and the dwelling place of ancestral spirits, then the land must be treated with respect and reverence. When entering certain lands guarded by taotaomo'na, Chamorros would first ask "petmisu," or permission, to enter (failure to perform protocol could result in sickness or misfortune).²¹⁴ The taotaomo'na were invoked and prayed to when planting and fishing to ensure a plentiful harvest. They were also offered drinks and a part of the catch or harvest. In Chamorro epistemology, "All that is, all that exists, is a testament to the cooperation between the ancestral spirits of Chamorros and those currently living."²¹⁵ This belief in interconnection is further embodied in the most important Chamorro

²¹⁰ Taotaomo'na translates as "people of before," "people of before time," "people of early times," or "first people." Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Taotaomo'na," *Guampedia*, accessed 8/9/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/taotaomona-taotaomona/>.

²¹¹ Donald Soker, "The Taotaomona Stories of Guam," *Western Folklore* 31.3 (July 1972): 156.

²¹² Bevacqua, "Taotaomo'na."

²¹³ William Edwin Safford, *The Useful Plants of the Island of Guam: with an Introductory Account of the Physical Features and Natural History of the Island, of the Character and History of Its People, and of Their Agriculture* (Contributions from the United States National Herbarium, vol. 9. Smithsonian Institution, U.S. National Museum) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905): 275.

²¹⁴ One common petmisu is: "*Guella yan Guello, dispensa ham lāo Kāo siña ham manmaloffan yan manmanbisita gi tano miyu sa'yanggen un bisita i tano'må mi faloffan-ha'sin un famaisin.*" Grandmother and grandfather, excuse us. May we walk through and visit your land and when you come to our land we will welcome you to do the same." Bevacqua, "Taotaomo'na."

²¹⁵ Bevacqua, "Chamorro World View."

cultural value, "inafa'maolek," or the "interdependence between nature, man and woman, and relatives."²¹⁶ This idea of interdependence is a crucial element of the Chamorro worldview.²¹⁷

In addition to the Chamorro creation story being read as an ecotheology, it can also be read as a story of migration and indigenous belonging. The "infinite space" of which Puntan and Fu'una existed before creating the island represents "the journey through vast open sea without land or anything in sight."²¹⁸ Their lack of parents "conveys the sentiment of starting anew in a land with none of their ancestors' remains."²¹⁹ The name, Fu'una, translates as "first," and the name, Puntan, translates as "coconut tree sapling." Symbolically, Fu'una is the first woman "to settle in the Mariana Islands and the mother of the Chamorro society."²²⁰ Puntan represents the first man and the "beginnings of the Chamorro people taking root in a new land."²²¹ The story of Puntan and Fu'una is what I term a "first story" of indigenous settlement because it tells the story of the first Chamorros to plant and harvest their crops, to build houses and care for the land, and to give birth and bury the dead—all of which create a genealogical belonging to the land.

As evident, land is a key site, symbol, and marker of Chamorro identity. Land is, as Michael Philips put it in opening epigraph, the soul of Chamorro culture. In this chapter, I *wayread* three contemporary Chamorro women writers: Cecilia C. T. Perez, Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho, and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz. Wayreading their work highlights the articulations of Chamorro culture, identity, and aesthetics through the writers' representations of land and banyan trees. Even though I have discussed wayfinding in terms of a maritime practice, wayfinding operates on land because it signifies the process of navigating space (interior and exterior, built and natural environments) through the observation and interpretations of signs.²²² Furthermore, we can think about wayfinding as being able to navigate the "tidalectics" between the complex entanglements of land

²¹⁶ Celeste Perez, "Inafa'maolek," *Guampedia*, accessed 9/1/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/inafamaolek/>.

²¹⁷ Michael Phillips, "Land Ownership on Guam," *Guampedia*, accessed 9/2/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/landownershiponguam>.

²¹⁸ Celeste Perez, "Fu'una," *Guampedia*, accessed 9/2/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/fuuna/>.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Ibid.

²²² Kevin Lynch, in *The Image of the City*, describes the importance of wayfinding urban space by patterning a "generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world." This image, or mental map, is crafted from the "immediate sensation" of street names and numbers, architectural cues, and other directional markers, as well as the "memory of past experience." The image not only guides our action, but it also has "wide practical and emotional importance to the individual." Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Massachusetts: Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1960), 2.

and sea.²²³ With this in mind, wayreading will show how Perez, Borja-Kicho'cho', and Hoppe-Cruz invoke the Puntan and Fu'una creation story, as well as the taotaomo'na belief system, to re-connect to Chamorro ancestors, to re-establish the central place and power of Chamorro women, and to re-articulate a Chamorro ecological consciousness. I root my analysis within the scholarship of Postcolonial, Transpacific, and Indigenous Eco-poetics to demonstrate how literature that focuses on the environment is an important site of articulating indigenous identity. I also situate this literature within the context of Spanish, American, and Japanese "ecological imperialism"²²⁴ in Guam to historicize how colonial agriculture, militarism, urbanism, and tourism have displaced spiritual beliefs about the land, changed traditional land tenure systems, removed Chamorros from the land, and contaminated the land. Beyond analyzing the primary ecological themes of the literature, I also explore how ecology is embodied in the primary structural and formal elements of the texts. Specifically, I will illustrate how narrative forms embody the "earth aesthetics"²²⁵ of a banyan tree, an important ecological symbol of Chamorro identity and spirituality. In the end, I affirm that the writings of Perez, Borja-Kicho'cho and Hoppe-Cruz articulate a Chamorro identity and eco-poetics grounded in an environmental vision of mutual care, co-belonging, and healing.

Indigenous, Postcolonial, Trans-Pacific, and Chamorro Eco-Poetics

Many indigenous traditions maintain that the earth is an ancestor, all life is interconnected and sacred, and human beings should act according to the values of reciprocity, sustainability, and mutual care. These beliefs are "derived from ecological sensibilities, so an understanding of these forces is essential to an understanding of Aboriginal contexts and thought."²²⁶ In *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*, Chadwick Allen also highlights the "central role that land plays both in the specific project of defining indigenous minority personal, familial, and communal identities (blood) and in the larger project of reclaiming and

²²³ Kamau Brathwaite theorizes "tidalectics" as a methodology to interpret complex relationship between "sea and land, diaspora and indigeneity, and routes and roots," as Elizabeth DeLoughrey puts it in her introduction to *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 2.

²²⁴ Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²²⁵ The phrase "earth aesthetics" is inspired by Glissant's idea of an "aesthetics of the earth," which refers to appreciating beauty even in environments ravaged by colonialism and degradation. I use "earth aesthetics" to refer to the aesthetic designs of nonhuman nature. The earth aesthetics of a banyan tree refers to its formal elements of woven, aerial roots. Edouard Glissant, *Poetics of Relation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

²²⁶ James (Sakej) Youngblood Henderson, "Ayukpachi: Empowering Aboriginal Thought," in *Protecting Indigenous Knowledge and Heritage : A Global Challenge* edited by Marie Ann Battiste, and James Youngblood Henderson (Saskatoon, Sask.: Purich Pub, 2000), 256.

reimagining indigenous minority histories (memory).²²⁷ Through the lens of what Allen terms a "blood/land/memory complex," he explores the range of narrative tactics in which indigenous writers "juxtapose and integrate 'real' and 'imagined' genealogies, physical and metaphorical ancestral land bases, and narratives of 'real' and 'invented' histories in their construction of viable contemporary indigenous identities."²²⁸ Other scholars of Native American and Native Pacific Literary Studies have explored how writers narrate the relationship between blood, land, and memory. They foreground how the primary themes in native texts express the idea of interconnection and interrelatedness of humans and nature; the centrality of land in the conception of indigenous genealogy, identity and community; and the importance of knowing the indigenous histories of a place. Moreover, they show how native writers employ ecological images, metaphors, and symbols to critique colonial and Western views of nature as an empty, separate object that exists for men to control and profit from.²²⁹

Indigenous literature as critique of colonial views of nature is a key point in the critical anthology, *Postcolonial Ecologies: Literature and the Environment*, edited by Elizabeth DeLoughrey and George B. Handley. Their introduction, "Towards an Aesthetics of the Earth," develops a postcolonial frame to the study of literature, nature, environmentalism, and ecological thought—broadly referred to as eco-criticism. In a postcolonial context, Postcolonial eco-criticism reckons with the devastations of "ecological imperialism"²³⁰ such as the displacement of indigenous peoples from ancestral lands; the establishment of plantation, industrial, and chemical agriculture; the development of tourism and urbanism; the contamination from militarism and nuclearism; rapid deforestation and desertification; the extraction of natural resources and indigenous remains; and species extinction and endangerment. In addition, these scholars foreground how "precolonial epistemologies of place...survive and are transformed and

²²⁷ Chadwick, Allen. *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 16.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ See John Elder and Hertha D. Wong, editors, *Family of Earth & Sky: Indigenous Tales of Nature from around the World* (1996); Donelle N. Dreese's *Ecocriticism: Creating Self and Place in Environmental and American Indian Literatures* (2002); Lee Schweninger, *Listening to the Land: Native American Literary Responses to the Landscape* (2008); Robert Nelson, *Place and Vision: The Function of Landscape in Native American Fiction* (1993); Joni Adamson, *American Indian Literature, Environmental Justice, and Ecocriticism: The Middle Place* (2001); J. McLaren, *New Pacific Literatures: Culture and Environment in the European Pacific* (New York: Garland Publishing Incorporated, 1993); Dennis Kawaharada, *Storied Landscapes: Hawaiian Literature and Place* (Honolulu: Kalamaku Press, 1999); ku'ualoha ho'oamanawanui, "Ha, Mana, Leo (Breath, Spirit, Voice): Kanaka Maoli Empowerment through Literature." *American Indian Quarterly* 28.1-2 (Winter & Spring 2004), 86-91. ku'ualoha ho'oamanawanui. "This Land Is Your Land, This Land Was My Land": Kanaka Maoli versus Settler Representations of 'Aina in Contemporary Literature of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*, edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 116-154.

²³⁰ DeLoughrey & Handley, "Aesthetics of the Earth," 13.

translated through narrative."²³¹ These transformed and transformative stories articulate land into a "primary site of postcolonial recuperation, sustainability, and dignity," reinforcing the idea that the eco-poetic imagination is "vital to liberating land from the restrictions of colonialism and...from neocolonial forms of globalization."²³²

The "Trans-Pacific" turn in ecocriticism complements the indigenous and postcolonial turns in the field. Rob Wilson, in "Oceania as Peril and Promise: Towards Theorizing a Worlded Vision of Trans-Pacific Ecopoetics," highlights how the perils of ecological degradation demand a new, politically and culturally committed ecological world view: "Oceania means not only having a sense of history and cultivating a set of attitudes and beliefs, it means cultivating a sense of belonging to the earth and ocean as a bioregional horizon of care."²³³ He describes this movement as articulating "a vision of altered transnational belonging, ecological confederation, and trans-racial solidarity."²³⁴ Literature is crucial to nurturing this world view because "stories, images, art, dance, and legend give a deeper sense of Pacific belonging; long-woven networks of interconnected reciprocity prove crucial to this formation, as islands and oceans are connected, linked, and would counter the late-capitalist world from before, within, and after it."²³⁵ The Pacific ecopoetic region of care is extended in Hsinya Huang's "Toward Transpacific Ecopoetics: Three Indigenous Texts," to include a "multispecies ecopoetics rooted in the indigenous stories and myths of the Pacific."²³⁶ Within an imperial ecological framework, animals exist to benefit human beings; however, the "indigenous imagination in the transpacific context breaks down the division between human and nonhuman."²³⁷ Through literature, Pacific writers aim to articulate the region as "a site of cobelonging and cohistory across species boundaries and racial/ethnic and cultural borders."²³⁸

I situate what I term Chamorro ecopoetics within the genealogy of Native American, Postcolonial, and Transpacific Ecocriticism. I contend that Chamorro ecopoetics articulates a Chamorro ecological identity and worldview that re-members the

²³¹ Ibid., 24.

²³² Ibid., 3.

²³³ Rob Wilson, "Oceania as Peril and Promise: Towards Theorizing a Worlded Vision of Trans-Pacific Ecopoetics," paper presented at "Oceania Archives and Transnational American Studies" conference, Hong Kong University, 4-6 June 2012, 12.

²³⁴ Ibid., 5.

²³⁵ Ibid., 8.

²³⁶ Hsinya Huang, "Toward Transpacific Ecopoetics: Three Indigenous Texts," *Comparative Literature Studies* 50.1 (2013), 122.

²³⁷ Ibid., 144.

²³⁸ Ibid., 123.

Chamorro creation story (or first story), re-connects Chamorros to the land and its sacredness, honors Chamorro ancestors, protests against further environmental degradation, and insists that land (and literary representations of land) are sites of healing, belonging, and resistance. Before wayreading the work of Perez, Borja-Kichicho, and Hoppe-Cruz, it is important to first map the history of ecological imperialism in Guam.

The History of Ecological Imperialism in Guam

Beginning in 1668, Spanish military and Christian conquest suppressed Chamorro spiritual beliefs about land and displaced Chamorros themselves from their customary land tenure traditions. Through the policy of "*reducción*," the colonial authorities destroyed approximately 180 Chamorro settlements and forcefully relocated the Chamorro population into a few large villages centered around a church and guarded by a garrison. Packed-earth roads and limestone bridges were built to connect the villages. The missionaries also established farms where they taught European agriculture. Land was cleared and razed to cultivate American crops, such as corn, tobacco, cacao, and sweet potatoes, and to improve grazing conditions for introduced livestock, such as cattle and horses. After severe depopulation due to warfare and disease, the surviving Chamorro population was given land allotments, referred to as a lancho or ranch, to grow crops for the priests, the garrison, the foreign population, and to re-supply the Spanish galleons. As Cynthia Ross Wiecko notes in "Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire: The Spanish-Chamorro War and Ecological Effects of Conversion on Guam, 1668-1769":

The natural environment sustained profound changes as introduced species exchanged from around Spain's global empire created an equally global imperial ecology. Indeed, Guam's indigenous species and ancient introduction, interwove with species from the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, the Philippines, China, Africa, and the Americas to create a pan-tropical ecology. Thus, indigenous ironwood trees came to stand alongside introduced *tangantangan* trees from Nueva España. Philippine carabao might rest under the shade of a flame tree (*Delonix regia*) from Madagascar.²³⁹

Colonial changes in the landscape also involved the militarization of the land. Between 1671 and 1835, the Spanish built fourteen fortifications of various types and sizes,

²³⁹ Cynthia Ross Wiecko, "Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire: The Spanish-Chamorro War and Ecological Effects of Conversion on Guam, 1668-1769," *World History Connected* (October 2013), accessed October 17, 2014, http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/10.3/forum_wiecko.html.

including stockades, half-enclosed parapets, and open batteries.²⁴⁰ Overall, Spanish ecological imperialism ended traditional land tenure systems and transformed the environment into a global, imperial plantation.

When the U.S. took possession of Guam in 1898, the Spanish "Crown lands" (nearly a third of the island) were ceded to the U.S. government, as well as all fortifications and public buildings. In 1899, the U.S. abolished the Spanish real estate tax system, which was based on how much revenue earned from one's property, and instituted a land tax system based on the size and type of land one owned. This new tax system forced the Chamorros who owned ranches into a difficult choice:

[E]ither register their properties accurately and lose them because they could not pay the taxes, or not register their lands and lose them because they could not pay the taxes, or not register their lands and lose them because they were not properly registered. Many Chamorros who owned parcels in the villages as well as farmlands in rural areas had to decide which lots to save. When the naval government began finding "mistakes" in the declaration of the lot sizes, it began registering the lands as government property. Some of these declarations of "Crown" land took place over 35 years after the US took possession of Guam from Spain.²⁴¹

This new policy slowly alienated many Chamorros from their land because of foreclosure for delinquent taxes. In addition to appropriating more land, the U.S. Naval government began construction throughout the island, creating drainage systems, new government buildings, a water distillation plant, water storage plants, outhouses, a telephone station, a military commissary, a post exchange, hospitals, and roads.²⁴² Even though the U.S. Navy was able to accomplish several development projects, lack of funding, high freight and labor costs, and cheap imported foods from Asia hampered more extensive

²⁴⁰ Daryl A. Haun, "Spanish Forts of Guam Overview," *Guampedia*, accessed October 17, 2014, <http://www.guampedia.com/spanish-forts-of-guam-overview/>. See also Yolanda Degadillo, Thomas B. McGrath, S.J. and Felicia Plaza, M.M.B., *Spanish Forts of Guam* (Publication Series 7) (Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 1979).

²⁴¹ Phillips, "Land Ownership on Guam."

²⁴² See Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*; Anne Perez Hattori, *Colonial Dis-Ease: US Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2004); Robert Anacletus Underwood, "American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam." (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1987); Christine Taitano DeLisle, "Navy Wives/Native Lives: The Cultural and Historical Relations Between Naval Wives and Chamorro Women in Guam, 1898-1945" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008); Vicente Diaz, "Paved With Good Intentions...Roads, Citizenship and a Century of American Colonialism in Guam," (paper presented at the Centennial of the Spanish American War Summer Seminar, Obermann Center for Advanced Study, University of Iowa, 1998).

development.²⁴³

From 1941-1944, the Japanese authorities focused on increasing agricultural production and military fortification. Because of the lack of agricultural development during the U.S. Naval Era, the Japanese agricultural program had "to begin development practically from scratch, namely deforestation, soil preparation, irrigation, and a 'back to the land' campaign."²⁴⁴ One of the most urgent priorities was the production of rice. Ignoring private land title, the Japanese authorities appropriated land to create rice paddies; more than a dozen rice farms were established throughout the island.²⁴⁵ Individual Chamorro families were assigned small farms in order to cultivate food; however, the food was allotted first to the military, then to Japanese civilians, and lastly to Chamorros.²⁴⁶ As the war progressed, agricultural labor was made compulsory for Chamorros to support the Japanese war effort. Alongside increasing agricultural production, the Japanese authorities initiated mining and logging efforts to create lumber for military construction, firewood, and charcoal. Japanese industrialization also focused on the militarization of the island. Forced Chamorro labor was used to construct several airfields, munitions storage, pillboxes, real and dummy cannons, man-made caves, and tank traps.²⁴⁷ In just three short years, Japan managed to utterly re-shape Guam through colonial agriculture, industrialization, and militarization.

During the three-week battle between the U.S. and Japan, the bombing and fighting of the war devastated the environment of Guam, destroying many farms and fruit trees. After the war, land that had been taken by the Japanese military became U.S. military farms and, eventually, fell under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In the following years, the U.S. military took nearly 50 percent of Guam's landmass (about 75,000 acres) through purchase, lease, or condemnation (most of which was coercive and extralegal) to build bases and other installations. This time, the U.S. aimed to develop Guam into a substantial military base, second only to Pearl Harbor in the Pacific. The result of decades long U.S. military presence has caused severe environmental devastation. Eighty contaminated military dumpsites currently exist on island. The now civilian Ordot landfill (a former military dumpsite) contains 17 toxic chemicals. The same 17 pollutants are also found in the landfills located over the island's

²⁴³ Wakako Higuchi, "Japan's Industrial Development of a U.S. Territory: Guam, 1941-1944," *Pacific Studies* 31.1 (March 2008), 58.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 60.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 70.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ See Tony Palomo, "WWII Rising Sun Dawns on Guam," *Guampedia*, accessed October 17, 2014, <http://www.guampedia.com/wwii-rising-sun-dawns-on-guam/>; and Mark R. Peattie, *Nan'yō: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Center for Pacific Islands Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 1988).

aquifer at Andersen Air Force Base. In the 1970s, the military used the waters around Guam as a decontamination site during its nuclear testing in the Pacific, which resulted in massive radiation and strontium 90 exposure. During the Vietnam War, Agent Orange and Agent Purple, which were used as defoliants, were stored on Guam in drums. Military dumping and nuclear testing also contaminated the Pacific with PCBs and radiation, polluting the largest barrier reef system of Guam, poisoning fish and fishing grounds. Older Chamorros disproportionately suffer high incidences of various kinds of cancer and neuro-degenerative diseases.²⁴⁸

Other than militarism, the introduction of tourism also led to land dispossession, environmental pollution, and overdevelopment. A mass tourism industry began to develop in Guam after the U.S. Navy repealed the "Naval Security Clearance Policy," which restricted travel into and out of Guam in 1962. Guam was poised to become the "next American tourist island in the sun [after Hawai'i]."²⁴⁹ Pan-American airlines had begun its operations in Guam in 1935, and the Guam International Air Terminal was established in 1966. Foreign investment from the U.S. and Japan, as well as thousands of foreign workers, spurred the development of hotels, restaurants, and other tourism-related businesses. By 1985, the tourism industry generated 200 million dollars annually. In 1988, almost 600,000 tourists visited; in 1995, over 1.5 million visitors arrived. Guam's tourism industry centers around the village of Tumon. The undeveloped land and beaches of Tumon were taken by U.S. military and used for recreational purposes before and after World War II. As opposed to returning these lands to the original Chamorro landowners, the lands were returned to the Government of Guam, which then leased the land to private businesses to build hotels and resorts. By 1971, the Cliff Hotel, the Fujita Tumon Beach, Continental Travelodge, Hilton Hotel, and the Guam Dai Ichi Hotel were built in Tumon.²⁵⁰ Tumon was once a rich agricultural fishing area for manahak, or young rabbit fish, but the fish are disappearing because the noise from jet skiers, kayakers, and swimmers scare the fish from their natural habitat.²⁵¹ Moreover, sewage, chemically treated waste, and grease from hotel toilets, gardens, and kitchens, flow into Tumon Bay. Lastly, reef removal, mechanized sand sweeping, and soil erosion have all negatively affected the ecology of Tumon.²⁵²

²⁴⁸ Kirk, Gwen and Natividad, Lisa. 2010. "Fortress Guam: Resistance to U.S. Military Mega-Buildup," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (10 May 2010). <http://japanfocus.org/-Gwyn-Kirk/3356>.

²⁴⁹ Martin B. Pray, "The Guam Visitors Bureau: An Analysis of its Relationship to the Government of Guam," (MA thesis, University of Guam, 1978), 7.

²⁵⁰ Keith L. Camacho, "Enframing I TaoTao Tano': Colonialism, Militarism, and Tourism in Twentieth Century Guam" (MA thesis, Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1998).

²⁵¹ Ibid., 163.

²⁵² Cecilia C. T. Perez, "Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey" (MA thesis, Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1997), 45.

One ongoing and irreversible effect of ecological imperialism in Guam has been the extinction and endangerment of native and endemic species of more than two dozen birds, mammals, reptiles, mollusks, and plants. This species loss has been caused by habitat destruction, environmental pollution, and the introduction of invasive species. After World War II, brown tree snakes arrived to Guam as stowaways on U.S. military ship or aircraft. Having no natural predators, the snakes quickly multiplied and colonized the entire island. In just a few decades, nearly 800,000 native birds were killed, and most species either became entirely extinct, while a few were taken into captivity and are now bred in U.S. zoos.²⁵³ The loss of birds in Guam is also reverberating through the island's ecology; since there are no birds to spread and germinate seeds, many native trees may go extinct, and the tropical forests may soon experience desertification.²⁵⁴

Once a lush, tropical island with abundant biodiversity, Guam is now a site of environmental precarity. Over 400 years of ecological imperialism, which began with the removal of Chamorros from the land, the establishment of plantations, and the displacement of Chamorro spiritual beliefs about the land by the Spanish missionaries and militaries. World War II not only brought further militarization, but the battle between the US and Japan devastated the island ecology. After the war, American militarism, urbanism, and tourism would further displace Chamorros while dividing, developing, and polluting the land. All of these forces combined to dramatically deform Chamorro beliefs about the land, land use patterns and settlement, and the health of the land itself.

Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey

"Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey" is an unpublished MA thesis by Chamorro writer Cecilia C.T. Perez, which she completed in 1997 as part of her graduate work at the Center For Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa. This 91-page creative thesis is composed of poetry and prose, as well as historical, political, and cultural commentary. The manuscript is divided into five thematic chapters, or what Perez terms "passages": *Hinasso* (Reflection), *Finakmata* (Awakening), *I Fina'pos* (Familiar Surroundings), *Lala'chok* (Taking Root), and *I Senedda* (Finding Voice). Each poem and prose story is followed by endnotes, which include translations and references, and a prose commentary providing the author's insight about the creative work.

Perez describes this multi-genre, multilingual collection as a "documentary in the form of creative writing, on the politics of cultural identity and historical memory in the

²⁵³ Greta Nilsson, *Endangered Species Handbook*, Animal Welfare Institute Website, 2005 (1983), accessed October 21, 2014, <http://www.endangeredspecieshandbook.org/chapters.php>.

²⁵⁴ University of Washington, "Brown Tree Snake Could Mean Guam Will Lose More Than Its Birds," *Science Daily*, accessed October 23, 2014, www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2008/08/080808090313.htm.

process of decolonization of the Chamorro mind and senses.²⁵⁵ Through Chamorro literature, Perez aims to "encourage new approaches to Chamorro cultural history" because current "discussion[s] of Chamorro cultural identity primarily [focus] on the static approach to understanding culture."²⁵⁶ Here, Perez critiques colonial cultural ideologies and speaks to the idea that literature is an important site of articulating contemporary Chamorro cultural identity. While Perez's thesis explores a broad range of themes, I examine the entries that focus on articulating a contemporary Chamorro ecological identity. I will argue that her work critiques the legacy of ecological imperialism on Guam and reclaims a Chamorro ecotheology and environmental ethics through which to heal the people and the land. Lastly, I will suggest that the interwoven form of the manuscript embodies a Chamorro earth aesthetics based on the form of a banyan tree, a sacred ecological symbol in Chamorro epistemology.

In the four-page short story, "Inside Out," which appears in the section "I Sinedda' (*Finding Voice*)," Perez addresses how militarism has polluted the land and displaced Chamorros from the land. The story opens with the speaker, a young girl, riding in the car with her mother as they drive along a "seemingly endless fence." Even though the speaker is young, she knows that across "the fence lay another world. It was another world on the same land. A world we called N-A-S. Naval Air Station was one of several U.S. military force bases on Guam."²⁵⁷ The militarization of Guam divided the land between an "inside" and an "outside." Inside the fence lay "spectacular cliffline views and expansive, well-manicured fields [and an] orderly world of tidy streets...showcasing houses straight out of the home section of a Sears catalogue."²⁵⁸ Because life inside the military base appears idyllic, the speaker feels excluded because she does not have a military identification card to access the land that was taken from her people. After this scene, the story shifts to when the speaker is an adult when the closure of Naval Air Station is announced. The speaker feels hope that the land might be returned and the fence taken down. However, the fence remained to protect a military pipeline, and the land was not given back to the people. To make matters worse, more fences were built: "These fences marked where they had dirtied our lands in perpetuity," referring to the history of contamination on the base. Whereas the speaker once desired living inside the fence, as she grows older she develops a sense of anger and injustice: "Where the fence once made me feel wanting for the treasure I thought it contained, it now makes me feel anger for the stolen treasures it retains."²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Cecilia Perez, "Signs of Being," ix.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., viii

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 89.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

While militarism is the major industry that Perez critiques, she also exposes the ecological imperialism caused by tourism. For example, the poem, "View of Tumon Bay," begins by describing hotels in Tumon, Guam's main tourist center:

Big hotels
skew the view,
and as if what we've got
ain't enough
the gov. wants
to build
MORE! MORE! MORE!²⁶⁰

As Perez points out in the endnotes to this poem, the high-rise hotels between the road and the shoreline "come close to blocking the view of and access to the shore."²⁶¹ In addition to the hotels already in Tumon, a wave of development hit the village in 1997 with the construction of Planet Hollywood, Hard Rock Café, and the Westin Resort. The Governor ("gov") of Guam at the time, Carl Gutierrez, aimed to increase the number of annual tourists to the island to 2 million by the end of the millennium. The speaker does not support the tourism industry not only because of its development, but also because of how it polluted the land. She addresses the governor directly:

You WAVE.

My hands are
too busy
fanning away the stench
of tourist industrial waste...

It's getting
so it's hard
to find a fish
anywhere
but a hotel dinner plate
these days.²⁶²

Because of the sewage runoff in Tumon, the sand beneath the ocean stinks because of the

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 42.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 45.

²⁶² Ibid., 43.

high amount of bacteria in the water.²⁶³ As previously mentioned, Tumon was once a rich fishing area, but the fish are disappearing because of the presence of water sports activities. In all, the speaker rejects the tourism industry because of how it has contaminated the once thriving ecosystem of Tumon.

Alongside militarism and tourism, urbanization also degraded the environment of Guam. Indeed, Guam would become the most urbanized island in Micronesia, beginning in the 1960s.²⁶⁴ Perez tackles the problem of urban development in the poem, "Kafe Mulinu" ("Ground Coffee"). The poem begins with the speaker drinking bittersweet coffee, which is supposed to wake us up, but instead "keeps us / dazed, / in open-eyed slumber, searching for answers."²⁶⁵ The poem takes place in the speaker's modern, concrete home, which symbolizes the urbanization of Guam:

Venetian-blinded windows
encase us in
conditioned air
conditioned minds
and keep us from seeing
keep us from feeling
the surrounding sesonyan.²⁶⁶

Perez draws a parallel between modern air-conditioned homes and the colonial conditioning of the mind. Because of this dual conditioning, she is blinded from seeing the surrounding "sesonyan," or wetlands, which have been compacted and "poured thick" with concrete. Once the *sesonyan* is invoked, the ancestral voices that dwell within the environment emerge. The following stanza reads:

Taotaomo'na,
our beloved ancestors
wail.
Cries from the past
whirl in the present
are hurled at our presence
but only blow at us

²⁶³ Camacho, "Enframing I TaoTao Tano'," 165.

²⁶⁴ See Larry Mayo, "Urbanization in the Pacific and Guam," *City and Society* 1(2) (December 1987), 99-121. I also explore the urbanization of Guam in Chapter Three.

²⁶⁵ Cecilia Perez, "Signs of Being," 18.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 17.

like a whisper.²⁶⁷

Even though the cries from the past linger, these voices are mere whispers because of the suffocating weight of concrete, the hum of the modern air-conditioner, and the next "numbing sip" of coffee. However, the speaker can't ignore the cries, and the poem opens into a landscape of Chamorro language:

Ai, mohon yanggen siña ta hungok,
yanggen siña ta nginge,
yanggen siña ta li'e

Mohon yanggen siña ta siente
na ti apman esta i ora,
siempre ti man manmatåtåchong hit...²⁶⁸

The repetition of "mohon" (to express desire, hope, or a wish), "yanggen" (if), and "ta" (we) creates a chant-like structure throughout the stanzas. In the passage, the speaker suggests that if only we could hear (hungok), smell (nginge), see (li'e), and feel (siente) our ancestors are near, then we wouldn't be sitting around, drinking coffee. The author's use of Chamorro language, when evoking the "sesonyan" or in the above passage, speaks to the connection between indigenous language and ecological biodiversity.²⁶⁹

The very next poem, "Strange Surroundings," also describes how the speaker's island home has become so unfamiliar that she feels "lost in a wilderness / not of [her] making."²⁷⁰ In the commentary to this poem, Perez writes that Guam has become "developed beyond recognition," and laments the fact that people are no longer "able to walk through villages, family ranches, beaches and jungle areas to find respite in familiar verdant surroundings and the free harvest of betelnut and pupulu (pepper leaves chewed

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., 18.

²⁶⁹ Recent studies have shown that there is a connection between language diversity and ecological biodiversity. Tragically, this connection is also manifested in the fact that the decline of biodiversity and the extinction of species have been mirrored by the loss of indigenous languages. See John Vidal, "As forests are cleared and species vanish, there's one other loss: a world of languages," *The Guardian*, June 7, 2014, accessed on October 14, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/environment/2014/jun/08/why-we-are-losing-a-world-of-languages>. Also see Asya Pereltsvaig, "Linguistic and Biological Diversity Overlap—But Why?" *Language of the World website* (May 17, 2012), accessed on October 14, 2014, <http://languagesoftheworld.info/geolinguistics/linguistic-and-biological-diversity-overlap-but-why.html>.

²⁷⁰ Cecilia Perez, "Signs of Being," 21.

with betelnut), fruit, fish, game, wood, flowers, and leaves.²⁷¹ Guam's "hålom tåno," or deep jungle, is no longer a space for "retreat and rejuvenation." Because of this, the speaker yearns to be pulled from the "brackish waste" of urban development and return to "the finest wet air / of our deepest hålom tåno, / our deepest jungle, / to find the graces of / the Ones Who Walked Before."²⁷² To the speaker, the "healing powers" can only be found in Guam's deepest jungles, guarded by the "Ones Who Walked Before," the Taotaomo'na, "the keepers of the land."²⁷³ Similar to "Kafe Mulinu," Perez invokes the linguistic ecology of the Chamorro language ("hålom tåno") to lead the reader towards a recognition of Chamorro ancestors, who are everywhere present and constitutive of the environment itself. Thus, Perez once again suggests that a connection to nonhuman nature and the ancestors is necessary to heal and restore the abundance of our hålom tåno and the ecological ethics of communal sharing, or inafamao'lek.

Perez further illustrates the importance of connecting to our ancestors in the title essay, "Signs of Being —A Chamorro Spiritual Journey," which appropriately appears in the second section of the manuscript, "Finakmata (*Awakening*)."²⁷⁴ She writes:

It is not in words spoken that we have been taught, but rather in the silent teachings of our *Saina*. What we learn is to open ourselves to the "collective memory" of our People who came before us and help us to move ahead—*I Taotaomo'na*. They show us how to remain in spiritual love and connectedness with each other and our homelands.

"Saina" translates as "elder" or "parent" and refers to both recent and distant ancestors, including *I Taotaomo'na*. By opening ourselves to "collective memory," or the oral stories and literary genealogies of our ancestors, Chamorros will learn how to once again love and care for each other and the land. This is also reflected in the preface, when Perez retells the Chamorro creation story (or first story) to ground a Chamorro ecological identity: "From legends we know that the Chamorro people claim their origins from the islands themselves. The story is told of the first two beings, Puntan and Fu'una. It was from her brother's body that the sister, Fu'una, made the sky, and all that we find in nature."²⁷⁴

Another crucial aspect of Perez's Chamorro ecotheology is the importance of honoring women and the matrilineal customs of ancestral Chamorro culture, customs that had been suppressed by Christian conquest and patriarchal Spanish, Japanese, and American rule. In the preface to *Signs of Being*, Perez explains that during her childhood

²⁷¹ Ibid., 23.

²⁷² Ibid., 21.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., iv.

she was called "Hagan Ita," which translates as "daughter" or "blood" of Ita', her mother's name.²⁷⁵ As Chamorro language scholar Kenneth Gofigan Kuper noted, *haga'* means blood and *haga* means daughter:

This beautifully reflects the matrilineal nature of Chamorro society where land and heritage is given and traced through your mother, and where women have the ultimate respect. Your daughter would be your blood because she continues your lineage and produces those who will care for your land. It is through her that life is perpetuated and it is through her that our people continue to exist.²⁷⁶

The theme of Chamorro womanhood is further developed in the poem, "Sky Cathedral," in which the speaker describes the relationship between her and the spirit of her deceased grandmother:

Nåna lives
in jewelled nights,
stars
like candles
lit
in a sky cathedral.

By figuring the stars as jewels and the sky as a cathedral, Perez re-figures the earth as a sacred space, as opposed to the candles and gold that you might find in a Christian cathedral. Nåna, which can be translated as "mother" or "grandmother," dwells in the "dancing light" of "gualåffon" (full moon), and, as the poem progresses, visits the speaker, sings to her, and strokes her hair with "moonbeam fingers."²⁷⁷ The speaker can even feel Nåna's hair as it drapes her in the past. The recognition of seeing her Nåna living within nature allows the speaker to see herself within the genealogy that connects humans to nature:

I am Nåna's daughter
born of earth and sky
scented breath
of salted breeze
surrounding seas
receive my soul

²⁷⁵ Ibid., vii.

²⁷⁶ Kenneth Kuper, "Na'la'la I Hila'-ta, Na'matatnga I Taotao-ta: Chamorro Language as Liberation from Colonization," MA Thesis, Center for Pacific Islands Studies (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2014), 12.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., 61.

as Nåna takes
my hand
to pray.²⁷⁸

In the commentary to this poem, Perez describes how the sharing of prayer "endears and connects generations within a family to each other." Commonly, this prayer is expressed through the Catholic rosary; however, throughout the manuscript Perez instead prays to Saina, I Taotaomo'na, Puntan and Fu'una, and the earth itself. "Sky Cathedral," then, is not only "an expression of a grandmother's love and a granddaughter's inheritance of a legacy of Chamorro spiritual vitality," but it is also "about connecting generations by their continued respect and love of ancestors as they manifest themselves in nature."²⁷⁹

In addition to articulating a Chamorro eco-poetics through the primary themes of her work, I argue that Perez articulates ecological consciousness through the primary form of *Signs of Being*. The manuscript contains five prose essays interspersed approximately fifteen to twenty pages apart (the manuscript opens and closes with a prose essay). Between each prose essay are poems with accompanying pages of "notes" and "commentaries." Visually, the prose essays are dense pages of text, while the poems, notes, and commentaries contain airy blank space. I suggest that this form reflects the earth aesthetics of *i trunkon nunu*, or the banyan tree. The prose essays symbolically represent a textual tree truck, while the poem, notes, and commentaries represent the auxiliary roots reaching down the page. Since the poems, notes, and commentaries are connected, they weave and fuse into braided units. By mimicking the structure of *i trunkon nunu*, we experience the manuscript itself as a dwelling space for the ancestors, and a space for the speaker to honor and speak to ancestral spirits.

Throughout *Signs of Being*, Perez laments and protests the ongoing ecological imperialism caused by militarism, tourism, and urbanism. She shows how these colonial forces have paved over and polluted the land, as well as displaced and disconnected Chamorros from the land and the spirits that dwell there. However, Perez also insists that literature is a site of re-connection, re-imagination, and revitalization because it creates a space for us to remember the sesonyan and hålom tåno to listen the voices of I Saina and I Taotaomo'na, and to retell the first story of Puntan and Fu'una (these stories being the ancient roots of all Chamorro literature). *Wayreading* the form of Perez's manuscript as an embodiment of the earth aesthetics of a banyan tree further illustrates how literature creates an important space to articulate a Chamorro ecological identity. "*Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey*" teaches us that by honoring, respecting, and caring for nonhuman nature, we can also heal ourselves.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 62.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 64. The importance of grandparents in Chamorro culture is highlighted in Vicki Torsch, "Grandparenting among the Chamorros of Guam," *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 30, Nos. 3/4 (December 2007), 81-101.

I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi—The Journey of Our Words

Thirteen years after Perez submitted *Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey* for her MA degree at the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, two other Chamorro women from Guam, Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz, submitted a collaborative MA thesis to the same program. Their manuscript, titled *I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi—The Journey of Our Words*,²⁸⁰ echoes Perez's manuscript because its title focuses on the theme of "journey" and the thesis itself includes poetry, prose essays, commentaries, and personal reflections. The fact that both manuscripts emphasize "journey" speaks to the importance and relevance of navigation and wayreading. Both Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz were born and raised on Guam. Hoppe-Cruz migrated to Hawai'i in 1997, while Borja-Kicho'cho migrated in 2004. While in Hawai'i, both women came to terms with the devastations of colonialism in the Pacific and the pain of being separated from their home island and culture. Their journeys intertwined in 2008, when they met in a graduate class, "Learning Oceania," a required course in their degree program. They then decided to collaboratively write their MA project and include a community-engaged component. Aligned with other indigenous methodologies, the authors aimed to "decolonize western curricula and the field of Pacific Islands Studies by choosing the communal over the individual and honoring our oral histories/storytelling through using poetry as a means to heal, to feel empowered, to be resilient, to 'write' the wrongs."²⁸¹ Through their collaboration, Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz became more than "daughters" of Guam, they became "sisters."²⁸²

The overall structure of "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi" also embodies the earth aesthetics of *i trunkon nunu*. The manuscript is comprised of five chapters, several of which are collaboratively written. Both authors composed Chapter One so that their voices interweave as they articulate the purpose and overall mission of the work. Chapter Two, which features two essays by Borja-Kicho'cho', and Chapter Three, which features two essays by Hoppe-Cruz, weave together to form the major critical essays. Chapter Four contains two sections of "Reflections," in which both authors take turns reflecting on their collaboration and community-engaged events. Chapter Five is comprised entirely of poetry; however, instead of dividing the chapter into two sections (one section for Borja-Kicho'cho' and one for Hoppe-Cruz), the authors' poems alternate, one after the other. Significantly, the poems themselves do not include the author's names, creating the

²⁸⁰ Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz, "*I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi—The Journey of Our Words*" MA thesis, Center for Pacific Islands Studies (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2010).

²⁸¹ Ibid., 3. The phrase, "write the wrongs," is a possible reference to Anne Perez Hattori, "Righting Civil Wrongs: The Guam Congress Walkout of 1949," *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 3.1 (Rainy Season, 1995), 1-27.

²⁸² Ibid.

effect of communal making.²⁸³ The overall effect of these formal choices is to create a complex weaving pattern, similar to the aerial roots and compound trunks, in which the voices of the authors intertwine, fuse, and journey from Hawai'i towards their home island of Guam. Just by reading the "Table of Contents" and seeing this interweaving from above, so to speak, is a sign that *I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi* is articulated as a dwelling space of ecological ethos, ancestral indigenous voices, and decolonial resistance.

Throughout the manuscript, Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz expose the devastations of ecological imperialism in Guam, focusing on militarism and tourism. Both authors center their protests on the ongoing plans for a military buildup on Guam. Hoppe-Cruz warns: "As the day draws near for the buildup, land continues to be cleared, and paved over, pipes fitted, lines drawn, and more signs going up that say: NO TRESPASSING—FEDERAL PROPERTY."²⁸⁴ Borja-Kicho'cho' points to how the military buildup would result in "land condemnations, the displacement of our people, unhealthy and unsustainable water and other natural resource issues, to threats on our culture, environment, and social lifestyle."²⁸⁵ While both poets protest militarization, they also protest tourism and urbanism in two poems, "Road through Manenggon" and "Walking Through Tomhom." Urbanism, while often signaled through the presence of concrete and buildings, is also represented through the construction of roads. In "Road through Manenggon," Borja-Kicho'cho' addresses a proposal to build a road through Manenggon, a valley located in the village of Yo'ña in southern Guam.²⁸⁶ The Manenggon Hills consists of more than 1,300 acres, which includes Leo Palace golf course and resort, condominium and housing developments, as well as undeveloped land. Borja-Kicho'cho's poem opens:

We don't need
another road
to divide
sever
and disconnect
our people from each other...
from our culture
from our ancestors

²⁸³ The reader is able to decipher that the authors' poems alternate because the titles of the poems and the author of each poem are listed in the Table of Contents.

²⁸⁴ Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz, "*I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi*," 65.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 36.

²⁸⁶ Yo'na derives from the Chamorro word iyo-na, meaning "to possess something material, personal or spiritual." Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero, "Yo'na," *Guampedia*, accessed 9/27/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/yon-a-yo'-na/>.

who sweat and bled
while marching through the hills.

To Borja-Kicho'cho', roads and other elements of urbanization divide and separate people from the land, thus disconnecting Chamorros from cultural roots to the land and to the ancestors that dwell there. The reference to marching refers to a tragic historical event: in July 1944, the occupying military of Japan marched nearly 20,000 Chamorros to Manenggon as American forces prepared to bomb and invade Guam. Many Chamorros did not survive the arduous journey to what would become known as the Manenggon concentration camp.²⁸⁷ In the subsequent stanza of the poem, Borja-Kicho'cho' narrates what would be lost if development occurs:

These hills
have natural connections.
When hiking to Segua,
I am part of the rich red dirt.
I am part of the rope
That connects tåno' yan tåsi.²⁸⁸

Segua Falls is a popular waterfall in the Manenggon area in which people swing from a rope and jump into the water. The speaker suggests that hiking is a form of communing with the land and re-establishing the "natural connections" between the land, water (tåsi), and Chamorro people. While the rich red dirt symbolized the intertwining of the soil with her ancestors' blood, the rope represents the genealogical connection between Chamorros and the environment. The building of the road through Manenggon and the consequent urban development threatens to separate the speaker from her genealogical and natural connections to the earth.

In the poem "Walking through Tomhom," Borja-Kicho'cho' addresses how the tourism industry has disconnected her from the land, echoing Perez's poem, "View of Tumon Bay."²⁸⁹ "Walking through Tomhom" opens with a nightmarish vision of ecological devastation:

I had a dream last night.
I was walking through the jungle,
and as I passed each tree,

²⁸⁷ Leo Babauta, "War Atrocities: Manenggon Concentration Camp," accessed 9/27/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/war-atrocities-manenggon-concentration-camp/>.

²⁸⁸ Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz, "*I Kareran I Palâbran Mâmi*," 28.

²⁸⁹ Tomhom is the indigenous name for Tumon.

they collapsed right beside me.
The ground was dug up,
the naked raw earth exposed.

How could this happen—
to our tåno'
to our mañaina
to our manggåfa
to us?

The big strong håyon nunu
the taotao mo'na hid in
were no more.²⁹⁰

This seemingly apocalyptic vision reflects the reality of tourist development on Guam. To build the hotels, roads, and restaurants of Tomhom, Chamorro families were removed from the land and the jungle was bulldozed and cleared. Even the sacred banyan trees were removed. The speaker asks: how could this happen to our land, our ancestors (mañaina), our family (manggåfa)? This list shows that there is a genealogical connection between Chamorros and the land; as such, any harm done to the land harms us too. The speaker's pain is so deep that she screams, cries, and falls:

I fell to the ground,
my palms touching
 the unfamiliar earth,
my eyes searching
 for the old håyan nunu,
my ears open
 to the calling of our mañaina.

I didn't know this earth.
I couldn't see the trees.
But
in the distance,
I could hear:

"Munga ma'åñao, hagå-hu.
Munga ma'åñao.
Ningai'an na in dingu hao."

²⁹⁰ Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz, "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi," 139.

"It's okay, our daughter.
It's okay.
We will never leave you."

Like Perez in *Signs of Being*, Borja-Kicho'cho' finds herself in unfamiliar surroundings. In order to awaken from this nightmare, she has to use all her senses to feel and listen for the signs of her ancestors. In a memorable moment, her ancestors speak through the Chamorro language, reassuring her that no matter how much the island changes, they will always be there to comfort her and give her strength and hope. Through this interaction, she is reminded that Chamorros are "i manaotao tåno' yan tåsi, the people of the land and ocean, our people, us."²⁹¹

Throughout *I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi*, Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz highlight the vital role of Chamorro women, daughters, mothers, and sisters in articulating a matrilineal Chamorro eco-consciousness. Borja-Kicho'cho's poem, "Nu i Che'lü-hu Palao'an," tells the story of two sisters who tie their hair together and jump into "the ocean of their Mother." Then they rise and jump into "the air of their Mother." While in the ocean, they hear their father say: "It's time to go back. Nånan Tåno' is calling for you." When they return to the sand, they hear the words of Nånan Tåno' (Mother Earth):

"Fanmanaguaiya.
Fana'asi'e'.
Yan hassuyi mo'nana,
na en fanafa'maolek."

"Love each other.
Forgive each other.
And always remember,
to take care
of each other.

Nånan Tano teaches the poet-sisters the importance not only of mutual care, but also the deep history of Chamorro women as "culture-bearer, culture preservationist, and agent of change."²⁹² Throughout the manuscript, Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz honor many other Pacific women authors that have contributed to sovereignty and literary

²⁹¹ Ibid., 8.

²⁹² Laura Souder, "Unveiling Herstory: Chamorro Women in Historical Perspective," Pacific History—Papers from the 8th Pacific History Association Conference, edited by Donald H. Rubinstein (Mangilao, Guam: U of Guam Press and Micronesian Area Research Center, 1992), 143. Souder is also the author of perhaps the most important text on Chamorro women, *Daughters of the Island—Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam* (Lanham, MD: U Press of America and the Micronesian Area Research Center, 1992).

movements.²⁹³ Their work embodies "the ultimate power of women as the source of life and controller of their environment."²⁹⁴

Another powerful aspect of Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz's project, and a reflection of inafa'maolek, is their collaboration on a series of community-engaged poetry readings between 2009-2010, during which they read their poems and facilitated talk-story sessions about the issues in their work. Chapter four of "*I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi*" consists of each author's reflections on the events. Similar to the form of the manuscript, both poets take turns speaking during the readings, "like the ebb and flow of waves."²⁹⁵ The poetry readings created spaces for "Chamorro women to speak[,] instill empowerment in our people, [and] share the Chamorro ways of thinking and doing things."²⁹⁶ After the performances, the audiences were broken into groups and encouraged to share their thoughts. As the authors note, "this created links for those who attended [and] allowed us to do exactly what we often become too busy for us to do: talk and listen to each other."²⁹⁷ According to the authors, the poems and the talk story sessions aided "the processes of raising awareness, decolonizing, and healing, looking at each other and communicating how we truly feel about who we are, where we come from, and the devastating atrocities that our Chamorro people, indigenous peoples in general, have been forced to suffer and live through."²⁹⁸ In this way, Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz were able to weave themselves into the audience, and to weave individual audience members together. The interwoven quality of this collaboration and public engagement once again embodies the earth aesthetics of the aerial roots of the banyan tree.

²⁹³ For example, she mentions Haunani-Kay Trask of Hawai'i, Grace Molisa of Vanuatu, Konai Helu Thaman of Tonga, Jully Makini of Solomon Islands, Nora Vagi Brash of Papua New Guinea, Ruth Saovana Spriggs of Bougainville, and Momoe Malietoa Von Reiche and Makerita Va'ai of Samoa, Teresia Teaiwa of Kiribati, Emelihter Kihleng of Pohnpei, and Cecilia Perez and Anne Perez Hattori of Guam.

²⁹⁴ Laura Souder, "Unveiling Herstory," 153. Sharleen Santos-Bamba also explores the identity of Chamorro women as bearers of Chamorro culture, land, and language in "The Literate Lives of Chamorro Women in Modern Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, School of Graduate Studies and Research (Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2010) and "The Languages of Three Generations of Chamorro Women," *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, Volume 4, Number 1 (Fall 2013), 84-93. Even though Chamorro women have often been envisioned as rooted bodies that represent a blood connection to the land, scholar Christine Taitano DeLisle explores the complexities of Chamorro women feminisms, mobilities, and subjectivities in "Navy Wives/ Native Lives: The Cultural and Historial Relations Between Naval Wives and Chamorro Women in Guam, 1898-1945" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2008) and "Delivering the Body: Narratives of Family, Childbirth and Prewar Patter," MA Thesis, Program in Micronesian Studies (University of Guam, 2001).

²⁹⁵ Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz, "*I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi*," 85.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 86.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 97.

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 115.

The final poem of "I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi" is titled "Continuing Our Journey." Since the individual author of this poem is not listed, I assume that the poem is collaboratively written—a powerfully symbolic way to end this poetic interweaving. The poem is filled with many island and ocean images, including seashells, sands, and waves. Within the journey of the poem, Fu'una and Puntan are evoked to help guide the poets through a storm. Ending this collaborative project by referencing the collaborative Chamorro creation story is a poignant way to weave the end of the journey into a new beginning. Even though ecological imperialism—through the processes of plantationism, militarism, tourism, and urbanism—have expropriated and contaminated the land to the point where even sacred banyan trees and the dwelling spaces of the taotaomo'na have been removed, Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz show that literature can be a space to re-articulate and re-claim a woman-centered, Chamorro ecological identity. Wayreading the primary themes of their work highlights the importance of re-connecting to the land and to the ancestors that continue to dwell in the land. Furthermore, wayreading the primary form of the manuscript—the structural interweaving of voices—reflects the interweaving of the banyan tree's aerial roots and formation of compound trunks. This form suggests that the manuscript itself is a symbolic banyan tree, a space from which the authors and the readers can listen to, re-connect with, and learn from Chamorro ancestral spirits. This communal space offers the possibility of healing, not only for the land, but for the people of the land as well.

Conclusion: Ecological Decolonization and Literature

Throughout the history of ecological imperialism in Guam, Chamorros have continued to protest their displacement from the land; the expropriation of land for military, tourism, and urban development; and the contamination of the land. At the same time, many Chamorro writers and artists have created works that represented the sacredness of the land and critiqued ecological imperialism. In the context of Guam, we can conceptualize these efforts to protect, preserve, and revitalize the fragile environment as "ecological decolonization."

During the last seventy-five years, the struggle over land and land rights has been a central component of the contemporary Chamorro decolonization movement. As scholar Anne Perez Hattori notes in "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Military Land Appropriation on Guam," Chamorros resisted the military land taking after the war.²⁹⁹ Similarly, scholar Michael Perez, in "Contested Sites: Pacific Resistance in Guam to U.S. Empire," maps how the legal and political activism that emerged in the 1970s focused on the return of land occupied by the federal government and the military to the original landowners and other landless Chamorros. In

²⁹⁹ Anne Perez Hattori, "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Land Appropriation on Guam," in *Farms, Firms and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. L. Eve Armentrout (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001), 186-202.

the 1980s and 1990s, activists also focused on desecration of ancient Chamorro burial grounds due to tourism and urban development.³⁰⁰ Several Chamorro rights groups emerged, including *I Nasion Chamorro* and *Organization of People for Indigenous Rights* (OPI-R), that framed the struggle over land within the context of indigenous rights. The activism of the period successfully advocated for the creation of the "Chamorro Land Trust Act," and the establishment of the "Chamorro Land Trust Commission" to implement the act, which has had slow and inadequate results. Even though the Commission has issued deeds to more than 2,500 acres of land, thousands of Chamorros have remained on the waiting list for the past twenty years. In 1994, the "Guam Excess Lands Act" was passed, and the "Guam Ancestral Lands Commission," was later established to facilitate the transfer of unused federal property to the Government of Guam; as of 2011, only 3,000 acres have been transferred.³⁰¹ These historic and modest gains in the struggle over land speak to this fact:

the role native ownership of land plays in the preservation of Chamorro culture and social stability cannot by underestimated. Land is the only significant asset of the Chamorro people and it is the basis of family organization. It traditionally passes from generation to generation, creating family identity and contributing to the economic well-being of family members.³⁰²

Despite the fact that there is still much work to be done to return land to the Chamorro peoples, the ecological decolonization movement has taken the first vital steps.³⁰³

Alongside the political and legal activism centered around land reclamation, there exists a parallel movement to re-narrate Chamorro land as sacred space, and not simply an idle asset for tourist or urban development, or a strategic base for military training and operations. For example, during protests against the ongoing military buildup on Guam, several new activist groups emerged, namely *We Are Guam* and *Our Islands are Sacred*,

³⁰⁰ Michael P. Perez, "Contested Sites: Pacific Resistance in Guam to U.S. Empire," *Amerasia Journal* 27:1 (2001), 103.

³⁰¹ Julian Aguon, "Update: Land Ownership on Guam," *Guampedia*, accessed 10/23/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/update-land-ownership-on-guam/>.

³⁰² Michael Phillips, "Land Ownership on Guam," *Guampedia*, accessed 10/23/14, <http://www.guampedia.com/land-ownership-on-guam/>.

³⁰³ Other important sources on Chamorro land activism includes Michael Clement Jr., "The Sella Bay Ammunition Wharf Controversy: Economic Development, Indigenous Rights and Colonialism in Guam," M.A. thesis (University of Guam, 2002); James Perez Viernes, "Fanhasso I Taotao Sumay: Displacement, Dispossession, and Survival in Guam," M.A. Thesis, Pacific Islands Studies (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2008); and Laurel Monnig, "'The Land Describes You,'" Chapter 5 in "Proving Chamorro." For a broader history of land tenure and struggle in the Pacific, see Ronald Crocombe, editor, *Customary Land Tenure and Sustainable Development* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1995); Ronald Crocombe and Malama Maleisea, editors, *Land Issues in the Pacific* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1994); and Ronald Crocombe, *Land Tenure in Oceania* (Third Edition) (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1987).

that emphasized the sacredness of land. One of the proposals for the military buildup was to transform an area around the jungles of Pågat, the site of an ancestral Chamorro village which houses many ancient artifacts and remains, into a live firing range complex, thus restricting access to Pågat. In a letter written by a coalition of University of Guam faculty and addressed to the Department of Defense, scholars addressed the religious significance of Pågat:

[The taotaomo'na] dwelling places can be found everywhere in Guam...but are known to have an especially strong presence in Pågat...As a place of religious significance, Chamorros treat Pågat with great respect, and our generation's responsibility is to protect and nurture the site so that it is treated with the respect paid to the world's great cathedrals and temples.³⁰⁴

Additionally, many activists highlighted the fact that Pågat was home to several endangered species, particularly the Marianas 8-spot butterfly.³⁰⁵ The group "Our Islands Are Sacred" spearheaded a campaign that involved demonstrations during a Department of Defense public meeting, as well as at rallies in Hawai'i and the continental United States. One of their actions was for participants to create protest signs about why our islands are sacred to them, and then to post these photos online using the hashtag "#OurIslandsAreSacred"³⁰⁶—which we can consider a literary act as well. By articulating land as a sacred dwelling place of Chamorro spirits, contemporary Chamorros are articulating an ecological identity that is tied to genealogy and spirituality. Furthermore, this narrative strategy has also become a powerful political strategy to resist the idea that land is simply a base for military testing and operations.

A poignant cultural revitalization project known as "Lukao Fuha," or "A Procession to Fuha," also emerged from the Chamorro ecological decolonization movement. Before Spanish colonization, Chamorros pilgrimaged to Fouha Rock in Umatac to honor Fu'una and Puntan. They made offerings and asked Fu'una to bless their seeds, fishing implements, and harvests. Because of religious colonialism, this tradition was suppressed and had not been exercised for centuries. However, on February 1, 2014, *Our Islands Are Sacred* and another Chamorro cultural group, *Hinasso*, revived this ancient eco-spiritual practice. According to the ancestral thirteen-month Chamorro calendar, the first day of February marks the Chamorro new year. As Chamorro

³⁰⁴ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Pågat," *No Rest for the Awake Blog*, accessed 10/25/14, <http://minagahet.blogspot.com/2010/05/pagat.html>.

³⁰⁵ Protest signs often read "Save Pågat" and included drawing of the endangered Marianas 8-spot butterfly. Bevacqua, "Pågat," *No Rest for the Awake Blog*, accessed 10/25/14 <http://minagahet.blogspot.com/2010/07/pagat-protest-today.html>.

³⁰⁶ *The Stream Blog*, "Residents of Mariana Islands protest US military live-fire training plans," *Al Jazeera*, accessed 10/25/14, <http://america.aljazeera.com/watch/shows/the-stream/the-stream-officialblog/2013/11/11/residents-of-marianaislandsprotestusmilitarylivefiretrainingplan.html>.

genealogist Bernard Punzalan wrote, the Lukao Fuha celebrated not only the new year, but also "the birth of life emanating from the stories of Fo'na (Fu'una) yan Pontan (Puntan)."³⁰⁷ The Chamorro creation story, having survived centuries of narrative repression, has once again birthed a Chamorro identity that is re-connected to the taotaomo'na and the sacredness of the land.

The creative writing of Cecilia C.T. Perez, Anghet Hoppe-Cruz, and Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' is part of this larger decolonial movement to articulate and re-claim an ecologically ethical Chamorro identity. Their work is exemplary of a Chamorro ecopoetics that aims to remember ecotheological stories, re-articulate Chamorro connection to the land, evoke the spirits of ancestors, and offer healing for the land and for the people of the land. As Borja-Kicho'cho' affirmed: "Guåhu taotao Guam. I hagå'-hu ginен i tano' ini. I manggafå-ku ginен i tano' ini. I hale'-hu ginен i tano' ini. I am from Guam. My blood is from this land. My family is from this land. My roots are in this land."³⁰⁸ By wayreading their powerful works, we highlight the articulation of Chamorro ecological identity in the primary themes of the theses, as well as the formal structures of the texts. Wayreading also reveals how the three authors employ a structural weaving, which reflects the woven structure of the banyan tree's aerial roots and the resultant compound trunks. The authors are thus re-rooting Chamorro ecological beliefs and visions onto the page, so that the page becomes the space for the ancestors to continue to dwell, and for future Chamorros to commune with these voices.

³⁰⁷ Bernard Punzalan, "Lukao Fuha yan i Pina'ok Tumaiguini," *Chamorro Roots Genealogy Project* Website, accessed 10/24/14, http://chamorroroots.com/v3/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=219:lukao-fuha&catid=34:history&Itemid=1.

³⁰⁸ Borja-Kicho'cho' and Hoppe-Cruz, "*I Kareran I Palåbran Måmi*," 55.

III

The Chamorro House of Story: *I Guma' Latte*, Architectural Colonialism, and Na(rra)tive Housing in Chris Perez Howard's *Mariquita: a Tragedy of Guam*

But what people erected above the earth those imposing masses, more than thirty feet high, well carved, regular, without sculpture nor any sign which fixes or which gives a clue, even of the probable epoch of their mysterious foundation? What has become of the architects?³⁰⁹

—Jacque Arago

While the previous chapter wayread the symbolism of land in Chamorro literature, this chapter turns our canoe of attention to the houses that occupy the land, and to the relationship between Chamorro housing architecture, cultural identity, and aesthetics. First, I introduce the origins, methods, functions, values, and aesthetics of customary Chamorro housing structure: *i guma' latte*. I then detail the history of “architectural colonialism” on Guam, charting how colonial forces changed indigenous dwelling spaces and consequently disrupted Chamorro housing practices and familial ties. Next, I review the scholarship that examines Māori housing and identity in the novel, *Potiki*, by Māori writer Patricia Grace. The scholarship on *Potiki* examines these architectural and storytelling spaces for their thematic and symbolic content, as well as for how these spaces structure the form of the novel itself. I will then wayread several passages from the most well-known text of Chamorro literature, *Mariquita, a Tragedy of Guam* (1986), by Chris Perez Howard, focusing on the primary theme of housing and situating my analysis within the field of Housing Studies. *Mariquita* is a creative nonfiction book set before and during the Japanese Occupation of Guam, and tells the story of the author’s Chamorro mother, Mariquita, a young woman whose home, family, and life is torn asunder by World War II. By wayreading the text, we will discover how colonial forces use housing structures to control, discipline, and surveil indigenous peoples; on the other hand, we will also witness how Chamorro peoples transform and indigenize houses to assert agency and resilience. Since *i guma' latte* was a space of storytelling, customs, rituals, family, and genealogy, I will end by developing the concept of "na(rra)tive architecture" to connect the aesthetics, form, and function of Chamorro architecture to the craft, structure, and purpose of *Mariquita*. Specifically, I will contend wayreading the form and structure of *Mariquita* through the aesthetic blueprints of

³⁰⁹ Quoted in Philipe Godard, *Latte: The Mysterious Megaliths of the Marianas* (Perth, Australia: Arolhos Publishing, 1995), 15.

Chamorro architecture offers a new way to understand the non-linear, assemblage form of the text, thus jointing contemporary Chamorro literary production to customary Chamorro architectural aesthetics. Lastly, I will show how Perez Howard's literary work re-connected him to his Chamorro identity and launched his involvement with Chamorro decolonization movements.

I Guma' latte: Chamorro Housing Architecture

A customary Chamorro housing structure is known as *i guma' latte*. *Latte* refers to the stone megaliths that formed the foundation of *i guma'* (the house). An individual *latte* is composed of a *haligi* (vertical pillar) and a *tasa* (bowl-shaped capstone). The *haligi* ranges in height from three to nine feet and stands wide at the base and narrow towards the top. The *tasa* sits atop the *haligi* via a cavity or groove in the bottom of the *tasa*. The completed *latte* could weigh more than thirty tons. While smaller pillars and capstones were created from found pillar-shaped stones and inverted brain coral from the reef, larger pillars and capstones were carved from limestone quarries. To transport these massive stones, workers likely pulled the stones with rope, litters, and bipod levels. At the construction site, the *haligi* was placed in a large hole and packed with smaller stones. The *tasa* was likely pushed up an earth ramp to the top of the *haligi*.³¹⁰ Completed *latte* structures were arranged in parallel rows of at least four pairs evenly spaced, framing a rectangular space.³¹¹ Even though most *latte* sets were built in coastal and inland areas, usually parallel to the shore or river, a small number were built perpendicular to the water. Once the latte stones were aligned, timbers and coconut fiber rope were used to create a floor and A-frame dwelling structure, with open doorways and windows, atop the *latte* stone foundation. The roof was thatched and woven from palm leaves, pandanus, or sword grass. Besides houses, the architecture of the raised *i guma' latte* was also utilized to construct schools, canoe houses, food sheds, and ceremonial spaces. Archaeologists date the beginning of *latte* stone construction and architecture to 900 AD.³¹²

I guma' latte architecture offered several practical benefits. The *latte* stones resisted rot, termites, and beetles; discouraged crabs and vermin searching for food; absorbed earthquake shocks and resisted typhoon winds; protected against flooding;

³¹⁰ Lawrence J. Cunningham, "Latte Structures," *Guampedia* (2009), accessed September 6, 2012, <http://guampedia.com/latte-structures/>.

³¹¹ However, at least two examples exist of circular arrangements.

³¹² Rosalind L. Hunter-Anderson, "Latte," *Guampedia* (2009), accessed September 8, 2012, <http://guampedia.com/latte/>. Scholars have also argued that latte architecture could have deeper historical origins in Austronesia. See R. Waterson, "Houses and the built environment in Island South-east Asia: Tracing some shared themes in the uses of space," in J. Fox, editor, *Inside Austronesian Houses* (The ANU E-Press, Canberra, 1993), 227-242; and R. Waterson, *The Living House: An Anthropology of Architecture in South-East Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

allowed air to circulate; and provided a tactical defensive position. Artifacts recovered from beneath the floor of the raised house suggest that the area was used as a cooking space (stone tools, stone mortars and pestles, ovens and cooking areas, storage and cooking vessels, shell and stone scrapers) and workspace (shells, fishhooks, hammer stones, shell adzes, stone drills, coral files, bone awls, and fishing implements).³¹³ Besides creating a raised, protected dwelling space and workspace, *i guma' latte* also provided a burial ground beneath the house. Archaeologists have found bones, jewelry, and even canoes buried between the *latte* and on each side of the house.³¹⁴ The use of local materials (such as limestone, timber, coconut leaves and fiber) ensured that everyone had access to building materials. Furthermore, the shared labor in constructing the house strengthened kinship networks. Because thatched roofs do not hold up during typhoons, the frequent re-building and repairing became "collaborative, not individual endeavors...and a variety of kin are likely to assist. In addition, everyone has equal access to this type of assistance without needing any cash income."³¹⁵ Thatched houses also provided considerable social interaction because of their open design: "Cooking, eating, and visiting, for example, are not regular indoor activities; houses serve primarily as places to sleep and to store clothes and other personal items. Much of daily life occurs outside the houses themselves...the open structures ensure that these activities are quite public and visible."³¹⁶ Overall, *i guma' latte* architecture created a practical space for eating, socializing, sleeping, and communing.

Beyond practicality, *i guma' latte* architecture, materials, and construction methods housed symbolic meaning. Similar to other indigenous dwelling spaces, *i guma' latte* "demonstrate[s] local responses to natural environmental conditions, and incorporat[es] design features supportive of cultural values and practices."³¹⁷ Which is to say, indigenous houses embody indigenous identities and cultural beliefs, and analogously, their representation in literature creates a space where cultural values and practices are nurtured, respected, made visible, and protected. In the Chamorro context, burying the dead beneath *i guma' latte* "possessed symbolic properties which could be called upon by their descendants and relatives for a number of purposes. Primary among

³¹³ Michael W. Graves, "Organization and Differentiation within Late Prehistoric Ranked Social Units, Mariana Islands, Western Pacific," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 13 (1986): 144.

³¹⁴ Fred Rodriguez, "Latte's Significance," *Guampedia* (2009), accessed September 8, 2012, <http://guampedia.com/lattes-significance/>.

³¹⁵ Juliana Flinn, "Private Houses, Public Sharing: Polynesian Migrants Coping with Change," in *Home in the Islands: Housing and Social Change in the Pacific*, edited by Jan Rensel and Margaret Rodman, Margaret (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 132.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 137.

³¹⁷ Jan Rensel, "Introduction," in *Home in the Islands: Housing and Social Change in the Pacific*, 12. See also Paul Oliver, *Dwellings: The House Across the World* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd. 1987) and Colia Duly, *The Houses of Mankind* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).

these functions was the assurance of good fortune to households.³¹⁸ By creating this burial space in which the dead could protect the living, *i guma' latte* architecture "symbolized a sacred space for the Chamorros who buried the dead between the stones as part of that construct of space made sacred."³¹⁹ Thus, *i guma' latte* is grounded in both genealogy and "the ancient Chamorros' concept of *aniti* (spirit), and a sense of origin, life and passing to the next life within—theoretically—the protection of the *latte*."³²⁰ Additionally, the use of local materials reflects an ecological ethics of sustainability and a "fundamental connection of spirit and nature."³²¹ Since indigenous settlement patterns are often symbolic,³²² we can interpret the proximity of *i guma' latte* to a water source as suggestive of a deep connection and reverence for the water as the source of life. Because thatched houses had to constantly be rebuilt after storms, they "represent self-sufficiency...and reciprocity, both within and between households."³²³ The use of stone suggests a connection to the Chamorro first story of creation, in which our ancestral mother, Fu'uná, transformed herself into a stone and birthed the Chamorro people, thus connecting the symbolism of the land as dwelling space for *i taotaomo'na* (ancestral spirits) to the symbolism of the house as dwelling space for *i taotao tano* (the living people of the land). Overall, *i guma' latte* architectural design and construction reflected both practical concerns and the deeper symbolism of Chamorro identity, values, and customs.

Housing Studies and Mariquita: a Tragedy of Guam

In the "Introduction" to *Home in the Islands: Housing and Social Change in the Pacific*, Jan Rensel highlights how the term "housing" is "both noun—an object, something people have, make, live in—and verb—an activity, something people do."³²⁴ Indeed, housing dynamically functions as "shelter, container, status symbol, home; it may provide a basis of belonging, represent membership or dominance by an encompassing macro-society, or assert cultural uniqueness or resurgence."³²⁵ To understand the

³¹⁸ Graves, "Organization and Differentiation," 146.

³¹⁹ Rodriguez, "Latte's Significance," n.p.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² See Jean-Paul Bourdier and Nezar AlSayya, eds. *Dwellings, Settlements and Tradition: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1989).

³²³ Flinn, "Private Houses, Public Sharing," 132.

³²⁴ Rensel, 7-8.

³²⁵ Ibid., 7.

complexity of houses, scholars in the interdisciplinary field of Housing Studies have engaged in a broad range of projects, including:

relatively straightforward accounts of ecological and social structural functions of housing in different societies; psychological approaches emphasizing spatial perception and proxemics and exploring issues of privacy and territoriality; and complex symbolic analyses that examine the ways built environments nonverbally express culturally shared meanings, reaffirming conceptions of social, political, and cosmological order.³²⁶

I situate the scholarship on *i guma' latte* within the field of housing studies, since the form and function of *i guma' latte* expresses many shared meaning of Chamorro culture and identity. Similarly, scholars of housing studies and *i guma' latte* examine the architecture, function, and symbolism of houses, dwellings, domestic spaces, and built environments. Rensel also show how changes in housing reflect societal changes:

Housing change is inextricably tied to changes in the social relationships that housing embodies and represents and from which it emerges. Further, housing, in its physical forms, uses, and meanings, is impacted by and responds to changes in global political economy. Houses can be seen as a nexus where sociocultural, economic, and political forces interact.³²⁷

Scholars have also scrutinized how colonialism has impacted the housing traditions and experiences of colonized and indigenous peoples.³²⁸ By foregrounding indigenous experiences of and responses to colonial housing changes, these studies often illustrate how "tales of imperialism and resistance, identity and resilience, transformation and persistence...are [dramatized] and recorded in changes in housing over time."³²⁹ Housing studies has inspired me to wayread how colonialism affected traditional Chamorro housing practices, as well as to highlight how Chamorro experiences of colonial housing changes. As I mentioned in the Introduction, wayreading is not just an interpretative

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ See John B. Hertz, "Authenticity, Colonialism, and the Struggle with Modernity," *Journal of Architectural Education* Vol. 55, No. 4 (May, 2002), pp. 220-227; Ali Djerbi and Abdelwahab Safi, "Teaching the History of Architecture in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco: Colonialism, Independence, and Globalization," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Mar., 2003), pp. 102-109; and Andrew Reid, Paul Lane, Alinah Segobye, Lowe Borjeson, Nonofo Mathibidi, and Princess Sekgarametso, "Tswana Architecture and Responses to Colonialism," *World Archaeology*, Vol. 28, No. 3, Culture Contact and Colonialism (Feb., 1997), pp. 370-392.

³²⁹ Jan Rensel, "Introduction," 7.

strategy for navigating maritime and terrestrial spaces, but it can also be applied to interpreting built environments, such as an architectural structure. Moreover, this chapter contributes to Housing Studies by expanding the field into the realm of indigenous literary studies to wayread the narrativization of housing experiences in Pacific literature, as well as how indigenous architecture can be understood as a form of narrativization (a narrative is a kind of built environment).

Through the lens of Housing Studies, this chapter examines the themes of housing, architectural colonialism, and Chamorro identity in the most well known text of Chamorro literature, Chris Perez Howard's *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam*, a work of creative nonfiction that is based on the lives of the author's family, focusing on his mother, Mariquita. *Mariquita* was first published in 1982 by Guam-based publisher PPH & Company, under the title *Mariquita: A Story of Guam*, and republished in 1986 under its current title, by the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific, making the book one of the first contemporary Chamorro literary texts to circulate beyond the Marianas archipelago. Perez Howard was born on Guam in 1940 to Maria "Mariquita" Aguon Perez, a Chamorro woman, and Edward Howard, an American naval officer from Indiana. Mariquita and Edward met and fell in love during the U.S. Naval Era on Guam, but their cross-cultural marriage was violently interrupted in 1941, when the Imperial Army of Japan bombed, invaded, and occupied the island. During the occupation, Edward was sent to Japan as a prisoner of war, and Mariquita was forced to work in the fields and serve a high-ranking Japanese officer. Tragically, Mariquita is murdered towards the end of the occupation, yet her body is never found. After the war, Perez Howard and his father move to Indiana. Thirty-five years later, the author returns to Guam to re-connect with his culture and family, as well as to learn about his mother's life and the circumstances of her death. Trained as a journalist, Perez Howard conducts archival research and oral interviews. *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam*, which is based on the lives of the author's family—with a focus on his mother—emerges from his research, which was funded by a grant from the Guam Insular Arts Council. The book begins in 1938 with the story of his parents' courtship and marriage, chronicles the author's birth and early childhood, and ends in 1944 with the last days of Japanese wartime occupation and Mariquita's death.

Previous scholarship on *Mariquita* mapped the text through a Cultural and Postcolonial Studies lens. Robert Tenorio Torres describes *Mariquita* as serving a "dual purpose of articulating the history of Guam during American Naval administration and recovering the identity of a mother whom [the author] never knew."³³⁰ His study points to Mariquita's marriage as "a microcosm of historical events in which Guam was under American Naval administrations following the island's capture from the Spanish in 1899. Their relationship suggests an amicable coexistence between the Chamorro and American

³³⁰ Robert Tenorio Torres, "Post Colonial and Modern Literature of the Marianas: A Critical Commentary," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol. 3, Number 1-2 (2004): 30.

cultures."³³¹ According to Torres, Mariquita and Edward are "dichotomous cultural entities who will merge through marriage, and create a new culture and a new order for the islands...[Mariquita] symbolizes the Chamorro of the colonial Spanish world, and Edward is the savior symbol who will raise her up from the heaps of colonial subjugation."³³² While Torres focuses on the text as symbolic of the marriage between two cultures, Naoto Sudo reads *Mariquita* as a critique of Japanese colonialism. The portrayal of violence against Mariquita and the Chamorro people "exposes from the viewpoint of the colonized how empty the Japanization of Guam was and the illusory nature of the 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere."³³³ While pro-American and anti-Japanese sentiments form major threads of the text, Valerie Woodward points out several moments when "ruptures caused by race within the production of patriotic colonial subjects"—such as American racism, militarism, and colonialism—raise "serious questions about the value and meaning of US citizenship for the people of Guam."³³⁴ Lastly, Paul Sharrad highlights how *Mariquita* articulates a postcolonial hybrid identity: "[Perez Howard] discovers a Chamorro presence within a hybrid Guamanian world...by going back to Guam and talking with his mother's people. In doing so, he locates his own identity as both hybrid and indigenous."³³⁵ Furthermore, Sharrad claims that it is through "subaltern retrieval of the bits and pieces that fall outside of official histories [that] the reclamation of indigenous identity and story can begin."³³⁶ Specifically, he mentions the aesthetics of orality and gossip, which I will discuss later in this chapter.

I contribute to this scholarship by *wayreading* the relationship between housing, architecture, and Chamorro identity in *Mariquita*. I draw from the scholarship that explores what I call "na(rra)ative housing," which refers to the interpretive practice of reading native housing architecture as an articulation of indigenous identity and aesthetics. Specifically, I model this chapter on the scholarship that examines Māori housing and identity in the novel, *Potiki*, by Māori writer Patricia Grace. Before turning to my discussion of *Mariquita*, I first survey the architectural legacy of colonialism on Guam, which resulted in the destruction of *i guma' latte* and relocated Chamorro families into colonial settlement patterns and dwellings in order to renovate, re-structure, and

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² Ibid., 31.

³³³ Naoto Sudo, "Colonial Mirror Images of Micronesia and Japan: Beyond the Tug of War between 'Americanization' and 'Japanization.'" *Postcolonial Text*, Vol 1, Number 1 (2004), accessed 10/14/14, <http://postcolonial.org/index.php/pct/article/viewArticle/272/773>.

³³⁴ Valerie Solar Woodward, "'I Guess They Didn't Want Us Asking Too Many Questions': Reading American Empire in Guam," *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 25, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 76-9.

³³⁵ Paul Sharrad, "Filling in the Blanks: Mariquita, a Hybrid Biography from Guam," *New Literatures Review: Islands Special* (2011): 152-3.

³³⁶ Ibid., 159.

ultimately control native lives. I then *wayread* the various houses that Mariquita and her family inhabit throughout the text to demonstrate how houses not only become sites of acculturation and colonial control, but how they also become sites of indigenous identity, agency, struggle, resistance, and healing. Next, I will show how Perez Howard's literary work was an act of Chamorro identity re-construction in which he learns about and re-connects to his indigenous identity, which launched his involvement in Guam's decolonial movement for self-determination. Lastly, I suggest that *wayreading* the form and structure of *Mariquita* through the aesthetic blueprints of Chamorro architecture offers a new way to understand the non-linear, assemblage form of the text, thus jointing contemporary Chamorro literary production to customary Chamorro architectural aesthetics.

Na(rra)tive Housing in Pacific Literary Studies

I use the concept "na(rra)tive housing" to articulate the aesthetics, form, and function of native architecture to the craft, structure, and purpose of indigenous narratives and stories. *Wayreading* a text, such as a novel, through the blueprints of native architecture can illuminate our interpretation of narrative structure. This methodology has been previously applied within Native Pacific Literary Studies, most notably to Māori writer Patricia Grace's novel *Potiki*,³³⁷ which houses the story of the Tamihana family, who struggle to protect their marae (gathering space) and wharenui (meeting house) from tourism developers. In Māori culture, the marae is the most important architectural space, consisting of a wharenui, or main meeting house, a building for dining, and the land itself. The marae is "the community gathering place where the customs, protocols, and rituals of Māori life are most fully expressed, and where community issues are raised, debated, and resolved."³³⁸ Besides being an important center for Māori custom, the wharenui also embodies Māori whakapapa, or genealogy, because it is built in the shape of a body and includes carved figures of poupou, or ancestors. Tourism industry developers threaten to interrupt the Tamihana way of life when they offer the family money to build a road through their land, which would destroy the marae and wharenui. After the family refuses their offers, the developers terrorize the family by flooding the cemetery, damaging the family gardens, and even burning down the wharenui. Instead of giving in to the developers, the family rebuilds the wharenui and holds onto to their land.

The scholarship on *Potiki* examines these architectural and storytelling spaces for their thematic and symbolic content, as well as for how these spaces structure the form of the novel itself. As several scholars point out, the wharenui is not only a central setting,

³³⁷ Patricia Grace, *Potiki* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995, 1986). *Potiki* was originally published in 1986, the same year that *Mariquita* was republished.

³³⁸ Christine Prentice, "Storytelling in Alice Munro's *Lives of Girls and Women* and Patricia Grace's *Potiki*," *Australian-Canadian Studies: A Journal for the Humanities & Social Sciences* 8.2 (1991): 34.

symbol, and text within *Potiki*, but it is also the "central metaphor for narrativization."³³⁹ In an interview, Grace explains that the narrative shape of *Potiki* is patterned after Maori whaikōrero, or speech making. She claims she did this to "give circular shape suitable to the storytelling content of the book and to reflect the way that talk moves in a circular fashion inside the meeting house."³⁴⁰ In *Potiki* itself, Grace explicitly makes the connection between house and text: "[the] main book was the wharenui which is itself a story, a history, a gallery, a study, a design structure and a taonga. And we are part of that book along with family, past and family yet to come."³⁴¹ The text performs this kind of storytelling. For example, the prologue of *Potiki* focuses on the carver of the wharenui, and each subsequent chapter is told from different perspectives of various family members, encompassing different generations along the same genealogical line. As Elizabeth DeLoughrey revealed, constructing the novel through the architectural form and aesthetics of the wharenui gives *Potiki* an indigenized, "spiral" narrative and temporal structure. She shows that just as the Tamihana family disrupts the colonial tourism agenda, the form of *Potiki* "disrupts the linear novel, reforming the individualistic narrative into a communal Māori narration of spiral time."³⁴² If each chapter embodies the spiraling of voices within the wharenui, then this situates the reader within the narrativized wharenui so that the reader becomes part of the book, a position on the spiral. This idea of the wharenui as a Māori house of story is further emphasized when the Tamihana rebuilds the wharenui and fills the space with their voices: "And the stories continued well into the night, moving from one person to the next about the house until the circle had been fully turned."³⁴³ Overall, the scholarship on *Potiki* laid the foundation for wayreading the relationship between indigenous cultures, customary housing architecture, architectural colonialism, and Pacific literature.³⁴⁴

The Architectural Legacy of Colonialism

³³⁹ Bridget Orr, "The Maori House of Fiction," in *Cultural Institutions of the Novel*, edited by Deidre Lynch and William B. Warner (Durham: Duke UP, 1996): 91.

³⁴⁰ Patricia Grace, "Influences on Writing," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999): 72.

³⁴¹ Grace, *Potiki*, 104.

³⁴² Elizabeth Deloughrey, "The Spiral Temporality of Patricia Grace's *Potiki*," *Ariel* 30.1 (Jan 1999): 60.

³⁴³ Grace, *Potiki*, 104.

³⁴⁴ Other scholarship on *Potiki* include Eva Rask Knudsen, *The Circle & the Spiral: A Study of Australian Aboriginal and New Zealand Maori Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004); Umi Perkins, "Pono and the Koru: Toward Indigenous Theory in Pacific Island Literature," *Hūlili* Vol.4 No.1 (2007): 59-89; and Linda Michelle Rodenburg, "Spiral Reading Strategies: Re/citing Māori and Aboriginal Stories in Relation to the Nation," Ph.D. Dissertation (U of Otago, Dunedin, 2011);

Similar to *Potiki*, dwelling structures are symbolic spaces of indigenous struggle and cultural identity in *Mariquita*. Perez Howard opens the first chapter of *Mariquita* with an architectural tour of Guam's capital, Hagåtña (Agana), circa 1938. The eighteen-year old Mariquita stands atop Tutujan Hill and looks upon urbanized Hagåtña, in which half of the island's population of 22,000 people lived at the time.³⁴⁵ She sees the Dulce Nombre de Maria Cathedral, the Government House, the Bank of Guam, the police station, the old Spanish bridge, the Spanish plaza, the power plant, and the Navy Yard. When the narrator walks the reader down the hill and into the village, he paints a picture of the various housing structures:

many simple wooden houses set on pilings, with steep front steps, shuttered windows, and pitched roof of woven coconut fronds, to the modern two-story reinforced concrete house. In between were attractive Spanish-style houses with white stuccoed walls, balconies and red tiled roofs, and the standard painted wooden houses with their corrugated iron roofs.³⁴⁶

The narrator describes this "visual history of Guam architecture" as a "composite of the Chamorro, Spanish, and American cultures" and a "highly visible mixture of unlike material cultures."³⁴⁷

Even though the narrator does not critique the composite mixture of American and Spanish architecture in Guam, it is important to understand that this composite is the legacy of architectural colonialism. In "Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean," Setha Low describes the political implications of Spanish colonial architecture:

Political implications lie at the root of all aesthetic sensibilities, and certainly the design of an urban space reflects the political agency of the state. In this sense, architecture and urban design contribute to the dominance of one group over others and function as mechanisms for coding their reciprocal relationships at the level of the surveillance and control of bodily movement. Physical space is ordered by and reflects the power structures to which the community is subordinated; the community may contest this subordination through local interpretation and use of space. Examining the origins and use of spatial forms

³⁴⁵ Hagåtña has been and continues to be the urban center of Guam since the Spanish Era. See Larry Wendell Mayo, "Occupations and Chamorro Social Status: A Study of Urbanization in Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Anthropology (University of California, Berkeley, 1984).

³⁴⁶ Chris Perez Howard, *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam* (Suva, Fiji: University of the South Pacific Press, 1986): 6.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 4-6.

provides insight into the discourse of power relations.³⁴⁸

With this in mind, reading the visual history of 1938 Hagåtña provides insight into Spanish and American colonial rule in Guam. The buildings testify to the power of the church, the military, and the state in the control and surveillance of the Chamorro population. Archaeologists date the end of the so-called "Latte Period" to the year 1521, when Magellan's men made landfall on Guam and burned nearly fifty homes and killed eight Chamorros. When Spanish officials, missionaries, and military soldiers returned to Guam to colonize the island a century later, they burned more houses and pushed over or removed the *latte* stone foundations. Furthermore, they destroyed approximately 180 Chamorro settlements and forcefully relocated the Chamorro population into a few large parish villages. This is similar to the experience of many indigenous peoples because the new villages that "colonial governments and missionaries tried to create in the process of converting and 'civilizing' islanders involved extensive changes to settlement patterns, houses, and households."³⁴⁹

In addition to changing settlement patterns, the Spanish introduced several kinds of colonial structures (including wood pole and thatch homes, churches, and military forts) and new construction methods (including *de silleria* and *mampostería*). Common houses within the new parishes were made from rectangular wood pole and thatched roofs with a slightly raised floor, bonded with wood pins and metal nails.³⁵⁰ *De silleria* (dressed cut stone) buildings consisted of imported tile flooring, terra-cotta roofing, wood doors, and windows with metal bars.³⁵¹ *Mampostería* (stone and mortar) buildings were composed of stone rubble walls mortared together upon a bed of compacted stones, sand, and dirt, after which the interior and exterior walls were plastered.³⁵² These houses were sometimes referred to as *bodega* if they had storage cellars. *Mampostería* homes usually had heavy wood doors, shuttered windows, and second story balconies and exterior stairways, which connected the yard to the terrace, and the house to the kitchen. These new structures, construction methods, and materials displaced *i guma' latte* and its indigenous values. For example, the ability to purchase imported materials, and to pay the labor costs to those who had experience with these new building methods, often made it prohibitive for many Chamorro families. Because the new construction methods were

³⁴⁸ Setha M. Low, "Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean," *American Anthropologist New Series* Vol. 97, No. 4 (Dec., 1995): 748.

³⁴⁹ Rensel, "Introduction," 14.

³⁵⁰ Lawrence J. Cunningham, "Pole and Thatched Homes," Guampedia (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/pole-and-thatched-homes/>.

³⁵¹ Lawrence J. Cunningham, "de Silleria," Guampedia (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/de-silleria/>.

³⁵² Lawrence J. Cunningham, "Mampostería," Guampedia (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/mamposteria/>.

more durable than thatched housing, there was less need for communities to come together to repair or rebuild the houses. As a result of these changes, "the new houses [became] visible symbols of incipient differentiation and declining importance of reciprocal kin relations."³⁵³ Beyond the changes in affordability, access, and labor, colonial housing structures also replaced openness with privacy. Colonial houses had "several rooms, with interior walls so that nuclear families have separate areas within the structure...consistent with missionary emphasis on the conjugal couple and nuclear family."³⁵⁴ Even the locks on doors and bars on the windows were "visible signs of increasing privatization."³⁵⁵ As I will show later in this chapter, these new housing structures attempted to enclose what was once an open space design in Chamorro thatch house architecture.

The Spanish also introduced religious and military buildings; indeed, a parish settlement was guarded by a garrison and centered around a church. The Dulce Nombre de Maria Church in Hagåtña, for example, was built in 1709 using the *de silleria* method. Stones from the reef, as well as loose inland stones (including fallen *latte* stones), were collected and cut with a chisel and hammer. A trowel was used to place mortar between the stones. The foundation consisted of coral rock bonded with mortared joints. The interior of the church was decorated in lavish Spanish custom, with silver and gilded lamps, and wooden saint statues. The church was designed in "cruciform," which means it resembled the shape of the cross. The Spanish military also built fourteen fortifications (mainly open batteries that could fire cannons through embrasures) between 1671-1835, using the *mampostería* style. Because of Spanish architectural colonialism, *i guma' latte* were no longer the dominant housing structures on island, as many of the stones were either re-purposed into Spanish-style dwellings, or they were forgotten and overgrown in the jungles outside parish boundaries. The architecture of the church and the fortifications correlate to a narrative of colonial power, control, and surveillance, which in turn embodies the narrative of colonial occupation and indigenous loss. As shown in the previous section, this history of architecture colonialism was so profound that it became a prevalent theme in Pacific literature.

After the war of 1898, the United States Navy became the new colonial landlords of Guam. The Navy imported cheap and durable tin,³⁵⁶ which replaced the coconut-thatched roofs of the wood pole houses and the Spanish tiles of the stone and mortar structures. The Navy also conducted house inspections; in the first chapter of *Mariquita*, the narrator points out that the houses of Hagåtña were policed and monitored by "the

³⁵³ Flinn, "Private Houses, Public Sharing," 140.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid., 142.

³⁵⁶ Nicholas Yamashita Quinata, "Wood and Tin Houses," Guampedia (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/wood-and-tin-houses/>.

monthly military inspection of the city.³⁵⁷ Across the indigenous world, colonial governments often "established housing regulations for public welfare purposes, especially health and sanitation, but promoted other changes, such as clustered settlement, for administrative convenience."³⁵⁸ This was true in Guam during both the Spanish and American Naval Era.

Dramatic American architectural changes took place after World War II, which is outside the historical plot of *Mariquita*, but relevant to fully understand the architectural legacy of colonialism in Guam. Eighty percent of all homes on island were destroyed during the war; after the war, the US military bulldozed many remaining houses in order to construct military bases and airfields.³⁵⁹ In a little over a year, the Navy built more than 1,000 wood and tin homes throughout Guam to house the newly houseless Chamorro population. During this time, another colonial structure was introduced: the cheap, lightweight, and pre-fabricated "Quonset huts," manufactured by the George A. Fuller construction company.³⁶⁰ Easy to construct and transport, thousands of these corrugated steel, semi-circular structures (an average size of sixteen feet by thirty six feet with an eight foot radius) were built on Guam and were used as homes, schools, hospitals, and military facilities.³⁶¹ These new homes were not well suited to the island because they retained heat and heavy rains corroded the steel. Despite this, the Quonset huts and the wood and tin houses became the most common houses built in Guam until the 1960s.

The island experienced another architectural invasion after two typhoons (in 1962 and 1963) destroyed nearly ninety percent of the island's buildings. After passage of the Guam Rehabilitation Act of 1963, Congress allocated federal funds to mass produce pre-fabricated concrete and rebar houses, built by the Kaiser Company. These "Kaiser pre-fab homes" had a "pill-box" shape, with low ceilings (just eight feet tall) and aluminum jalousies on the windows; like the Quonset huts, the pill-boxes also retained heat. The mass produced and uniform houses "transplanted United States suburbia to Guam."³⁶² The last wave of colonial housing architecture occurred in the 1980s when hollow-block

³⁵⁷ Howard, *Mariquita*, 6.

³⁵⁸ Rensel, "Introduction," 18.

³⁵⁹ See Mayo, "A Study of Urbanization in Guam."

³⁶⁰ The word, "Quonset" originates from the Algonquian, meaning "small, long place," commenting on the resemblance between Native American longhouses and what would be known as Quonset huts. With this in mind, it is ironic that Chamorros would become confined, to some extent, by a colonial replication of Native American housing structure.

³⁶¹ Nicholas Yamashita Quinata, "Quonset Huts," *Guampedia* (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/quonset-huts/>.

³⁶² Nicolas Yamashita Quinata, "Kaiser Pre-Fab Homes," *Guampedia* (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/kaiser-pre-fab-homes/>.

cement housing was introduced. Also known as "hollow block concrete masonry units" (CMUs), these homes consisted of raised ceilings and sloped roofs, solving some of the heat and corrosion issues. They contained several amenities absent from previous kinds of housing structures, such as sewage disposal, air-conditioning, and indoor kitchens.³⁶³ Pacific writer Albert Wendt once described how these types of houses were made from "dead materials" that represent "the spiritual, creative, and emotional emptiness of modern man."³⁶⁴ He warned that the "change from traditional dwelling to box-shaped monstrosity is gathering momentum: the mushrooming of this bewildering soulless desert of shacks and boxes is erupting across Oceania."³⁶⁵

Over the past three hundred years, architectural colonialism has evicted Chamorros from *i guma' latte* and moved them into colonial dwellings. The loss of *i guma' latte* not only affected the geography of the island through urbanization, but it also affected the integrity of the family. According to Faye Munoz, "the assignment of families to nuclear-type homes changed familial land residences and separated extended families, and eventually weakened the family structure."³⁶⁶ From local woods to rock and mortar, imported steel and concrete blocks; from thatched coconut leaves to imported tile and tin; from open windows to steel bars and aluminum jalousies; from communal construction to imported pre-fab and foreign labor; from open living arrangements to pill-boxes and indoor kitchens; the story of architectural colonialism on Guam is a story of further and further alienation from the foundations and values of Chamorro housing. Tragically, *latte* were often re-purposed into colonial dwellings, or abandoned in the jungle and forgotten. During the decades of post-war reconstruction of the island, many *latte* were vandalized, neglected, or otherwise disturbed by urban, suburban, tourist, and military development.

Despite this history, archaeologists have found nearly three hundred *latte* ruins on Guam alone, making them the most "conspicuous archeological survivals of the ancient [Chamorro] culture."³⁶⁷ Currently, local and federal laws protect *latte* sites, and these ruins continue to inspire Chamorros today:

Although the original integrity of the latte has lapsed, the latte stones of the

³⁶³ Nicholas Yamashita Quinata, "Hollow Block Cement Homes," Guampedia (2009), accessed May 30, 2013, <http://guampedia.com/hollow-block-cement-homes/>.

³⁶⁴ Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania," *A Pacific Islands Collection: Seaweeds and Constructions* 7, edited by Richard Hamasaki and Wayne Westlake (Honolulu: 'Elepaio Press, 1983), 80.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 81.

³⁶⁶ Faye Untalan Munoz, "Chamorro Migration to the US," Guampedia (2009), accessed July 3, 2014, <http://www.guampedia.com/chamorro-migration-to-the-u-s/>. See also Faye Untalan, "An Exploratory Study of Island Migrations: Chamorros of Guam," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1984).

³⁶⁷ Laura Thompson, "The Function of Latte in the Marianas," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 49, no. 3 (1940): 447.

Marianas have left a long-lasting imprint, not only on the historic landscape, but also within the minds of the indigenous Chamorro people. The latte stones of the Marianas have captivated the curiosity and imagination of virtually all segments of society, including the general public, artists, archaeologists, school children, teachers, tourists, politicians, political activists, and historic preservationists, to name just a few.³⁶⁸

Even though actual *latte* are not part of everyday Chamorro experience, the representational image of the *latte* is ubiquitous throughout contemporary Guam. The *latte* motif is used in many modern structures, such as the Guam International Airport, the University of Guam, Naval Station, the Archbishop and governor's residence, the Guam Legislature, and at the entrance to villages and churches. Images of the *latte* can be found on government documents, business logos, souvenirs, bus stops, jewelry, t-shirts, license plates, and even tattoos. The *latte* remain powerful symbols of Chamorro cultural identity, architectural ingenuity, and indigenous history. At the same time, *latte* also represent feelings of loss, trauma, and absence because *latte* comprise the "ultimate link with a distant past for which the [Chamorro] soul will always harbor deep nostalgic longings."³⁶⁹ Even though centuries of architectural colonialism has displaced *i guma'* *latte* architecture, the ruins of latte stones have survived as important symbols of Chamorro culture and identity.

Overall, this section showed the dramatic changes in housing architecture that Chamorros experienced under three centuries of colonialism. At the same time, the remains and memories of customary Chamorro architecture still exists in the landscape and imagination of Chamorros. Wayreading the representation of indigenous and colonial architectural in *Mariquita* reveals the complexities of Chamorro identities and experiences.

The Four Houses of Mariquita

Just as the colonial history of Guam can be seen in the housing and architectural changes of Hagåtña, the history, identity, and experience of Mariquita and her family can be *wayread* in the architecture of the four houses in which she dwelled. Mariquita was born in 1920, and she grew up in a modern, two-story concrete house in the section of Hagåtña known as Dr. Sargent district, located along the ocean, and named after a surgeon in the US Medical Corps who served on Guam between 1929-1931. The top floor contained the bedrooms, while the ground floor consisted of a kitchen, dining area, a small room, and a terrace. Their lot was "attractively landscaped" and the back of the

³⁶⁸ Andrew Laguana et al, "Estorian i latte: A story of latte," *Micronesica* 42 (1/2) (2012), 116.

³⁶⁹ Philipe Godard, *Latte: The Mysterious Megaliths of the Marianas* (Perth, Australia: Arolhos Publishing, 1995), 32.

house faced a "special composition of earth, sea and sky."³⁷⁰ The Perez family was able to afford a modern house because Mariquita's parents were both teachers within the new American education system. Mariquita shared a bedroom with her sister, Carmen, and their room housed many modern objects, including cosmetics, toiletry items, a radio, an old doll, photographs, a sewing table, clothes, shoes, handbags, and even a medal she won for weaving from the American legion. The Perez house reflects Spanish architectural heritage and American consumer culture. The house, then, is emblematic of an upwardly mobile and modern Chamorro family who successfully assimilated into Spanish and American cultures.

The Perez home was not only a sign and site of the family's economic and architectural acculturation, but it was also transformed into a place of Chamorro custom. Many members of the family preferred to eat and entertain in a separate outdoor structure, which contained laundry and cooking facilities. Mariquita's relative, Aunti Da, lived with the family and preferred to cook outside with the wood fire as opposed to using the new kerosene stove inside. This separate structure suggests the ongoing survival of older customs, and testifies to the fact that Chamorros were not simply passive victims to architectural colonialism. Rensel speaks to these acts of indigenous agency in the Pacific:

Such incidents illustrate the point that changes in housing in the Pacific have not been merely a matter of passive acceptance of externally imposed conditions.

Although power differentials were great, local people adapted to colonial demands and missionary teachings while persisting with their own preferences when they could. They also exercised choice in selecting among new building techniques and materials as they became available, striving to meet their own needs and goals.³⁷¹

In a sense, indigenous peoples expressed their agency by articulating indigenous values, customs, and identities within the space of colonial dwellings. Because newer houses required less regular maintenance, there were fewer opportunities for communal labor among kin. Moreover, the enclosed space of the newer houses meant that goods and food could be kept private. To resist the individuality of these new dwelling spaces, many Pacific peoples "developed a practice of public sharing through group preparation and distribution of food."³⁷² This practice is evident in *Mariquita*. During religious feast days, neighbors gathered at the Perez house to eat, sing, dance, and tell stories. The openness of the outside cooking area and the continued engagement with extended family and neighbors shows that the "structural dignity" of the Perez family and their house was

³⁷⁰ Howard, *Mariquita*, 12.

³⁷¹ Rensel, "Introduction," 20.

³⁷² Ibid., 22.

"bound together by social, economic and religious ties and customs."³⁷³ Additionally, The Perez house functioned as a site of language resistance because the Perez family continued to speak Chamorro at home, despite the "pompous law that only English was to be spoken in school and on the playground as well as in government and at public affairs."³⁷⁴ The Perez family house becomes a powerful space that articulates the intersection between Spanish architectural colonialism, American consumer culture, and Chamorro cultural adaptation, struggle, and survival.

The Perez house and family structure begins to change when Mariquita meets, falls in love with, and marries Edward Howard, an American sailor stationed on Guam, when she is 18 years old. She moves out of the family home and, with her new husband, rents a small house closer to Apra Harbor, where Edward's ship, the USS Penguin, was anchored. After they have their first child, Chris,³⁷⁵ they move to a larger house in Hagåtña, and Mariquita's cousin moves in with them to help maintain the household. Sadly, they would not have much more time to live in their new home. First, a powerful typhoon strikes the island in 1940 and damages the Perez family house with its strong winds: "Waves were lapping at the back door, and the outside kitchen had already been sent crashing into the sea."³⁷⁶ This typhoon foreshadows the storm of imperial struggle that would begin on December 8, 1941, when the Japanese military bombs the island, targeting military, transportation, communications, and energy facilities. As they hear the bombs exploding nearby, the Perez family abandons their Hagåtña homes and travels to their family ranch in the village of Tumon, where they take shelter in a cave. On December 10, Japanese soldiers invade the island and defeat the US military forces. The invading soldiers ransack Mariquita's house, stealing food and possessions. Part of a wall was even torn apart for firewood. Her family itself is torn apart when Edward is taken as a prisoner of war and sent to a prison camp in Japan. In the meantime, the Perez family house was used as a Japanese military outpost, and their family was forced to move and live at their ranch full-time. The military destruction and occupation of these two houses are symbolic of the military destruction and occupation of the Mariana Islands.

Similar to how the Tamihana responds to the destruction of the *wharenui* in *Potiki*, the Perez family responds to the destruction and eviction from their homes with strength and resilience. This resilience is embodied in the architecture of their Tumon ranch house, which exhibits a continuity with *i guma' latte* forms.³⁷⁷ Their two-room ranch house stood on a slope in a large clearing, atop three feet high posts on one end,

³⁷³ Howard, *Mariquita*, 15.

³⁷⁴ Ibid. I discuss the history of colonial language policies on Guam in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

³⁷⁵ In *Mariquita*, Chris is the narrator, author, and a character.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 41.

³⁷⁷ Waterson argues that historical "continuity can be surprisingly strong and must be significant in any attempt to explain house forms in the Austronesian world." Waterson, *The Living House*, 88.

and six feet high on the other end, with ladder-like steps leading to its entrance. The roof of the wooden house was made of tin. Instead of beds, the family slept on mats, which were woven by the women. An open kitchen with a wood fire was attached to the house, reminiscent of the separate structure of their Hagåtña home, and of the outdoor cooking area of *i guma' latte*. The family collected water from rain barrels, made their own soap, and used coconut oil lamps. Tall fruit trees surrounded the house, and the family harvested enough food to survive and to fill the agricultural quota demanded by the Japanese military. Other family ranches, owned by relatives, surrounded their ranch. As the narrator points out: "The Perez family became a loving, working survival unit. This unity was matched by the other families. Together they epitomized the noble character of their Chamorro heritage."³⁷⁸ At their ranch, the Perez family, now separated from the center of colonial urbanization and power, return to a semblance of *i guma' latte* architecture and the values and practices of Chamorro identity.

Tragically, these moments of peace and family unity would not last. By June 1944, nearly twenty thousand Japanese soldiers had arrived on Guam, anticipating a US invasion. During this time, the Kaikuntai, an agricultural unit whose mission was to feed the soldiers, also arrived. Chamorro men from the ranch were taken to work in military labor battalions to help the Japanese military fortify the island. The women were taken to work in the fields to grow and prepare food for the soldiers. Mariquita was assigned to work as a personal servant to the Taicho, a high-ranking officer, at the headquarters of the Kaikuntai in the village of Tai. Mariquita, along with twelve other women, were forced to cook, clean, and launder clothes, as well as massage and wash the officers (even though it is not described in the text, it is likely that the women were also raped).³⁷⁹ As the US bombing of Guam intensified, the Taicho becomes more and more abusive to Mariquita: "The Taicho took out his sword in anger and struck her with the blunt edge. He scolded and cursed her. Her head began bleeding profusely... Mariquita was ordered to go to the Taicho's quarters and wait there for him."³⁸⁰ The narrator does not describe the Taicho's quarters, in which Mariquita remained until late that evening. He only reveals: "Mariquita was never seen again."³⁸¹ This lack of description represents absence, silence, and trauma.

Throughout *Mariquita*, architecture embodies Chamorro identity, cultural values, historical change, political colonialism, and military control. The visual history of Hagåtña reveals how Spanish, American, and Japanese occupiers attempted to control

³⁷⁸ Howard, *Mariquita*, 65.

³⁷⁹ For an analysis of Chamorro "comfort women" during the Japanese Occupation, see chapter 6 of Keith L. Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

³⁸⁰ Howard, *Mariquita*, 80.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

and change Chamorros by changing the architecture of the island. Even though the Perez family figuratively and literally lives within colonial dwellings, they still manage to assert their Chamorro identity, whether it is through cooking outside, hosting public feasts, or speaking the Chamorro language. Mariquita's final dwelling was the dark quarters of the Taicho, which represents the violence and darkness of war. Because her body, even to this day, was never found, Mariquita's final dwelling place is absence and silence. Through literature, Perez Howard is able to excavate and imaginatively recover his mother's body.

Reconstructing The Chamorro House of Story

Many artists and architects have attempted to re-envision, reconstruct, and replicate *i guma' latte*, graphically and architecturally. Three well known examples include line drawings by William Morgan, Noel Quitugua, and Noe Pellarido.³⁸² Various latte replicas have also been constructed on Guam. One of the most symbolic projects is a canoe house known as "Guma' i latte Sakman," which is being built at Ypao Beach in Tumon Bay. Ten latte columns, each measuring 12 feet in height, will support an A-frame structure, which will be nearly 40 feet high. This latte house is designed to house the outrigger canoe, *Saina*.³⁸³ Beyond attempts to literally reconstruct latte houses, others have attempted to reconstruct the latte in various figurative and symbolic forms:

Within the present-day context, an awareness of the latte as a viable link to the past has inspired artists, activists, preservationists and the like to reconstruct the ancient latte in various forms. Creative artistic license and imagination can be seen in some of these attempts in reconstructing the ancient latte architecture.³⁸⁴

Neither latte stones nor latte houses are mentioned in *Mariquita*; while one might interpret this absence as a sign that *i guma' latte* is not necessary to interpret the text, I suggest that it instead embodies the absence of a *latte* ruin site and acts as an important narrative element in the text. Today, Chamorros most commonly experience *i guma' latte* as a ruin, museum artifact, tourist site, and representational sign; furthermore, most *latte* exist *without* accompanying A-frame structure, and most of the population live in modern, colonial housing. Thus, the Chamorro house of story can be understood as a

³⁸² Descriptions of these different renderings can be found in Laguana et al, "Estorian I Latte," 89-92. These line drawings appear in Lawrence Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society* (Bess Press, Honolulu, 1992); W. Morgan, *Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1988); and S. Russell, *Tiempon I Manmofo'na: Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Division of Historic Preservation, Saipan, 1998).

³⁸³ "Laguana et al, "Estorian I Latte," 92. I discuss the canoe, *Saina*, and the significance of canoeing and navigation in Chamorro culture and identity in Chapter 4.

³⁸⁴ Ibid., 114.

house of trauma, loss, incompleteness, silence, and haunting absence. In this section, I argue that wayreading *Mariquita* is akin to walking into the ruins of *i guma' latte*, in which the *latte* might be invisible because it has been grown over by the density of time or buried beneath colonial architecture. Formally, I contend that *Mariquita* is structured by the fragmentation of latte ruins and narrativized by the absence of *i guma' latte*.

Just as the prologue of *Potiki* begins in the space of the *wharenui* with a portrait of the *wharenui* carver, the dedication and preface of *Mariquita* begins in a space of storytelling with a portrait of the author. Perez Howard's dedication page reads: "Storytelling was an important feature in the Chamorro culture as it was the way to remember things for years to come."³⁸⁵ This establishes the text as a *space* for storytelling and cultural memory, evoking the storytelling space of *i guma' latte*. Perez Howard also offers a portrait of himself as storyteller in the preface:

From the first day of research to the last punctuation it was difficult. I never realized that the history of Guam was so confusing and so often contradictory. To try and decipher the truth from conversation so richly embroidered with imagination was also difficult. But the most difficult was trying to remain emotionally uninvolved when the story was about my mother.³⁸⁶

Whereas the multi-vocal and multi-perspectival structure of *Potiki* reflects the movement of voices within a *marae*, *Mariquita* is structured around absence and loss. Which is to say, its narrative structure embodies the palpable absence in the ruins of a latte site. Sharrad suggests that *Mariquita* emerges from "the large central hole of Mariquita's disappearance and works with the less dramatic but equally important gaps in historical memory."³⁸⁷ *Mariquita* is thus "full of signs that show absence by their residual presence...This is a key element in what makes the writing so difficult for Perez Howard: the speaking silences, present absences of his world."³⁸⁸ Writing from a dwelling space marked by colonial violence and indigenous absence involves constructing a narrative from fragments of memory and history. Additionally, the return to the maternal figure and house is an important biological, cultural, and genealogical symbol. These reconstructions are visible when Perez Howard describes his writing process: "I began to ask questions. With the few pictures I had of [my mother] and through conversation [with family members] I began to know her."³⁸⁹ In addition to conducting oral histories, Perez

³⁸⁵ Ibid., ii.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., vi.

³⁸⁷ Sharrad, "Filling in the Blanks," 159.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., 154.

³⁸⁹ Perez Howard, *Mariquita*, 88.

Howard also engaged various archives, as well as historical and cultural texts. Yet he does not bring these elements together in a seamless narrative; instead, *Mariquita* is written in "varying narrative viewpoints and a curious hybrid of documentary and fictional devices, chatty oral history and written formality, biography, and autobiography."³⁹⁰ Throughout the book, the reader encounters "strange shifts in generic mode and tone: from lyric dramatization of a fiery temperament against a 'Pacific paradise' backdrop to textbook language of ornithology."³⁹¹ Moreover, Perez Howard utilizes various visual materials throughout *Mariquita*, including photographs, newspaper articles, and government documents. The materiality of *Mariquita* speaks to how assembling materials "compensate for and express the experience of historical loss as existential void."³⁹²

Perez Howard, by utilizing multiple discursive modes, as well as various visual materials, builds a narrative of the last years of his mother's life to give structure to her absence, to give voice to her silence. Whereas Sharrad describes the form of *Mariquita* as a "curious hybrid," I instead suggest that the form of the text embodies the ruins of *i guma' latte*. By wayreading the text through indigenous aesthetics, we can begin to see how *i guma' latte* architecture is an important metaphor of narrativization. Recall the three-tiered structure of the Chamorro house: the burial ground, the communal workspace below the raised house, and the space of the A-frame, thatched dwelling. The archival materials and objects of the past (such as newspaper clippings, photographs, and documents) can be interpreted as the burial ground of the text. As these elements coalesce to represent the mother's body, we can imagine the construction of the text as a kind of burial of Mariquita's textual body. The elements of the oral interviews can be interpreted as the communal workspace beneath the house since the process of gathering interviews is collaborative and evokes a sense of family sitting outside sharing stories. The fictional elements of *Mariquita* (the passages in which Perez Howard reimagines and recreates dialogue, for example) point to the imaginative work necessary to re-envision the A-frame structure when one enters a latte site, an important act of imagination since the A-frame structure no longer exists in contemporary experiences of *i guma' latte*. *Mariquita*, therefore, can be said to have a metaphoric, three-tiered narrative structure in which "fact[s] [are] stitched together with invention... documents patched in with oral anecdotes."³⁹³ *Mariquita* is not a pre-fabricated, pill-box, or Quonset hut narrative; instead, *Mariquita* is an attempt to re-construct a narrative *latte* house from the ruins of memory and history. Perez Howard can be considered a "na(rra)tive architect" who, through literature, re-imagines the house that his family, and his people, have lost.

³⁹⁰ Sharrad, "Filling in the Blanks," 152.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

³⁹³ Sharrad, "Filling in the Blanks," 159.

Conclusion: Re-Constructing the Foundation of Chamorro Identity and Activism

Mariquita began to build a home for her growing family during a violent period of Guam's history. Her house, her family, her husband, and her children were all torn asunder by the war. Her son, Chris, not only lost his mother, but he also lost his homeland when his father took him to be raised in the continental United States after the war. In a sense, his entire *latte* foundation was demolished. When he returns to Guam decades later, his writing becomes a journey of discovery. He declares: "In writing [*Mariquita*] I discovered the memory of my mother. It was not her face that I recalled but her warmth. I realized that I missed it very much during a time in my childhood and today it hurt as much as it must have then."³⁹⁴ In the process of writing *Mariquita*, Perez Howard also discovered his Chamorro identity, even after being away from home for so long. He reflects: "Since returning to Guam I have sought information about my Chamorro heritage and, as a result, discovered another identity—my Chamorro self."³⁹⁵ As I will discuss further in the next chapter, home functions as a grounding and rooting element for Chamorros in the diaspora.

Perez Howard describes the process of writing *Mariquita*, the discovery of his Chamorro identity, and his involvement with Chamorro activism in the creative nonfiction essay, "Thoughts and Confessions of a Chamorro Advocate," published in 1987 in the pivotal publication, *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People I Derechon I Taotao*.³⁹⁶ Perez Howard opens his essay by admitting that when he returned to Guam in 1979, an active period of Chamorro decolonial and indigenous activism, he felt like "a stranger in [his] homeland" and that he did not "belong among [his] own people."³⁹⁷ Part of his alienation and identity crisis was caused by his lack of knowledge of cultural history and practices. He confesses:

I became acutely aware of my shortcomings and began to suffer embarrassment.

³⁹⁴ Perez Howard, *Mariquita*, 89.

³⁹⁵ Ibid., vi.

³⁹⁶ Laura Souder-Jaffery and Robert A. Underwood, editors, *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People I Derechon I Taotao* (Mangilao, Guam: Chamorro Studies Association and Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam). This anthology is important because it was the first publication of the Chamorro Studies Association, which was a non-profit organization founded in 1976 (incorporated in 1987) that aimed to "coordinate efforts in the teaching of Guam history, Chamorro culture, and the Chamorro language...Recognizing that its consciousness-building objective could best be fulfilled through the widespread dissemination of information on issues affecting Chamorros today."

³⁹⁷ Chris Perez Howard, "Thoughts and Confessions of a Chamorro Advocate," in Laura Souder-Jaffery and Robert A. Underwood, editors, *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People I Derechon I Taotao* (Mangilao, Guam: Chamorro Studies Association and Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam), 125-6.

Not only did I not speak the language, I had little knowledge of the island, its history, and culture. Above all else, however, was that I could not remember my mother, through whose identity I called myself Chamorro.³⁹⁸

He learns more about his mother by talking to family and other relatives; moreover, he learns about Chamorro culture, the history of Guam (especially the US naval era and Japanese Occupation of World War), and the meaning of Guam's political status. He states: "What I eventually came to know is that the relationship was one of guardian-to-ward and not the beautiful marriage of two peoples which I had so superficially held as true."³⁹⁹

One aspect of the relationship between Guam and the United States that shattered Perez Howard's romantic perception was the issue of war reparations.⁴⁰⁰ In 1945, the U.S. passed The Guam Meritorious Claims Act to grant financial relief to residents of Guam whose property had been destroyed as a result of the war, or were appropriated by the military. The act did not provide for claims of forced labor, forced march, or internment. In the Act's one-year filing period, less than 1,000 claims were filed among a surviving Chamorro population of about 22,000—all of whom suffered varying degrees of atrocities during the war. Without homes, electricity, or mass media, most people simply didn't know they could file claims. According to the Navy's Land and Claims Commission (which oversaw the Guam Claims Act of 1945), the average reparation amount of death claims was about \$1900 dollars (though not all claims were accepted). Plus, the Navy placed fiscal ceilings claims and used a sliding scale. For example, a claim would be issued for \$500 if the deceased was twelve years old or younger, with an increase of \$500 for each additional year of age up to age 21, and a decrease of \$100 per year for each additional year up to age 61, at which age the amount awardable remained at \$1000. Only one maximum death claim was ever paid.⁴⁰¹ Even though not all families or people who suffered war crimes on Guam received reparations, the U.S. waived through the 1951 Treaty of Peace with Japan future wartime claims that could have been made by U.S. citizens and nationals against Japan. In 1952, when Perez Howard was twelve years, he received a check from the Federal Government in the amount of

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 126.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., 127.

⁴⁰⁰ For a more detailed history of Guam's struggle to secure war reparations, see Victoria Leon Guerrero, "The War Reparations Sage: Why Guam's Survivors Still Await Justice" and "War Survivors Continue to Die without Restitution," *Guam War Survivor Story Website*, accessed March 10, 2015, <http://guamwarsurvivorstory.com/>. Also see Bernard Punzalan, "Guam World War II War Claims: A Legislative History," *Guampedia*, accessed March 10, 2015, <http://www.guampedia.com/guam-world-war-ii-war-claims-legislative-history/>.

⁴⁰¹ See Vivian Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Social Work and Political Science (University of Michigan, 2000), 289-290. See also Rodney Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 214.

\$1,528.89, as compensation for the death of his mother.⁴⁰²

Many Chamorros and their advocates felt that the people of Guam were not fairly compensated by the Guam Claims Act of 1945, and that the U.S. failed to seek compensation from Japan by waiving war claims. To add insult to injury, Guam was not included in any future war claims legislation, such as the War Claims Act of 1948 (as amended and enacted in 1962) and the Micronesian Claims Act of 1971 because Congress believed the people of Guam had already been adequately compensated. Perez Howard learns the history of war reparations, or lack thereof, through his research. As he continued working on his book, Japanese military ships docked in the Naval Station of Guam and offered tours on their vessels. Along with a friend, Perez Howard picketed the ships and carried signs that read: "War Reparations for Guam."⁴⁰³ This initial foray into political activism led Perez Howard to volunteer for Senator Cecilia Bamba, who co-sponsored legislation to create a Guam Reparations Commission:

[Perez Howard] volunteered to go with [Bamba] from village to village — sharing the story of his mother, eliciting the stories of others, and assisting with the preliminary survey of potential war claimants. This provided the groundwork for the eventual tiling of legal claims and the introduction of federal legislation to award just compensation.⁴⁰⁴

Engaging in this work of storytelling and listening "raised [his] consciousness as a Chamorro and led [him] to really begin questioning the United States and [his] being an American."⁴⁰⁵ Senator Bamba would become the Executive Director of the Commission on Self-Determination, and Perez Howard became her administrative assistant. He went on to help found and chair the Organization of People for Indigenous Rights (OPI-R), one of the major Chamorro rights groups to emerge in the 1980s and one of the first non-governmental and non-administrative groups to represent Guam at the United Nations. Overall, Perez Howard's experience of researching and writing a work of literature led him to not only re-construct and articulate his indigenous Chamorro identity, but it also led him to become actively involved in the Chamorro decolonization and sovereignty movement.

Perez Howard's journey home, as well as his journey in writing *Mariquita* and becoming involved in Chamorro decolonization movements, began with his search for his mother, his cultural identity, and his home—symbolized through the figure of i guma' latte. Similarly, Cecilia C. T. Perez in "Signs of Being—A Chamorro Spiritual Journey,"

⁴⁰² Howard, "Thoughts and Confessions," 129. See also Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging," 290.

⁴⁰³ Howard, "Thoughts and Confessions," 127.

⁴⁰⁴ Dames, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging," 292.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 293.

describes her transformative journey with her friend, Lina, to As Nieves, a latte quarry site in the northern Mariana island of Luta (Rota). She sets the scene: "[s]ome pillars lay above ground, cracked perhaps in the effort to move them. Other pillars and capstones still lay embedded in the ground that bore them."⁴⁰⁶ When the speaker and her friend kneel by an unfinished *tasa*, Lina speaks to the ancestral spirits: "'Guella yan Guello, hafa na ti un na'fonhayan I che'cho-miyu? What happened to make you leave your work? Did you have to fight? Did you get sick? Were You killed as You tried to finish your work?'"⁴⁰⁷ Both characters feel the power of their ancestors as they walk through the site: "The spirit of the People who came before is in us and surrounds us. It is in the call of the wind, and the breath of our kiss. It permeates our psyche and fortifies our will to survive."⁴⁰⁸ As they commune with the ancestors and listen for answers to their questions, the speaker realizes: "The fallen Latte is the sign. It is from within the row of Latte that we feel our strength. It is the severed [sic] capstone that gives us Their message, 'Ti monhayon I che'cho!' We will not rest until the Latte is whole."⁴⁰⁹

Chamorro customary architecture embodied Chamorro cultural values and cultural identity. The *latte* stones formed the foundation of Chamorro housing, rooting its inhabitants to the land—Puntan's body—and serving as a reminder of Fu'unā's sacrifice to birth the Chamorro people. In a sense, *i guma'* housing was the first house of the Chamorro people on Guam, establishing a genealogical, ecological, and architectural connection to the land and articulating indigenous belonging. Despite the strength of these foundations, centuries of architectural colonialism destroyed and replaced these housing practices with other colonial structures, settlement patterns, roads and bridges that embodies the architecture of control, power, militarization, and surveillance. These new buildings structured Chamorro life and often severed communal and familial links and kinship networks.

Reconstructing *i guma'* *latte* through narrative is Perez Howard's attempt to make *i guma'* *latte* whole again, not only for himself and his family, but for the Chamorro people as well. Towards the end of *Mariquita* he writes: "This book, besides being a tribute to my parents is also for my family and those like them. It is written with the hope that people will know through the life of one girl, the sad history of the occupation of Guam."⁴¹⁰ Archaeologists claim that ancient Chamorros used stone for the foundation of their houses because stone resists rot and is strong enough to withstand typhoons and

⁴⁰⁶ Cecilia C. T. Perez, "Signs of Being: A Chamorro Spiritual Journey" (MA thesis, Pacific Islands Studies, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1997), 25.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Perez Howard, *Mariquita*, 89.

earthquakes. Perhaps they also used stone for another reason: to make sure there would be signs for future Chamorro people to connect to our past if tragedy struck. The continued presence of *latte* reminds us of our strength and endurance; it reminds us of home. Perhaps the *latte* deliver a message: when we enter the ruins of *i guma' latte*, it is our responsibility to remember, to tell the story of the past, and to rebuild the house. Perez Howard illustrates the importance of memory: "It appears that the hardships I have had to face and overcome prepared me to write this book so that my mother and others who suffered the occupation would be remembered."⁴¹¹ The epigraph to this chapter asked what has become of the architects of *i guma' latte*? While it seems like they were all replaced by colonial architects, this chapter shows how we can *wayread* Perez Howard as a contemporary, Chamorro na(rra)tive architect, and *Mariquita* as a re-imagined, narrative representation of *i guma' latte* being rebuilt from the ruins. While the latte stones root us into the land and a sense of place, the book is able to travel, launching us on a journey of diasporic memory. In all, the Chamorro house is imaginatively rebuilt into a house of cultural reclamation, a house of memory and story, and a house of family and healing.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

IV

The Flying Proa: Outrigger Aesthetics, Canoe Colonialism, and Diasporic Indigeneity in Lehua Taitano's *A Bell Made of Stones*

These Indians are no ways defective in understanding, for their flying proas in particular, which during ages past have been the only vessels employed by them, are so singular and extraordinary an invention that it would do honour to any nation, however dexterous and acute, since if we consider the aptitude of this proa to the navigation of these islands, which lying all of them nearly under the same meridian, and with the limits of the trade wind, require the vessels made use of in passing from one to the other to be particularly fitted for sailing with the wind upon the beam; or if we examine the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall in each of these articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and deserving a place amongst the mechanical productions of the most civilised nations where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished.

—George Anson⁴¹²

While the previous two chapter were rooted in the land and houses of Guam, this chapter will carry us to the vast, transoceanic expanse of the Chamorro diaspora to explore the complex relationship between navigation traditions and aesthetics, Chamorro culture and identity, Pacific migration and diaspora, and avant-garde poetics. First, this chapter will chart the history, theory, and praxis of Pacific voyaging traditions; the colonial history of restricting indigenous mobilities; and the decolonial history of seafaring revitalization in Guam and the Pacific. Then, we will examine the idea of seafaring and the ocean-going vessel—the canoe—as powerful symbols of Pacific migration and diasporic cultural identity. Next, we will consider the representations of navigation and the figure of the canoe in Pacific literature as “narrative maritime legacies.” Carrying this knowledge with us, we will wayread the avant-garde poetry collection, *A Bell Made of Stones* (2013), by Lehua Taitano. As I will show, one of the primary themes in Tatiano’s poetry is navigation, and some of the questions we will address include: Why have so many many Chamorros migrated from Guam? How do diasporic Chamorros stay connected to home and articulate their cultural identity? Can

⁴¹² George Anson, [A] voyage round the world, in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV. By George Anson, Esq; Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, sent upon an Expedition to the South-Seas. Compiled from papers and other materials of the Right Honourable George Lord Anson, and published under his direction. By Richard Walter, M. A. Chaplain of his Majesty's Ship the Centurion, in that Expedition (Dublin: G and A Ewing, 1748), 356.

literature heal diasporic Chamorros from the trauma of migration? In terms of poetic form, I will argue that Taitano's visual experimentation with typography and visual poetry embodies Chamorro outrigger design aesthetics and navigational techniques, what I call a "proa poetics." In the end, I will show how wayreading *A Bell Made of Stones* reveals how diasporic Chamorros can navigate their distance from home and find creative ways to stay connected to their indigenous cultures.

Chamorro Navigation and The Flying Canoe

The first recorded contact between Europeans and Pacific Islanders occurred aboard ocean-going vessels. When Ferdinand Magellan and his clumsy galleons neared Guam, Chamorros swiftly raced towards them in red, white, and black outrigger canoes. Magellan's chronicler, Antonio Pigafetta, described how numerous outrigger canoes with lateen (triangular) sails deftly maneuvered "like dolphins jumping from wave to wave"⁴¹³ and surrounded the galleons. He called the canoes, *parão*, a Portuguese word that came to be *proa* in English, which possibly originated from the Malay word for boats, *prahu*.⁴¹⁴ Because the Chamorro canoes seemed to skim the water and could travel as fast as twenty miles an hour, they came to be known around the world as "flying proas." Indeed, Europeans "consistently described the Chamorro proa as the best canoe of its type in the world."⁴¹⁵ Magellan even named the archipelago, "Islas de los Latinas" ("Islands of the Lateen Sails"). While "flying proa" became the most circulated name for the Chamorro canoe, Chamorros had their own names for watercrafts. Canoes without sails were known as *panga*; a small reef canoe was called *galaide'*; small and medium sized outrigger canoes with sails were termed *duduli*, *dudings*, or *lelek*; and the largest, ocean-going vessels were referred to as *sakman*.

Chamorros inherited and perpetuated a voyaging tradition that can be traced back 4,000 years to the very invention of the sail and outrigger. The words for mast, sail, and outrigger are among the oldest words in Austronesian languages.⁴¹⁶ Chamorro canoe technology and seagoing art were not only essential to everyday commerce (such as pelagic fishing and trade), but they also allowed Chamorros to traverse the open ocean and make landfall in distant, unsettled islands. Around 1500 B.C., Chamorros sailed from Austronesia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, and Taiwan) and became the first peoples

⁴¹³ Rodney Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 6.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid., 31.

⁴¹⁵ Lawrence J. Cunningham, Ward Kranz, and Manny Sikau, "Restoring Traditional Seafaring and Navigation in Guam," *Micronesian Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 5, no. 1-2 (November 2006): 314.

⁴¹⁶ David Lewis, *The Voyaging Stars: Secrets of the Pacific Island Navigators* (New York: WW Norton & Company, Inc, 1978), 55.

to settle the western Pacific Ocean, inaugurating an "unparalleled seaborn expansion" throughout the Pacific.⁴¹⁷ Indeed, Chamorros and other islanders navigated across Oceania "millennia before Europeans ventured from eyesight of their shores."⁴¹⁸

Chamorro proa innovation included the development of outrigger design, asymmetrical hulls, and inverted lateen sails. Most European ships contained a symmetrical hull with differently shaped bow and stern; the Chamorro proa, however, had an asymmetrical hull with an identical (hence interchangeable) bow and stern. The leeward side of the hull was flat, and the windward side of the hull was rounded, upon which a frame extended outward towards the outrigger float (a platform for cargo and passengers was sometimes built over the frame). The mast, which rested on the outrigger side as opposed to extending to the bottom of the hull, held the sail aloft. The sail was woven from pandanus. Since the bow and stern were identical, the proa tacked (switched directions across the wind) by moving the sail from one end of the canoe to the other—also known as shunting. Together, the asymmetrical hull, triangular sail, and outrigger design functioned to resist drift, stay afloat, counterbalance winds, and maximize speed and mobility.⁴¹⁹

The Chamorro proa was constructed with local, sustainable materials.⁴²⁰ The hulls were carved from the trunk of the breadfruit tree with a *higam* shell adze. The mast, yard, boom, and planks were made from different kinds of native hardwoods and bamboo. Planks were lashed together with coconut fiber rope, and seams were caulked with heated breadfruit sap or powdered quicklime mixed with coconut oil. Red, black, and white paints were sourced from red clay, burnt coconut husk soot, and a mixture of coconut oil and quicklime. Shaped coconut husks were used as paintbrushes. The canoes were painted not only to protect the vessels from weathering, but also for aesthetic reasons. Chamorros considered red and black beautiful colors; this is evidenced in the cultural aesthetic practice of etching designs onto the surface of their teeth and staining them red and black (a long process that involved great pain, yet also preserved teeth from rotting).⁴²¹

In addition to developing technologically sophisticated and aesthetically pleasing

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 54.

⁴¹⁸ Vicente M. Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery: Austronesian Seafaring, Archipelagic Rethinking, and the Re-mapping of Indigeneity," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 2:1 (Fall 2011): 26.

⁴¹⁹ See A.C. Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1975) and Richard J. Shell, *Proas in the Marianas, 1668-1742* (Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 1992).

⁴²⁰ See Andrew Diaz Artero, "Canoe Building," *Guampedia*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://guampedia.com/canoe-building-2/> and Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Agad'na: Canoe Builders," *Guampedia*, accessed May 13, 2014, <http://guampedia.com/agadna-canoe-builders/>.

⁴²¹ Judy Flores, "Ancient Chamorro Concepts of Beauty," *Guampedia*, accessed June 13, 2014, <http://guampedia.com/concepts-of-beauty-in-ancient-chamorro-society/>.

water crafts, Chamorros developed complex navigational techniques that involved reading the movements of stars, winds, currents, clouds, birds, fish, waves, and islands. Vicente Diaz explains two important voyaging technologies: *etak* and *pookof*. *Etak*, also known as "moving islands," is a "technique for calculating distance traveled, or position at sea by triangulating the speed of the islands of departure and destination with that of a third reference island. This is accomplished, furthermore, by plotting these islands courses in the celestial sky, which in effect serves as a veritable map for the world below."⁴²² By imagining that the islands are *moving* along a prescribed star course, the embodied sensation is that the canoe remains stationary. Complementing *etak*, the "expanding islands" technique of *pookof* refers to "the inventory of creatures indigenous to a given island, as well as their travel habits and behavior."⁴²³ For example, if you sight a sea-going bird associated with a certain island, then you know that island is nearby; thus, the island has figuratively *expanded* to the travel range of its native creatures. This same idea applies to certain sea creatures and their predictable migration patterns. Other natural *pookof* also make islands appear to expand: distinct cloud formations, ocean currents and wave signatures, unique marine phosphorescence, and the unforgettable fragrances of endemic flowers or plants.⁴²⁴ By *wayreading* these environmental signs as metonymic markers of islands, navigators were able to enlarge their distant destinations and increase the probability of safe landfall.

Before voyagers left their island of origin, they learned and memorized the *etak* and *pookof* of their journey. They used various kinds of visual star compasses and wave maps, as well as aural chants and stories. These navigational narratives named waterways, landmarks, star courses, and creatures that would be encountered on a particular route. This "ancient and time-honored mnemonic map for travel" remained "fundamentally discursive and narratological."⁴²⁵ Furthermore, *etak* and *pookof* were fundamentally ethical. They exemplify the Chamorro cultural value of *inafa'maolek* (interconnectedness, reciprocity, sustainability, and mutual care) by highlighting the "deep and profound kinship between humans and the animal world, as well as the genealogical connections between humans and animals on the one hand with land and sea on the other."⁴²⁶ Maintaining and respecting the integrity of the land, sea, and animals was important because their predictability allowed navigators to find their way. Additionally, respecting native trees and other natural resources was important because

⁴²² Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery," 26.

⁴²³ Ibid., 27.

⁴²⁴ David Lewis, *We, the Navigators: The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972) and Vicente M. Diaz, "Sniffing Oceania's Behind," *The Contemporary Pacific* (24:2): 323-344.

⁴²⁵ Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery," 22 & 27.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 25.

canoe builders relied on their consistent availability to make their tools and construct their vessels. Overall, the Chamorro voyaging and canoe tradition embodied Chamorro aesthetics, technologies, and ecological values, in addition to being a crucial aspect of Chamorro cultural identity.

Canoe Colonialism and Our Sakman Story

When the Spanish authorities initiated its policy of *reducción* to control, convert, acculturate, and tax the Chamorro population,⁴²⁷ they further de-mobilized Chamorros by forbidding them from building outrigger canoes, sailing the open ocean, and fishing beyond the reef. They even burned the outrigger canoes. Across the Pacific, canoe-building and voyaging traditions were "discouraged and criminalized by nineteenth-century European missionaries, traders, and colonial administrations who had a vested interest in maintaining a local tax-paying, church-going, and plantation-working population."⁴²⁸ Once highly skilled ship builders, transoceanic navigators, and pelagic fisherman, Chamorros had been severed from the knowledge of how to build or sail their ancestral canoes in just a few generations. The navigational stories, chants, songs, rituals, and maps were lost at sea. The *sakman*, the vessel that had carried Chamorros from across the ocean to Guam millennia before European invasion, no longer flew across the waters.

George Anson, the commander of a British naval squadron who was sent to attack Spanish colonies during the War of the Austrian Succession in 1740, ended up in the Mariana archipelago, where he encountered a proa. His crew captured the proa and disassembled it to record its dimensions. Then they burned the canoe. A drawing and description of the proa was published in Anson's *[A] Voyage Round the World* in 1748. By the time the book was published, the Chamorro population continued to collapse and numbered less than 2,000. Anson was likely "the last European visitor to see the flying proa in use."⁴²⁹ The single sentence that opens this essay, along with the drawing of the canoe, would become a last written record and memorial of Chamorro voyaging culture.

Even though voyaging traditions disappeared throughout the Pacific in the colonial era, the practice survived in some islands, including Puluwat and Satawal in Micronesia. In the 1960s, anthropologists debated whether the first peoples of the Pacific

⁴²⁷ Cynthia Ross Wiecko, "Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire: The Spanish-Chamorro War and Ecological Effects of Conversion on Guam, 1668-1769," *World History Connected* (October 2013), accessed 28 May 2014, http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/10.3/forum_wiecko.html.

⁴²⁸ Elizabeth DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 109. See also Paul D'Arcy, *The People of the Sea: Environment, Identity, and History in Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006) and Richard Feinberg, ed., *Seafaring in the contemporary Pacific Islands* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995).

⁴²⁹ Judith R. Amesbury, "Pelagic Fishing in the Mariana Archipelago: From the Prehistoric Period to the Present," *Terra Australis* 39 (Canberra: Australia National University E Press, 2008), 46.

made landfall through intentional, non-instrumental navigation or through drifting and accidental discovery. Some of these anthropologists sought out the last remaining Pacific canoe builders and navigators in order to learn the craft and to see if they could replicate ancient oceanic voyages.⁴³⁰ In the early 1970s, Micronesian navigators led journeys from the Federated States of Micronesia to the Mariana Islands. This sparked interest region wide and led to the most well-known revitalization voyage: the 1976 journey of the 60-foot, double hulled canoe, the *Hokule'a*, from Hawai'i to Tahiti, led by Satawalese navigator Pius "Mau" Piailug. The *Hokule'a* was a "'performative equivalent' replica of ancient Polynesian voyaging vessel."⁴³¹ Its name means "Star of Gladness," and refers to the zenith star of the Hawaiian islands (also known as Arcturus). During subsequent decades, canoe-building and navigational arts have been revitalized throughout Oceania. Despite centuries of suppression and cessation, "the dignity of the sea-going past of the Islanders has been rescued—they are regaining a new self-respect as inheritors of this illustrious past."⁴³²

Voyaging revitalization in Guam launched in the mid-1990s, when Manny Sikau, from Puluwat, taught navigation to the Traditional Seafaring Society at the University of Guam. He taught their members the techniques of *etak*, the stars of the star compass, and the cartography of the local archipelagoes. He also taught them the features of *pookof*, such as ocean swells, seamounts, cloud formations, and bird routes. The Traditional Seafaring Society then purchased a 22-foot Micronesian outrigger canoe, called QUEST. They sailed it more than 500 miles from Puluwat to Guam in 2001, with several shorter voyages across the Marianas the next year.⁴³³ In 2008, a group named Traditions About Seafaring Islands built a 33-foot *sakman* and named it *Saina*, which means *elder* or *ancestor*. The following year, the crew sailed *Saina* to the island of Rota, 45 miles north of Guam. This was the first Chamorro proa built in Guam and sailed in the waters of the Chamorro archipelago in over 250 years. Inspired by this voyage, the *Ayuyu*, a 17-foot proa, and the *Hurao*, a 20-foot proa, were built in 2012.⁴³⁴ The revitalization of Chamorro

⁴³⁰ See Thomas Gladwin, *East is a Big Bird: Navigation and Logic on Puluwat Atoll* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) and Ben R. Finney, editor, *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging* (Wellington: Polynesian Society Memoir No. 39. 1976).

⁴³¹ Lewis, *The Voyaging Stars*, 185.

⁴³² Ibid., 201.

⁴³³ Cunningham et al, "Restoring Traditional Seafaring," 317.

⁴³⁴ Ayuyu is the name of the coconut crab, and Hurao is the name of a well known Chamorro chief who fought and died during the Chamorro-Spanish war. See James Fee, "Proa: Speed and lightness over the waves," *Guam Pacific Daily News* (August 27, 2009), Accessed June 10, 2014, <http://www.guampdn.com/guampublishing/navigator/data/EkVEFVllypYkXdAtNj.htm>; Katrina Palanca, "Guam Cultural Group Constructs 2 Traditional Canoes." *Guam Pacific Daily News* (July 20, 2012), accessed June 10, 2014, <http://pidp.eastwestcenter.org/pireport/2012/July/07-20-15.htm>; and Shaina Marie Santos, "Flying Proa: A Pacific Marvel," *Guam Stripes* (September 12, 2013), accessed June 10, 2014, <http://guam.stripes.com/travel/flying-proa-pacific-marvel>.

voyaging even expanded beyond the Mariana islands. In 2011, Chamorros in San Diego who were a part of the group, *Sakman Chamorro Project*, built a 47-foot sakman named *Che'lu*, which means *friend, brother, or sister*. The navigators of *Che'lu* plan to sail it from San Diego to Guam for the Festival of Pacific Arts in 2016.⁴³⁵

The loss of Chamorro canoes signified the loss of mobility and freedom, as well as the loss of a core component of Chamorro identity. However, contemporary revitalization efforts have re-connected Chamorros to their island neighbors across Micronesia, and to Chamorros across the diaspora. The return of the flying proa has given Pacific Islanders a sense of pride in the accomplishments and ingenuity of our ancestors. It reminds Chamorros of the great distances we have traveled—our roots and routes. The stories of Chamorro voyaging customs and practices, the stories of the violent colonial history that suppressed these traditions, and the stories of the return of Chamorro canoes, are stories that will help Chamorros navigate the future. As Mario Reyes Borja, carver and navigator of the *Che'lu*, stated: "This is a story that highlights the work of our hands, our understanding of nature, and our determination as a people. This is a story that gives credit to our ancestors for the simple gift that they gave us...This is Our Sakman Story."⁴³⁶

Pacific Migration, Diaspora, and "Maritime Narrative Legacies"

The narratives of Pacific voyaging and navigation are interwoven with narratives of Pacific Islander migration and diaspora. Scholars have mapped the long history of Pacific movement; for example, Paul Spickard, in the introduction to the *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States Across the Pacific*, writes:

People have been moving around the Pacific Ocean for a very long time. The Pacific diaspora is thousands of years old...The general routes are from mainland Southeast Asia through what is now Indonesia and the Philippines, thence through Melanesia and Micronesia, and on to central Polynesia, finally spreading north, east, and south to the habitable extremities of the ocean. Archeologists and linguists put human beings and their animals in Fiji and Samoa well before the time of Christ, in the Marquesas by 300 A.D., in Hawai'i and Easter Island a century later, and in Aotearoa/New Zealand by 800 A.D.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Mario Borja, "Our Sakman Story: One Sentence in History," *One Archipelago, Many Stories: Integrating Our Narratives* (2nd Marianas History Conference: Art, Culture, and Science, Volume Two) (Mangilao, Guam: Guampedia Foundation): 93-118.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 111.

⁴³⁷ Paul Spickard, "Introduction: Pacific Diaspora?" in Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright, eds, *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 2-3.

Spickard maps a millennia old diaspora to illustrate the historical continuities of Pacific voyaging, migration, and diaspora. Epeli Hau‘ofa points to this same history to show how large, global, and "worlded" the Pacific Islands are, countering the conception of islands and islanders as small, insignificant, insular, dependent, and colloquial. In his pivotal essay, "Our Sea of Islands," Hau‘ofa writes:

The world of our ancestors was a large sea full of places to explore, to make their homes in, to breed generations of seafarers like themselves. People raised in this environment were at home with the sea...They developed great skills for navigating their waters—as well as the spirit to traverse even the few large gaps that separated their island groups.

Theirs was a large world in which peoples and cultures moved and mingled, unhindered by boundaries of the kind erected much later by imperial powers. From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks for greater flows of wealth. They travelled to visit relatives in a wide variety of natural and cultural surroundings, to quench their thirst for adventure, and even to fight and dominate.⁴³⁸

Spickard and Hau‘ofa both demonstrate that Pacific Islanders have a long, rich history of voyaging, migration, settlement, and diaspora that spans across thousands of years and thousands of nautical miles. This story of indigenous mobility forms the foundation of Pacific migration and diaspora studies, developing the idea that migration and diaspora are essential components of indigenous Pacific Islander identities and cultures. Or, as Hau‘ofa poetically phrases: "it is in their blood to be mobile."⁴³⁹

The period of free indigenous migrations would change with the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. Even though encounters between Pacific Islanders and foreigners were quite diverse in their particularities,⁴⁴⁰ Spickard summarizes the major patterns of contact:

First there was a sighting of an island or group of islands by a European explorer or trader. Then came a period of sporadic stops by European ships to take on

⁴³⁸ Epeli Hau‘ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *We are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 32-33.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁴⁰ See Ian C. Campbell, *A history of the Pacific Islands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); K. R. Rowe, *Where the Waves Fall: A New South Sea Islands History from First Settlement to Colonial Rule* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1984); Donald Denoon, et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Rainer F. Buschmann, Edward R. Slack Jr., and James B. Tueller, editors, *Navigating the Spanish Lake: The Pacific in the Iberian World 1521-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014); and Francis X. Hezel, *First Taint of Civilization: A History of the Caroline and Marshall Islands in Colonial Days, 1521-1885* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000).

supplies, conduct trade, or learn about the island and its people. The Europeans might involve themselves in local politics or they might remain aloof. Some Europeans jumped ship or were shipwrecked and became for a time part of island society...

In time, European traders began to come regularly to the islands. As their numbers grew, they demanded land and a say in the government of the islands where they resided. Missionaries joined them. Frequently, European diseases such as measles, influenza, and syphilis decimated the population just as iron pots and Christianity were transforming their cultures. Businesses and governments recruited foreigners from Asia to come and work in extractive industries. The governments of the Europeans' home countries became more involved in island politics. Sometimes island factions would play one European power off against another. Other times Europeans came and conquered.⁴⁴¹

Just as colonial powers suppressed the voyaging traditions of Pacific Islanders in order to immobilize, control, and tax indigenous populations, these same powers launched Pacific Islanders into new imperial trade routes and other pathways of empires.⁴⁴² For example, thousands of islanders (including Hawaiians, Samoans, and Chamorros) embarked on whaling ships in the 19th century, which carried them across the Pacific and into the Americas. Histories exist of Pacific Islander participation in the whaling industry, the fur trade, the California Gold Rush, the American Civil War, and others.⁴⁴³ During this era, other islanders were recruited by labor agents and later enslaved and sent to work the mines of Peru. In Melanesia, some estimate that 100,000 islanders became an enslaved labor force in Australia.⁴⁴⁴ Beginning in the late 18th century and lasting through the 19th century, imperialism in the Pacific suppressed and ended free indigenous movement and voyaging traditions and introduced new colonial trade routes and pathways, which ultimately led to a wave of colonial migrations, which ranged from wage labor, indentured servitude, and enslavement.

Even though these colonial migrations continued in the first half of the twentieth

⁴⁴¹ Spickard, "Introduction: Pacific Diaspora," 6.

⁴⁴² Spickard describes these pathways and routes as "the sinews of empire," 7.

⁴⁴³ See J Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Diasporic Deracination and 'Off-Island' Hawaiians," *The Contemporary Pacific*, Volume 19, Number 1 (2007): 137-160. See also Jean Barmann, "New Land, New Lives: Hawaiian Settlement in British Columbia," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995): 1-32; David Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M E Sharpe, 1997); Janice Duncan, *Minority Without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1972); and Tom Koppel, *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver, BC: Whitecap Books, 1995).

⁴⁴⁴ See H. E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1981) and Gerald Horne, *The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas After the Civil War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

century, the major wave of Pacific migration occurred in the decades after World War II. The presence of various colonial nations (including the United States, Japan, France, Chile, Britain, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Indonesia) established new routes of migration. As Spickard puts it, "The administrative, military, commercial, and missionary presence of all these outsider nations provided the links along which tens of thousands of Pacific Island people were set in motion."⁴⁴⁵ In the decades following World War II, Pacific islanders began to migrate to cities and metropolitan nations in search of economic, educational, and health care opportunities. Some of the factors that encouraged Pacific out-migration included enlistment in colonial militaries, land dispossession, unemployment, nuclear testing, high real estate prices, lack of education, and climate change.⁴⁴⁶ The result of this massive migration since World War II has meant that "the greatest concentrations of Pacific Islanders are in cities such as Auckland, Honolulu, and Los Angeles rather than in the South Pacific. Some of the smallest states have more islanders overseas than at home, and currently populated small states and islands are likely to experience future depopulation."⁴⁴⁷ In this "new diaspora,"⁴⁴⁸ Pacific Islanders have settled in many countries around the world to the point that there are now generations of islanders who have been born outside their ancestral home islands. Thus, migration and diaspora are not only deep historical phenomena in the Pacific, but they are major forces shaping contemporary Pacific Islander cultures and identities.

Just as the Pacific diaspora has grown exponentially, scholarship on Pacific migration and diaspora has also increased. Much of the scholarship focuses on the

⁴⁴⁵ Spickard, "Introduction: Pacific Diaspora," 8.

⁴⁴⁶ Climate change is causing the newest wave of Pacific migration. See John R. Campbell, "Climate-Change Migration in the Pacific," *The Contemporary Pacific* 26.1 (2014), 1-28; Bruce Burson, editor, *Climate Change and Migration in the South Pacific Region: Policy Perspectives* (Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, 2010); and Elaine Stratford, Carol Farbotko, and Heather Lazarus, "Tuvalu, Sovereignty and Climate Change: Considering Fenua, the Archipelago and Emigration," *Islands Studies Journal* 8.1 (2013), 67-83.

⁴⁴⁷ John Connell, "Paradise Left? : Pacific Island Voyagers in the Modern World," in Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright, eds, *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 69.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., 86.

historical, political, economic, and cultural contexts and impacts of migration.⁴⁴⁹ Several scholars examine how migration affects home economies and kinship networks, especially in relation to remittances and family obligations.⁴⁵⁰ Other scholars conduct ethnographic research, interviewing Pacific Islander migrants in various diasporic locations. This scholarship highlights the positive and negative lived experiences of Pacific Islanders in the diaspora, addressing issues of education, health, employment, family, longing, discrimination, and trauma. Scholars also focus on how migration has shaped and changed indigenous cultural identities, especially in relation to family, language, cultural connection, and religion.⁴⁵¹

Similar to the research trends in Pacific Studies and Pacific Literary Studies, much of the scholarship on Pacific migration and diaspora has focused on Polynesian populations. Even though the history and impacts of Micronesian migration has been on the edge of Pacific diaspora studies, there is a growing body of scholarship that examines the movement from and within Micronesia. The first major wave of Micronesian migration occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, after Compacts of Free Association were established between the U.S. and the Republic of Palau, the Republic of the Marshall

⁴⁴⁹ The scholarship on Pacific migration and diaspora is vast. Some critical anthologies include: Murray Chapman, editor, *Mobility and Identity in the Island Pacific*, Special issue of *Pacific Viewpoint* 26.1 (1985); Graham Harvey and Charles D Thompson Jr, editors, *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005); Ken'ichi Sudo and Shuji Yoshida, editors, *Contemporary Migration in Oceania: Diaspora and Network* (Osaka: Japan Center for Area Studies, 1997); Cluny Macpherson, Paul Spoonley, and Melani Anae, editors, *Tangata O Te Moana Nui: The Evolving Identities of Pacific Peoples in Aotearoa / New Zealand* (Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press, 2001); Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright *Pacific Diasporas: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Victoria S Lockwood, editor, *Globalization and Culture Change in the Pacific Islands* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2004); John Connell, editor, *Migration and development in the South Pacific* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1989); and Grant McCall and John Connell, editors, *A World Perspective on Pacific Islander Migration: Australia, New Zealand and the USA* (Sydney: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, 1993).

⁴⁵⁰ See Kalissa Alexejeff, "Love Food: Exchange and Sustenance in the Cook Islands Diaspora," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* (2002), 68–80; Christine Ward Gailey, "A Good Man Is Hard to Find: Overseas Migration and the Decentered Family in the Tongan Islands," *Critique of Anthropology* 12.1 (1992), 47–74; Judith Barker, "Home Alone: The Effects of Out-Migration on Niuean Elders' Living Arrangements and Social Supports," *Pacific Studies* 17.3 (1994), 41–81; Kerry James, "Reading the Leaves: The Role of Tongan Women's Traditional Wealth and Other Contraflows in the Processes of Modern Migration and Remittance," *Pacific Studies* 20.1 (1997), 1–27.

⁴⁵¹ See Ilana Gershon, "Viewing Diasporas from the Pacific: What Pacific Ethnographies Offer Pacific Diaspora Studies," *The Contemporary Pacific* 19.2 (Fall 2007), 474–502; Barbara Burns McGrath, "Seattle Fa'a Samoa," *The Contemporary Pacific* 14 (2002), 307–340; Craig Janes, *Migration, Social Change, and Health: A Samoan Community in Urban California* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Helen Lee, *Tongan Overseas: Between Two Shores* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); Cathy Small, *Voyages: From Tongan Villages to American Suburbs* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997); Dennis A. Ahlburg and Michael J Levin, *The Northeast Passage: A Study of Pacific Islander Migration to American Samoa and the United States* (Canberra: National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, 1990); and Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, which granted citizens from these places access to reside and work in the U.S. and its territories. This opened pathways for Micronesian migrants to move and settle in Guam, Hawai‘i, and many continental U.S. states. Early research on Micronesian migration involved understanding the historical, political, colonial, and martial factors that led to out-migration.⁴⁵² As diasporic Micronesian communities settled, ethnographic studies emerged that examined how Micronesians adapted to and struggled in new environments, maintained ties with home, and articulated new diasporic cultural identities.⁴⁵³ Overall, these studies point to how migration has displaced Micronesians from their traditional family structures, lands, cultures, and languages. At the same time, the studies underline how Micronesians continue to assert and articulate Micronesian values and customs in the diaspora, as well as to maintain cultural and social ties to family back home.

Pacific migration and diaspora have been conceptualized as both a continuity of

⁴⁵² See Robert C. Kiste, *The Bikinians: A Study in Forced Migration* (Menlo Park, CA: Cummings, 1974); Francis X. Hezel and Michael J Levin, "Micronesian Emigration: The Brain Drain in Palau, Marshalls, and the Federated States," *Journal of the Pacific Society* 29 (1987), 16–34; Francis X. Hezel, and Thomas B. McGrath, SJ, "The great flight northward: FSM migration to Guam and the Northern Mariana Islands," *Pacific Studies* 13.1 (1989): 57-64; Karen L. Nero and Faustina K Rehuher, "Pursuing the Dream: Historical Perspectives on Micronesian Movement Patterns," in *A World Perspective on Pacific Islander Migration: Australia, New Zealand and the USA*, edited by Grant McCall and John Connell (Sydney: Centre for Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, 1993), 239 –255; Donald H. Rubinstein, "Movements in Micronesia: Post-Compact (1987) Micronesian Migrants to Guam and Saipan," in *A World Perspective on Pacific Islander Migration: Australia, New Zealand and the USA*, ed. Grant McCall and John Connell (Centre for South Pacific Studies, University of New South Wales, 1993): 259-263; L. J. Gorenflo and Michael J Levin, "Changing Migration Patterns in the Federated States of Micronesia," *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 3 (1995): 29–71; Francis X. Hezel and Michael J. Levin, "New Trends in Micronesian migration: FSM migration to Guam and the Marianas, 1990-1993," *Pacific Studies* 19(1) (1996): 91-114; and Francis. X. Hezel and J. Dobbin, "Micronesian migration since World War II," *The Micronesian Counselor* 19 (1996), accessed March 17, 2015: <http://www.micsem.org/pubs/counselor/frames/micmigfr.html>.

⁴⁵³ See Faustina Rehuher, "Daughters for the return home: Palauan women in transition in Hawaii colleges and universities," M.A. thesis (Honolulu: University of Hawaii at Mānoa, 1989); Richard D. Sherman, "Ethnic institutions and identity: Palauan migrants on Guam," *Micronesica* 17: 1-2 (1981); Donald H. Rubinstein and Michael J. Levin, "Micronesian Migration to Guam: Social and Economic Characteristics," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 1(2) (1992), 350-385; Linda Allen, "Enid 'Atoll': A Marshallese Migrant Community in the Midwestern United States," PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology (University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1997); K. D. Smith, *A survey of Micronesian immigrants to Guam: Predictors of coping and access to life essentials* (Mangilao, GU: Micronesian Language Institute, University of Guam, 1994); Joakim Peter, "Chuukese travellers and the idea of horizon," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 41.3 (December 2000), 253-267; Isebong Asang, "Remaking Footprints: Palauan Migrants in Hawai‘i," *The Contemporary Pacific* 12 (2000): 371–384; Jim Hess, Karen L Nero, and Michael L Burton, "Creating Options: Forming a Marshallese Community in Orange County, California," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13 (2001), 89 –121; Elizabeth Grieco, *The Remittance Behavior of Immigrant Households: Micronesians in Hawai‘i and Guam* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2003); Mac Marshall, *Namoluk, Beyond the Reef: The Transformation of a Micronesian Community* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2004); Francis X. Hezel and E. Samuel, "Micronesians abroad," *Micronesian Counselor*, 64 (2006), accessed March 17, 2015, <http://micsem.org/pubs/counselor/frames/microsabroadfr.htm>; Lola Quan Bautista, *Steadfast Movement around Micronesia: Satowan Enlargements beyond Migration* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010).

ancient voyaging traditions and a consequence of global imperialism, militarism, and capitalism. On one hand, Pacific out-migration is understood as displacement, rupture, brain drain, depopulation, loss, disconnection, departure, and crisis; on the other hand, Pacific out-migration is understood as mobility, empowerment, worlding, enlargement, horizon, transnationalism, circulation, and opportunity. Most often, both conceptions operate to highlight the traumas and triumphs of Pacific diasporas. While different Pacific populations have unique experiences, it is clear that Pacific cultures, identities, families, histories, and politics have all been indelibly shaped by waves of migration. Sometimes Pacific Islanders will let go of their home cultures and assimilate into the dominant society, and sometimes they will continue to maintain their indigenous identities by maintaining, revitalizing, and re-articulating Pacific customs, languages, values, and customs despite pressures to acculturate.

Because migration and diaspora have been vital experiences for Pacific Islanders, these themes feature prominently in Pacific literature.⁴⁵⁴ Furthermore, the mass migration of Pacific Islanders in the 20th century coincided with the revitalization of Pacific voyaging and navigation, in addition to the emergence of the first wave of contemporary Pacific literature. The first novels, poetry collections, literary journals, and anthologies written and edited by indigenous Pacific islanders were conceptualized as symbolic canoes carrying their words "towards a new Oceania."⁴⁵⁵ The ocean-going vessel—a symbol of indigenous Pacific identity, technology and aesthetics—became a "master trope for Pacific literary production."⁴⁵⁶ Unsurprisingly, canoes, navigation, voyaging, migration, and diaspora all became important and prevalent themes in Pacific literature. In this section, I examine how scholars Elizabeth DeLoughrey and Chadwick Allen explore the meaning of the voyaging canoe and the "maritime narrative legacies"⁴⁵⁷ of Pacific literature. DeLoughrey pays close attention to how the transoceanic vessel functions thematically in the content of a given novel or poem, and Allen charts how navigational technologies shape the formal and aesthetic elements of literary texts.

In her chapter "Vessels of the Pacific: An Ocean in the Blood," DeLoughrey shows how colonial and military forces figured the Pacific as an "empty vessel" waiting to be mapped by colonial cartographies, regionalisms, and borders; filled by container

⁴⁵⁴ For scholarship on the themes of migration and diaspora in Pacific literature, see Erin Suzuki, "Sacred Travelers: Diasporic Narratives of Pacific Literature," Ph.D. dissertation, English (University of California, Los Angeles, 2010); Michelle Keown, "Globalization and Pacific diaspora culture," in *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 185-195; Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Maori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); and Elizabeth DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

⁴⁵⁵ See Albert Wendt, "Towards a New Oceania," *Manoa Review* 1:1 (January 1976): 49-60.

⁴⁵⁶ DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 129.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

ships carrying transnational capital and cargo; secured by military naval crafts; targeted by military training and nuclear weapons testing; and transformed into remote laboratories by anthropological and scientific research. DeLoughrey then highlights how Pacific writers—including Albert Wendt, Vincent Eri, Teresia Kieuea Teaiwa, Sia Figiel, Robert Sullivan, and Caroline Sinavaiana-Gabbard—have crafted the voyaging canoe in their texts as a "vital and sustaining" icon, symbol, theme, and metaphor to express a "transoceanic imaginary that highlights vast kinship networks and the agency of the first indigenous settlers."⁴⁵⁸ Throughout the sea of Pacific literature, the canoe is represented as a "vessel of blood" and a "crucial bodily metaphor of a people's connection to their genealogy, history, and sovereignty."⁴⁵⁹ At the same time, DeLoughrey demonstrates that diasporic Pacific writers view the canoe as a way "to historicize and make meaning out of the modern migration of the descendant,"⁴⁶⁰ especially since hundreds of thousands of Pacific Islanders have migrated and now live away from their home islands. Thus, the idea of a canoe connects migrants home and casts their migrations as a global voyage. Lastly, writers cast voyaging as a way to reconnect with the natural world in an age of urbanization.⁴⁶¹ When Pacific Islanders write the rich "maritime narrative legacy"⁴⁶² back into their stories, they celebrate the aesthetic creativity and scientific innovation of the past back into a decolonial present, bringing hope for an indigenous future.

In "Siting Earthworks, Navigating Waka: Patterns of Indigenous Settlement in Allison Hedge Coke's *Blood Run* and Robert Sullivan's *Star Waka*," Chadwick Allen wayreads the deeper meaning of Pacific canoes in *Star Waka*, a serial poetry collection by Māori writer Robert Sullivan. Allen illustrates how the waka (Māori for any actual or figurative vessel, most often signifying Polynesian voyaging canoes) is a "metonymic marker" for "ancient, ongoing, and possible future histories of Polynesian exploration and migration."⁴⁶³ Moreover, he shows how indigenous, navigational technologies record "cosmic kinship" and utilize "the observed movements of celestial bodies for a wide range of 'applied' and 'theoretical' arts and sciences, from the calendrical, orientational, cartographic, and navigational to the aesthetic and spiritual, the social and political."⁴⁶⁴ The most unique aspect of Allen's scholarship is located in his close reading of how the

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 96.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 108.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁶¹ Currently, the Hokule'a is on a worldwide voyage to promote ocean conservation.

⁴⁶² Deloughrey, *Routes and Roots*, 129.

⁴⁶³ Chadwick Allen, *Trans-Indigenous: Methodologies for Global Native Literary Studies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 195.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 194.

technologies and aesthetics of Pacific voyaging shape the text's "complex formal structures and multiple structural patterns."⁴⁶⁵ As previously mentioned, anthropologists debated whether Pacific voyaging was accidental and drifting or intentional and repeatable. Revitalization efforts, like the *Hokule'a*, proved that Pacific navigation technologies were indeed deliberate and replicable. Allen suggests that the navigational intentionality and repeatability are embodied in the formal patterning of individual poems and the overall structure of *Star Waka*. Allen charts the "regularized variation in the number and length of lines within poems and of stanzaic patterning within, between, and among poems across the sequence."⁴⁶⁶ He also details how the "structures of specific subsections, poems, stanzas, and lines in each sequence" interact with the "macrostructure of each poetic sequence" to create regular, repeating patterns of relationship.⁴⁶⁷ Allen focuses on a sequence of visual poems in *Star Waka*, which are textually and typographically shaped into waves, pitches, stars, islands, horizons, maps, and a compass. Allen proposes that the visuality of the poems "evoke primary tools for Indigenous open-water navigation."⁴⁶⁸ Through his analysis, Allen demonstrates how poetic forms (poem, line, stanza, punctuation, typeface, blank space—as well as sequencing, numbering, and patterning) combine to embody aspects of navigational technologies and aesthetic forms of ocean-going canoes.

In the next section of this chapter, I wayread how Chamorro migration, diaspora, voyaging, and navigation guide the content and forms of *A Bell Made of Stones*, an experimental poetry collection by diasporic Chamorro writer Lehua M. Taitano. The Chamorro experience of migration and diaspora remains on the edge of Pacific and Micronesian migration studies, so I highlight and situate the existing research of Chamorro migration and diasporic identity in my wayreadings of Taitano's text. I suggest that the theme of voyaging provides Taitano with a vessel through which to navigate the troubled waters of Chamorro migration and diaspora in ways that help the poet come to terms with and heal from the trauma of migration. Furthermore, I propose that Taitano's use of innovative visual typographies and formal poetic techniques evokes outrigger design and "moving islands" (*etak*) navigational techniques, or what I will frame as a "flying proa" poetics. In the end, I will show illustrate how Taitano articulates a new diasporic Chamorro identity.

A Bell Made of Stones and "Flying Proa" Poetics

Lehua M. Taitano was born in 1978 to a Chamorro woman, Catherine Flores

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid., 196.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid., 229.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 197.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 230.

Taitano, and a White-American man, Ralph David Shelton. Her parents met when Shelton, an airman in the U.S. Air Force, was stationed at Andersen Air Force Base in Northern Guam. Their family lived near the base in the village of Yigo, until her family moved to Asheville, North Carolina in 1982. Since then, Taitano has lived in various parts of the Appalachian region of North Carolina, as well as Missoula, Montana, and Santa Rosa, California, where she currently resides. She graduated from the University of Montana's M.F.A. Creative Writing Program in 2010, and she is author of the Merriam-Frontier Award-winning chapbook *appalachiapacific*. Her poetry, essays, and Pushcart Prize-nominated fiction have appeared in many literary journals, including the *Yellow Medicine Review*, *Witness*, *Storyboard*, *Versal*, and *Nano Fiction*. Her first poetry collection, *A Bell Made of Stones*, was published in 2013 by Hawai'i-based Tinfish Press, a nonprofit publisher of experimental poetry from the Pacific.

The cover of *A Bell Made of Stones* features a close-up detail of a deeply fissured red stone.⁴⁶⁹ Parts of the image are clear and defined, revealing the intricate texture of the stone; conversely, other parts of the image are intentionally blurred, creating a depth of field that points to the main fissure. A white circle composed of hyphens overlies the main fissure, with the title of the book placed within the circle (the word "Made" is placed atop the darkest part of the fissure), and the author's name lying just outside the circle. The title of Taitano's collection refers to the *latte* stone megaliths (which resemble bells) that form the foundation of ancestral Chamorro houses which were discussed in the previous chapter. Underlining the fissures of the stone suggests that the author's home has been fractured. The hyphenated circle conjures a star compass used for navigation, foregrounding the major theme of the book: navigating diaspora and searching for home. The hyphenation of the circle reflects the idea that the author is trying to plot her hyphenated cultural identity. Overall, the cover visually articulates the themes of migration and home.

Structurally, *A Bell Made of Stones* is not your average 6-inch by 9-inch paperback; instead, the book is in a large, 8.5-inch by 11-inch format, which makes it feel much more like an atlas than a poetry collection. The poetic atlas contains 21 individual poems and 5 serial poems. Even though the collection spans nearly 90 pages, the text of the poems only appears on the "recto" pages (the right-hand or front of the page), while the verso pages (left-hand or back of the page) contains no poetic text. At the same time, the recto pages contain no page numbers, while the verso pages contain double page numbers (12-13, 14-15, etc) located at the bottom of the inner-right side of the verso pages. I contend that the asymmetrical macrostructure of the book reflects the asymmetrical design of the Chamorro outrigger. We can imagine the blank verso page as the flat leeward side of the canoe, and the textualized recto page as the windward side with the outrigger of text. Similar to the proa, the asymmetrical design of *A Bell Made of Stones* functions to counterbalance the text and the blank space so that the poem appears to hover, or "fly," above the ocean of the page.

⁴⁶⁹ The cover was designed by Tinfish book artist Allison Hanabusa.

Before voyagers launched on oceanic and inter-island voyages, they would map and rehearse their routes and corresponding navigational chants or stories. *A Bell Made of Stones*, however, launches with a letter addressed to an unnamed reader. The top of the letter is dated "April 2013" and the location is listed as "a little room / in California / with wind and eucalyptus."⁴⁷⁰ The author notes the location in which she wrote this letter, I believe, to introduce the theme of Chamorro diaspora. California is home to the largest Chamorro diasporic population in the United States, numbering around 45,000 as of 2010. Historically, California has been a major destination for Chamorro migrants. The first Chamorros to settle in California arrived via the Pacific whaling industry, which flourished in the 19th century when nearly thirty ships docked off Guam each year. These schooners "scattered Chamorros to many corners of the earth, and today on Guam many Chamorro families count a whaler or two as part of their heritage."⁴⁷¹ From the beginning of American occupation in 1898 to the start of World War II, hundreds of Chamorros enlisted in the navy and would become "the first Chamorros to leave in significant numbers and not return."⁴⁷² When Chamorros became U.S. citizens as a result of the Organic Act of 1950, enlistment in the armed forces increased exponentially. This increased the number of Chamorros migrating to and settling in California, especially in cities near military bases, such as San Diego, Long Beach, Vallejo, Alameda, and Fairfield.

While "three-quarters of all Chamorros living outside Guam have been...currently or previously associated with the armed services,"⁴⁷³ the remaining quarter of Chamorros out-migrated for education and economic opportunities, as well as for access to health care services. The introduction of jet travel made travel from Guam to California much easier; the journey could be made in just twelve hours, and the price for a one-way ticket in 1983 was \$450. As a result of these changes, 30,000 Chamorros lived in the states by 1980; by 1990, that number grew to 50,000; by 2000, the population nearly doubled to 92,000.⁴⁷⁴ As of 2010, an estimated 150,000 Chamorros have settled in all fifty states and even in Puerto Rico. Today, more Chamorros live in the diaspora than in the Mariana

⁴⁷⁰ Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 9.

⁴⁷¹ Robert Underwood, "Excursions Into Inauthenticity: The Chamorros of Guam," *Pacific Viewpoint* 26 (1985), 162.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 164.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., 167.

⁴⁷⁴ See Underwood, "Excursions Into Inauthenticity"; Faye Untalan, "Chamorro Migration to the US," Guampedia (2009), accessed July 3, 2014, <http://www.guampedia.com/chamorro-migration-to-the-u-s/>; and Faye Untalan, "An Exploratory Study of Island Migrations: Chamorros of Guam," PhD dissertation (University of Southern California, 1984).

islands.⁴⁷⁵ Put another way, approximately six out of every ten Chamorros live in the diaspora. According to the 2010 US Census, Chamorros have become "the most geographically dispersed" of all the Pacific populations.⁴⁷⁶

Throughout the scholarship on Chamorro diaspora, Chamorro migration is often characterized in voyaging and navigational terms. Scholar Faye Untalan, for example, describes how the opportunity for travel and migration re-ignited Chamorro "passion for traveling and exploration" that dated back to Chamorro seafaring days.⁴⁷⁷ Another important scholar, Robert Underwood, employs a water metaphor to conceptualize migration: "[w]hat began in 1937 as a *trickle* of mess attendants had become by the 1970s a steady *stream* of visitors, movers, and emigrants."⁴⁷⁸ Underwood also visualizes military service as the dominant "vehicle of departure."⁴⁷⁹ Lastly, Jesi Lujan Bennett discusses how "Chamorro migrants have created a *transpacific home*, where there is a back and forth flow of communication, goods, and bodies between the Mariana Islands and their current location."⁴⁸⁰ Bennett points out how the Chamorro word for *airplane* is *batkon aire*, which literally translates as *air boat*.⁴⁸¹ These oceanic and voyaging metaphors situate Chamorro migration as a continuation of traditional voyaging histories. This suggests that Chamorros still maintain the agency to navigate the open waters of the diaspora and the ability to map their routes, make safe landfall in the diaspora, and navigate a transpacific home.

With this in mind, we can wayread the small room in which the speaker of a *Bell Made of Stones* composes her letter as a metaphoric canoe house in California. The first paragraph of the letter addresses the reader in an intimate tone:

You are there, turning these words over in your hands, in your island heart. I am here, breathing salt air, sitting in a long slant of light, opening slowly to the story I wish to tell you. My only request: take these words out into the sun, into the wind,

⁴⁷⁵ United States Census Bureau, 2010 Census, accessed July 2, 2014, http://bsp.guam.gov/Chamorros%20in%20the%20United%20States_2011.1.pdf. See also United States Census Bureau, 2010 Census Briefs, "The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population 2010," accessed July 2, 2014, <http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-12.pdf>.

⁴⁷⁶ United States Census Bureau, 2010 Census, accessed July 2, 2014, http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/native_hawaiian/cb12-83.html.

⁴⁷⁷ Untalan, "Chamorro Migration to the US," n.p.

⁴⁷⁸ Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity," 173 (my italics).

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid., 167.

⁴⁸⁰ Jesi Lujan Bennett, "Apmam Tiempo Ti Uli'e Hit (Long Time No See): Chamorro Diaspora and the Transpacific Home," MA thesis (University of Hawai'i, at Mānoa, 2013), 4.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 28.

beside the ocean if possible. This space desires waves.⁴⁸²

Asking her reader to carry the book beside the ocean allegorically suggests that the wayreader will embark on a journey as she turns the pages. For the speaker, her destination island is the reader's "island heart" and the space between is a space where waves (ocean waves, sound waves) connect the *I* and *you*, the *here* and *there*. The voyage, then, is poignantly imagined as a story slowly opening. The desire for transpacific connection is encapsulated in a dream that the author shares in the letter. In the dream, she walks down a dirt path towards a Spanish mission and finds her ancestors and their living bones. They speak to her, but she doesn't understand their language. Even though Taitano's family spoke both Chamorro and English when they lived on Guam, her father forbade them from speaking Chamorro when the family moved to North Carolina because he insisted it would prevent her from "fitting in."⁴⁸³ Scholar Michael Perez, in "Chamorro Ambivalence and Diaspora: Beyond U.S. Racial Formations," notes that an "intergenerational language gap, whereby grandchildren do not speak the native tongue, is especially detrimental to cultural integrity...thereby marking a potential generational departure and virtual snipping of the indigenous umbilical cord."⁴⁸⁴ The intergenerational linguistic gap, which is exacerbated by living in the diaspora far away from other Chamorro language speakers, alienates the poet from her Chamorro ancestors that she meets in the dream. If they were trying to teach her a navigational chant on how to return home, for example, there is no way of knowing. Because she can't understand them, she remains silent and laments: "I have had my tongue cut out and then have been asked why I don't have more to say."⁴⁸⁵

Besides not speaking the language of her ancestors, the speaker also worries that her ancestors won't recognize her because of her light skin color. She writes: "In my bare feet I am Chamorro. And white, yes."⁴⁸⁶ Taitano's migration story differs from most of the scholarship that focuses on Chamorro migrants because her family is mixed-heritage (or, as Taitano phrases it, composed of "disparate parts"). Taitano feels anxiety about not being recognized by her ancestors because she does not have a phenotypically "brown face." This anxiety is extended to her experiences in the U.S. in which she doesn't appear to be either brown or white "enough" to fit into recognizable racial categories. Perez speaks to this struggle when he posits that "Chamorros remain relatively invisible within

⁴⁸² Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 9.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁸⁴ Michael Perez, "Pacific Identities Beyond US Racial Formations: the Case of Chamorro Ambivalence and Flux," *Social Identities* 8 (3) (2002): 465.

⁴⁸⁵ Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 11.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 9.

the context of the US 'melting pot'" because of their "relatively small population size and their 'racial' similarities with other 'brown faces' on the US mainland."⁴⁸⁷ Of course, this invisibility is even more complicated if you are a mixed-heritage Chamorro who may not share racial similarities with other "brown" ethnic minorities. Taitano conceives this uncomfortable space as a hyphenated space: "This is the hyphen inside of me talking. Fused, spliced, separated, compounded...These are my intersections of half-ness. Of – lessness."⁴⁸⁸ The speaker's feelings relate to what Perez describes as the Chamorro "marginal existence across multiple dimensions of culture, nationality, and otherness. These dimensions involve experiences with US minority status and racism, intragroup antagonism, and being at the margins of Chamorro and American cultures."⁴⁸⁹ Indeed, Taitano's experience as a diasporic, mixed-heritage Chamorro living between languages, cultures, racial categories, and geographic locations makes her feel ambivalent and displaced.

Previous scholarship on migration frames Chamorro migrants as ambitious people who seek upward mobility through military employment and economic or educational opportunities. Chamorro migrants "want change, want to improve their living conditions, and are willing to make the necessary sacrifices."⁴⁹⁰ To some, migration "seemed obligatory if one was to experience the full joys of life that awaited the Chamorro in California."⁴⁹¹ Through her poetry, Taitano shares an aspect of Chamorro migration that we do not often discuss: the trauma of migration (or, to connect it to voyaging, the trauma of being lost at sea). For example, the first poem after the epistolary preface poignantly captures this emotion with six words in the middle of an otherwise blank page: "inside me an island / shaped hole."⁴⁹² Here, the journey is cast as an interior journey; however, the destination island is, emotionally, an absent destination. This short poem references two well-known lines in Pacific literature. In Albert Wendt's poem, "Inside Us the Dead," the phrase "inside me the dead" acts as a navigational chant-like refrain through which Wendt recounts his multiple ancestors, genealogies, and geographies that remain "woven into [his] flesh like the music / of bone flutes."⁴⁹³ Taitano's poem also echoes the title of Epeli Hau'ofa's important essay, "The Ocean in us," in which he articulated the

⁴⁸⁷ Perez, "Pacific Identities," 468-9.

⁴⁸⁸ Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 11.

⁴⁸⁹ Perez, "Pacific Identities," 469.

⁴⁹⁰ Untalan, "Chamorro Migration to the US," n.p.

⁴⁹¹ Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity," 171.

⁴⁹² Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 13.

⁴⁹³ Albert Wendt, "Inside Us the Dead," *Lali: A Pacific Anthology* edited by Albert Wendt (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1980): 284.

importance of the ocean as a metaphor for how islanders are connected culturally, politically, economically, geographically, and spiritually. Hau'ofa's essay ends:

The sea is as real as you and I, it shapes the character of this planet, it is a major source of our sustenance, and it is something that we all share in common wherever we are in Oceania: these are all statements of fact. Above that level of everyday experience, there is our pathway to each other and to everyone else, the sea is our endless saga, the sea is our most important metaphor, the ocean is in us.⁴⁹⁴

While Wendt and Hau'ofa envision the presence of ancestors and the fullness of the ocean inside islanders, Taitano feels like her migration has created a hole where an island should be. We might call this an *etak* of loss, which forces the diasporic Chamorro to ask: how do we navigate home when home, our destination island, is an island-shaped absence?

The very next poem in *A Bell Made of Stone* is titled "asamplingfromtheguamvisitorsbureau." As the title informs, this poem collages (and edits) text from the online website of the Guam Visitors Bureau. The poet uses the website to locate Guam in space: "the island: 6,000milesfromsanfrancisco / 3,800mileswestofHonolulu / 1,500milesouthofjapan." Strikingly, many poems in the collection omit the spaces between words. One effect of this poetic technique is that it foregrounds the visuality of the words. The other effect is that it makes it difficult to read the signs; like a puzzle, the reader has to navigate, slow down, and parse the jumble of letters to make sense of the poem. The fact that Taitano looks to a tourism website to locate and learn about Guam, the "island shaped hole" in her heart, shows her distance and disconnection from her home island. Turning to the internet to search for cultural information and connection is a phenomenon alluded to by Perez. He writes that diasporic Chamorros try to "remain culturally connected to one another via communication technology, mass media, long-distance familism and cultural continuity."⁴⁹⁵ The internet is one way diasporic Chamorros map the location of their cultural identity.⁴⁹⁶

Besides omitting spaces between words, Taitano also composes with a typewriter; indeed, *A Bell Made of Stones* appears to be a scanned original of a manuscript that was produced on an actual typewriter. In the prefatory letter, Taitano explains that she wrote

⁴⁹⁴ Epeli Hau'ofa, "The Ocean in us," *The Contemporary Pacific* 10 (2) (Fall 1998), 409.

⁴⁹⁵ Perez, "Pacific Identities," 473.

⁴⁹⁶ For an interesting take on diasporic interactions in cyberspace, see Alan Howard, "Pacific-Based Virtual Communities: Rotuma on the World Wide Web," *The Contemporary Pacific* 11.1 (Spring 1999), 139-185. For the potential pedagogical use of the internet in Pacific Studies, see Terence Wesley-Smith, "Net Gains? Pacific Studies in Cyberspace," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15.1 (Spring 2003), 117-136.

the poems on an old, "sea foam" colored typewriter that she bought at a flea market in a small, Appalachian town. To her, the "gridded keys" are islands "afloat yet firmly stationed in their neat rows, resting at neat angles." The word, "keys," signifies not only the units of the typewriter and low islands or reefs, but it also signifies objects that open a lock, legends of a map, systems of tones or harmonies, and even sets of instructions to decipher codes. Interestingly, the speaker points out that her typewriter's key for "a" sticks so that "words like American and Chamorro are rendered with hiccups and enjambments."⁴⁹⁷ Even though the keys are metaphorically supposed to provide (or unlock) instructions, directions, and explanations, the fact that one key is off foregrounds the ambivalence that Taitano feels as a Chamorro in diasporic and cultural flux. And if the typewriter is the sea and the keys are islands, then each "stroke" is the poet's attempt to voyage across the great distances of memory, diaspora, cultural identity, and home. Taitano describes how each stroke, "[e]ach imprint, each metal sound, reverberates its dull clack, its certain hollow ache. A stamping. Each poem is visual evidence of this echo. The surfacing and submergence of islands of sound."⁴⁹⁸ Since the poet envisions the text of each poem as "islands of sound," then we can also wayread the page as an ocean of silence. Furthermore, if each poem is "visual evidence" of her echo (locations), then each poem can be wayread as a "performance replica" of a navigational map.

For the remainder of this essay, I will wayread a serial poem titled "maps," which is composed of six sections and explores the main theme of migration and diaspora. The different sections of "maps" are dispersed throughout *A Bell Made of Stones*, mirroring the dispersion of the Chamorro diaspora. The first poem in the series, "maps1," is comprised of a single stanza of eighteen lines with no spaces between the words. The poem opens with the speaker spinning a globe to look for Guam. She explains a navigational "trick" to find the island:

...findjapanf
irstandthep
hilippinese
condandscan
therightang
ledintersec
tiontwofing
ersmeetingm
akeiwaslost
atsea...⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁷ Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 9.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 21.

After we decipher the signs, we learn the navigational trick: locate and place your pointer and thumb on larger, recognizable (reference) islands like Japan and the Philippines; then, Guam will be at the angle where those fingers intersect. Even though this "trick" is supposed to help the speaker find Guam on a map, it still makes her feel "lost at sea." Perhaps she feels this way because Guam is so small that is sometimes does not even appear on maps, or maybe because she is lost in the diaspora without a cultural navigator to guide her home, or maybe because the view is from above and not at the level of the ocean.

The scholarship on Chamorro migration focuses mainly on adult migrants and does not study how migration affects Chamorro children.⁵⁰⁰ Some Chamorro children are born on Guam and forced to move with their families at a young age, while others are born in the states after their parents migrated and have never visited their ancestral home islands. The second poem of the series, "maps2," captures a traumatic moment in Taitano's life as a diasporic child. The map-poem is set in a North Carolina classroom. The teacher, Mrs. Bradley, is calling students to the front of the room to point out where they are from on a world map. Sadly, the speaker has a difficult time finding Guam. Instead of helping her navigate, Mrs. Bradley pulls the speaker by her ear away from the map and embarrasses her in front of the entire class:

[mrs.bradley]sa
idlehuayouarew
astinguortimea
nditwasthenikn
ewiwasonlyhalf
visible.⁵⁰¹

Taitano's experience as a Chamorro migrant child in an American classroom is not exceptional. In the creative nonfiction story, "Bittersweet Memories," Chamorro writer Helen Perez chronicles her experience as a child born in the diaspora. Like Taitano, Perez's mother is Chamorro and her father was an American in the military. Her parents met on Guam and then migrated to the states. Perez was born in 1952 and attended school in Virginia in the 1960s:

One day in our geography class, my teacher taped several maps on the wall and

⁵⁰⁰ There exists some scholarship on Micronesian children, including K. A. Paul, "Is there a problem here? The history of Micronesian immigration and its affect on the experience of Micronesian children in Hawaii's schools," MA thesis (University of Hawaii. Mānoa 2003) and D. J. Watts, "Factors affecting Marshallese student achievement in an elementary school: A case study," Ph.D. dissertation, Educational Administration (University of Arkansas, 2011).

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., 49.

asked each of us to stand in front of the class and mark where our parents and grandparents were born. I tried to remember everything my mom told me about Guam. I only remembered that she told me it would be hard to find on a map unless I looked very closely and carefully, because it was so small. She said it's in the Pacific Ocean, and it's a tiny dot on the map, and find the Philippine Islands first because it's not far from there...

I knelt down so I could see better and found the Philippine Islands. I still couldn't find Guam and started crying because everyone was waiting for their turn, and I was taking so long. I only saw a cluster of islands called "Micronesian Islands," but my mom never mentioned those islands to me. I looked at my teacher and said, "Please help me find Guam.⁵⁰²

Similar to Taitano, Perez uses a navigational trick to locate Guam, a place that she has never physically been to but only knows through stories told to her by her mother. This technique is what I call "diasporic etak," in which Chamorros separated from their home islands are taught to locate Guam by first locating "reference islands" and then triangulating Guam's position. Sadly, Perez also struggles to find Guam, highlighting how the trauma of migration and diaspora makes children feel helpless, ashamed, and invisible.

The feeling of invisibility is further embodied in "maps3," which is composed of the title of the poem in the middle of an otherwise blank page. At first, wayreading the blank space evokes absence, distance, and silence. However, when wayread within a Pacific context, the blank space also evokes connection and relation. Albert Wendt re-interprets blank space through the Samoan concept of "va": "va is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meanings to things."⁵⁰³ In this way, "maps3" can also be wayread as the space between arrival and departure, origin and destination, home and diaspora, silence and story. After contemplating the space of "maps3," "maps4" arrives four pages later and presents the names of villages on Guam (including Taitano's home village of Yigo), as well as names of military bases and installations, including "AFB" (Andersen Air Force Base) and "AFB munitions storage area." When you hold the text at arm's length, the constellation of names visually resembles an aerial view of part of Guam's landmass. Even though it conjures a feeling of hope because the island has been found, it also conjures a sense of incompleteness because the shape is incomplete. At this point, I assumed the rest of the landmass would be textually shaped in "maps5"; yet the very next

⁵⁰² Helen Perez, "Bittersweet Memories," in *Chamorro Childhood*, edited by Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Victoria Leon Guerrero, and Craig Santos Perez (Achiote Press, 2008), 27-8.

⁵⁰³ Albert Wendt, "Afterword: Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999): 402.

section we encounter is "maps6." I retrace my inter-poem journey across the ten pages between "maps4" and "maps6" just to make sure I didn't skip over "maps5." Since I don't sight the poem, I return to the table of contents and find that "maps5" is located on page 53, thirty pages *before* "maps4." How did I miss this misplaced map? I turn to page 53 and realize I missed this map because the title, "maps5," is not on the actual page. As anticipated, "maps5" does complete "maps4" as it lists names of other villages and military bases on Guam. When you combine those two maps together, it completes the textual replica of the shape of Guam's landmass. The effect of serializing the poem-maps and misplacing part of the expected sequence disorients the reader. The missing map page stirs up anxiety that we have lost our way. The splicing of the map into two sections and dispersed in the book also references a familiar, ancestral story that explains how Guam's landmass was formed into its current shape. One fateful day, a giant sea creature began eating away at the middle of the island, threatening to devour the land in half. The men hunted the creature but it cleverly eluded them. So the women wove their hair together to make a throw net and sang songs to lure the creature. When the beast surfaced, they cast their wide net over it and saved Guam.⁵⁰⁴ The beast, in Taitano's case, represents the vehicles of migration (literally, ships and airplanes, and figuratively, military service, educational and economic opportunities) that have divided the island in the sense that more than half of the Chamorro population now lives off-island. Additionally, Taitano references this story to show how the fragmentary nature of these two maps highlights the fragmentary (and fissured) identity of the Chamorro diasporic experience.

The map-poem series ends with "maps6," which once again situates the wayreader in cyberspace. Although the exact website is not explicitly stated, we can infer that it is a website that calculates distance and directions when you input an origin and a destination. The poem opens by listing the "total distance" from North Carolina to Guam: 12,879.58 miles. The rest of the poem, however, fails to provide navigable directions:

sorry, we could not
calculate directions

from 179 carolina bluebird loop
arden, north carolina

to Yigo, Guam⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰⁴ Bo Flood, *Marianas Island Legends: Myth and Magic* (Honolulu: The Bess Press, 2001).

⁵⁰⁵ Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 95.

The fact that the poet lists her full address in North Carolina, yet only lists the village name of Yigo, suggests that she no longer remembers her full home address. For many migrants, as Underwood contends, "Guam is only a faint memory."⁵⁰⁶ The strike-through visually expresses the poet's disappointment—and perhaps even anger—at being so far from home and not knowing if or when she will ever return. Even though the internet acts as a vehicle for diasporic Chamorros to stay connected to their home and culture, it does not fully satisfy the desire for connection and belonging.

Looking at the six poems that comprise the map series, each poem has a different visual appearance. The first two are in a single stanza, but placed in different parts of the page; the third is blank; the fourth and fifth contain individual words spaced throughout the page; and the sixth is made of several shorter stanzas separated into columns.

Wayreading the different poetic forms from page to page makes the words appear like they are moving (or flying) islands of sound. The concept of *etak*, then, can be understood as more than a navigational technology to measure time/space; *etak* is also an indigenous aesthetic to shape poetic text/space.

Conclusion

The Chamorro voyaging tradition shaped Chamorro cultural identity, testified to technological and aesthetic innovations, and expressed intimacy between people, oceans, winds, and islands. The outrigger canoes not only testify to Chamorro mobility, but they also connect Chamorros to our first story of migration, when Puntan and Fu'una traversed across the ocean to arrive on Guam and give birth to the Chamorro people. Chamorros maintained a close association with the sea and the canoe. According to Maria Yatar:

the passage of life [parallels] the configuration of the canoe. The journey commences with a star falling from the sky to signify a birth and is represented by the slightly turned up bow of a canoe. The journey continues throughout life, much like the narrow hull of a canoe. Finally, the journey concludes upon the death of an individual when one's spirit travels upward along the turned-up stern of a canoe and returns as a star that is recovered into the sky."⁵⁰⁷

European colonization and militarization, however, violently suppressed this tradition by burning and dismembering canoes to immobilize and control indigenous populations. Within a few generations, a tradition that stretched back for millennia was lost and buried at sea. After more than two centuries of living without ocean-going canoes, Chamorros joined other islanders across the Pacific in revitalizing voyaging traditions. Today, the return of canoes inspires cultural pride, creativity, and literary production.

⁵⁰⁶ Underwood, "Excursions into Inauthenticity," 179.

⁵⁰⁷ Maria Yatar, "Navigating Modernity," presentation at the 16th annual Guam Association of Social Workers Conference (1995): n.p. Quoted in Lilli Perez, "An Ethnography of Reciprocity Among Chamorros in Guam (Ph.D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr, 1998): 36.

The history and resurgence of Pacific voyaging has also become an important metaphor for contemporary Pacific migration and diaspora. Whereas the Pacific Islands were first peopled by way of canoes, today the first peoples of the Pacific are now departing their home islands in record numbers on airplanes. Indeed, many off-island diasporic populations outnumber those who live on-island. Whereas colonialism first acted to immobilize island peoples, today economic, military, and educational pressures have mobilized islanders. In the case of Chamorros, the last fifty years has seen the widest dispersal of our population. In turn, this diaspora has affected how Chamorros navigate indigenous identity and belonging. Are Chamorros still Chamorro if they no longer live in the Marianas archipelago? Through her poetry, Lehua Taitano guides us through the blank and fragmented maps of the diaspora to show that an important part of Chamorro identity is discovering ways to stay connected to the islands, cultures, and language of Chamorro ancestors, even when one is far from home. *A Bell Made of Stones* attempts to navigate the strong currents "of home, of assimilation, of diasporas, of transoceanic communication"⁵⁰⁸ in order to bravely share a story about how Chamorros navigate a hyphenated, diasporic existence at the "intersections of half-ness."⁵⁰⁹ The text, itself, become a vessel that carries her towards home and circulates her story back across the ocean and to other archipelagic spaces.

According to Diaz, master navigator Mau Piailug often spoke about how having "a clear image of the destination island in one's head was indispensable for a successful voyage. This visual clarity was needed, he explained, because out at sea, the navigator will be challenged so vigorously by the elements."⁵¹⁰ Tragically, many diasporic Chamorros only have a faint memory of their home destination island, and they often have no teacher to guide them home. Taitano's map-poems embody this ambivalence in both their primary themes and forms. Despite drifting in the diasporic sea and feeling only half visible, Taitano's Chamorro identity is not extinguished. As Perez notes:

Despite the seemingly disheartening terrain, Chamorros continue to endure as a people in spite of their locations at the edges of US racial and ethnic relations. Notions of indigeneity are therefore not limited to being authentically located in a given place. Rather they are located in space across various sites. Chamorros are Chamorros precisely because of their indigeneity, diasporic transnationality, resistance, consciousness, and articulation.⁵¹¹

Throughout *A Bell Made of Stones*, Taitano articulates a diasporic indigeneity that is

⁵⁰⁸ Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 111.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery," 27.

⁵¹¹ Perez, "Pacific Identities," 476.

routed across various locations, memories, and stories while also remaining rooted in Guam and Chamorro cultural identity. Poetry becomes a map, a compass, a navigational chant, a transoceanic letter home. Poetry is the space between, where the poet can locate herself and her song:

the flightless to stretch
roots, for the husk of
things set adrift. Canoe in
the sea, cry out, sing.⁵¹²

⁵¹² Taitano, *A Bell Made of Stones*, 99.

V

Singing forwards and backwards: Kåntan Chamorrita, Intertextual Orality, and Chamorro Spoken Word Poetry

Poetical expression came naturally to the [ancient Chamorro], and songs, chants, and epics set to poetical cadence and (often) to rhyme, were the medium by which a complete, practical, sometimes pragmatic but always honorable, cultural heritage was comprehended and preserved and transmitted—almost as if it had been engraved in tablets of stone.⁵¹³

—William Peck

Now, we will turn our canoes back towards the western Pacific, catch the trade winds, and return home to Guam. This last chapter explores the most well-known surviving forms of Chamorro orature: *Kåntan Chamorrita*, a call-and-response, extemporaneous, communal, oral poetry. We will discuss the form and function of this ancestral form, and review how literary scholars have theorized orality in relation to written indigenous literatures. Then I will show that the themes, aesthetics, and values of the *kåntan chamorrita* have continued by being re-articulated through different Chamorro literary, musical, and expressive forms, exemplifying Chamorro cultural and aesthetic vitality. I review the scholarship that suggests the Catholic *lisåyo* (rosary prayer) and contemporary Chamorro language music re-articulate and embody aspects of the *kåntan chamorrita*. Adding to this scholarship, I will argue that the *kåntan chamorrita* is also evoked and embodied in contemporary Chamorro written and spoken word poetry. Specifically, I propose that the dialogue, call-and-response form of the *kåntan chamorrita* is re-articulated in contemporary poetry as intertextual citation. I illustrate this point by putting into conversation two poems by Chamorro poets from different generations, Anne Perez-Hattori's "Thieves," (1991) and Michael Lujan Bevacqua's "My Island is One Big American Footnote" (2009). Secondly, I argue that the spoken word poetry movement on Guåhan also evokes the *kåntan chamorrita* through its focus on oral performance, communal composition, and public competition. I will discuss a poem, "Self-Guamination" (2011) by two poets, Ryan Leon Guerrero and Walla Wai, of the youth spoken word poetry team known as *Team Guåhan*, which is a part of the Sinangåñ-ta Youth Poetry group. Overall, I will show how contemporary written and spoken word poetry re-articulate the aesthetic, cultural, and political values of the *kåntan chamorrita* in order to weave a community of voices that feels empowered by their indigenous

⁵¹³ William Peck, *I Speak the Beginning: Anthology of Surviving Poetry of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan: Commonwealth Council for Arts and Culture, 1982): i.

identities in order to resist ongoing colonialism and militarism.

Kåntan Chamorrita: Customary Chamorro Orature

Oral literature was an integral, everyday, and wondrous part of customary Chamorro culture. A Jesuit priest exclaimed in the 17th century, Chamorros "admire poetry and believe poets...perform wonders."⁵¹⁴ An early 19th century explorer remarked: "[Chamorros] sing the moment they awake, they sing during the hours of rest, and they fall asleep singing...Their singing may be considered in some measure an emblem of their life."⁵¹⁵ Similar to other indigenous cultures, oral literature was an essential vessel for the intergenerational transmission of Chamorro language, customs, genealogy, knowledge, religion, spirituality, navigation, history, politics, and cultural identity.⁵¹⁶ It is through oral storytelling, as Katherine Aguon noted, that "the Chamorro learned how to become Chamorro."⁵¹⁷ The importance of Chamorro oral literature continued throughout the 20th century; for example, the "Chamorro literature" entry for *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (2000) described how the "richest sources of Chamorro literature are to be found in oral traditions, ranging from legends and folk tales to a variety of musical forms."⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁴ F Garcia, S.J. *Life and Martyrdom of the Venerable Father Diego Luis De San Vitores of the Society of Jesus*. Madrid: Ivan Garcia Infanzen (1994 [1683]), 171. Quoted in Judy Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited in the new millennium," in *Transnationalism and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania: Essays in Honour of Barbara B. Smith*. Lawrence, H. (ed.). (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2001), 21.

⁵¹⁵ Arago, J. 1823. *Report Made to the Academy of Sciences upon: Voyage Round the World of the Corvette Uranie, Commanded by M. de Freycinet During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1829*. London: Treuttel and Wurtz, Treuttel, Jun and Richter. Quoted in Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 21.

⁵¹⁶ Michael R. Clement Jr., "Kustumbe, Modernity and Resistance: The Subaltern Narrative in Chamorro Language Music," Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Hawai'i, at Mānoa, 2011), 49-51. See also C.A. Kasperbauer, "The Chamorro culture," in *The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission (Ed.), Kinalamten pulitikat: Sinenten I Chamorro. Issues in Guam's political development: The Chamorro perspective* (Agana, GU: The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 26-38.

⁵¹⁷ Katherine B. Aguon, "The Guam dilemma: The need for a Pacific island education perspective," in *The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission (Ed.), Kinalamten pulitikat: Sinenten I Chamorro. Issues in Guam's political development: The Chamorro perspective* (Agana, GU: The Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1996), 92.

⁵¹⁸ Keith Lujan Camacho, "Chamorro Literature," *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Brij V. Lal and Kate Fortune (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000); 520.

The most documented form of ancestral Chamorro orature is most commonly referred to as *kåntan chamorrita*.⁵¹⁹ This form is an extemporaneous, dialogue folksong, or "call-and-response impromptu verses."⁵²⁰ Ethnomusicologist Kim Bailey described the *kåntan chamorrita* as:

Ancient folk songs, arranged in quatrains of two octosyllabic couplets, which, according to some writers, are composed on a single melody, the variations depending on the individual style of performance. The distinctive features are spontaneous improvisation and a dialogue performance between two or more people, depending on the occasion or function.⁵²¹

In other words: a poet sings a four-line verse (each line containing eight syllables), with the second and fourth line rhyming. Then a second poet repeats the last two lines and adds a new couplet, rhyming their last line with the previous poet's last line. This call and response continues until one poet can no longer improvise new lines. The "quintessence of the genre," as Bailey notes, is the "imaginative interpretation of the subject through use of figurative expressions, in rhyme and meter."⁵²² Many *kåntan chamorrita* contain "special hidden meaning"⁵²³ through symbols and layered allusions, and other poetic artistries such as "raunchy idioms, complex metaphors, [and] terse (almost short-hand) code expressions."⁵²⁴ As a Chamorro poet once posited: in order to master the *kåntan chamorrita*, one must be able to "sing both forwards and backwards."⁵²⁵

⁵¹⁹ Other forms of related Chamorro orature include *mari* (poetic debate song) and *lalai* (general chants). Michael Clement Sr. explores the history and multiple names for the *kåntan chamorrita*, including *tsamorita*, *chamorita*, and *chamorrita*, in "The ancient origins of Chamorro music," *MA Thesis* (University of Guam, 2001).

⁵²⁰ Judy Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited in the new millennium." In *Transnationalism and Modernity in the Music and Dance of Oceania: Essays in Honour of Barbara B. Smith*, edited by H. Lawrence (Sydney: University of Sydney, 2001), 20.

⁵²¹ Kim Bailey, "Chamorrita Songs: A Surviving Legacy of the Mexican Verso?" A paper presented at the 26th annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Honolulu, Hawaii, Oct. 16, 1981. Filed at the Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam: 1-2.

⁵²² Ibid., 2.

⁵²³ Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 22. Clement Sr. points to the "secret language and use of nonsense syllables" in ancient Chamorro love songs known as "fino gualafon," (language of the moon) ("The ancient origins of Chamorro music," 65). A discussion of "hidden meaning" in Hawaiian literature is explored in Brandy Nālani McDougall, "'O Ka Lipo O Ka Lā, 'O Ka Lipo O Ka Pō: Cosmogonic Kaona in Contemporary Kanaka Maoli Literature," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2011).

⁵²⁴ Peck, *I Speak the Beginning*, i.

⁵²⁵ Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 22.

The *kåntan chamorrita* form complemented and contributed to the communal structure of customary Chamorro life. For example, when village communities gathered to thatch the roofs of homes, the weavers would sing and perform *kåntan chamorrita*. The following verse from *chamorita higai* (thatching chamorita) emphasized this communality:

Manhihigai hit pa'go	We are thatching now
Para ta afte in gima'-ta	To put a roof over our home
Para I leheng-ta para u fa'maolek	For the care of our shelter
Para todū i familia-ta	For all of our family. ⁵²⁶

Chamorros composed and sang *kåntan chamorrita* during activities that involved collaboration, transformation, and interconnection, such as weaving mats, nets, ropes, and clothes. They also sowed *kåntan chamorrita* while planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops, as well as while grinding corn, husking rice, and cooking. They even utilized this communal poetic form for courting, conflict resolution, and entertainment. During seasonal fish runs, families would line the entire coastline from Hagåtña all the way to Tumhom to cast their fishing throw nets, cook, share food, and sing the *kåntan chamorrita*:

For miles up and down the shoreline, the calls and responses of the lead singers would be heard. Sometimes a neighborhood group would respond. Sometimes women in the group would band together to try to outsmart the men through their verse innovations. Rhyming phrases would be thrown back and forth, sometimes for hours, with different people joining in and calling out challenges or responding to the rhyming of others.⁵²⁷

Beyond pragmatic and everyday communal relations, Chamorros also utilized the *kåntan chamorrita* form to perform the Chamorro first story of creation. On the day that Chamorros made pilgrimage to Fu'a Rock, twelve poets from different villages would stand in a circle and recite verses to retell the story of Puntan and Fu'una.⁵²⁸ They added music, dance, and gestures to "clarify the metaphorical content of the myth" and "supplement and embellish what the words failed to express."⁵²⁹ In addition, the poets

⁵²⁶ Carmen I. Santos, "Guam's Folklore," in *Umatac by the Sea: A Village in Transition*, edited by Rebecca Stephenson and Hiro Kurashina (Mangilao, Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1982): 130.

⁵²⁷ Laura Souder, "Kantan Chamorrita: Traditional Chamorro poetry, past and future." *Manoa* 5(1), *Writing from the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 1993): 189.

⁵²⁸ Michael R. Clement Sr., "Micronesia: IV. Mariana Islands. 2. Guam," In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 16. (London: MacMillan, 2001): 613.

⁵²⁹ Clement Sr., "The Ancient Origins of Chamorro Music," 34-5.

used "small bells, seeds or shells in a box and the playing of a half moon or media luna."⁵³⁰ Overall, the *kåntan chamorrita* was an integral part of everyday and spiritual life, which could be performed while literally fishing, or it could be performed as "an allegorical pantomime and public enactment of myth."⁵³¹

The aesthetic form and social function of the *kåntan chamorrita* embodies the deepest value of Chamorro cultural identity: *inafa'maolek*. This cultural value emphasizes harmony, reciprocity, and cooperation in sustaining communal, ecological, and political relationships. The reciprocal nature of *kåntan chamorrita* is manifest in both its call-and-response, "reciprocal speech-making"⁵³² form and in the communal situations in which the songs would be sung. In all aspects of Chamorro life, the *kåntan chamorrita* "[brought] people together, encourage[d] cooperation, allow[ed] for friendly competition, and form[ed] the basis for spontaneous and humorous interaction."⁵³³ Overall, the *kåntan chamorrita* threaded every aspect of Chamorro life and formed the literary foundation of Chamorro cultural identity.

Media Colonialism and Linguicide

Centuries of Spanish and American colonialism have pushed the *kåntan chamorrita* to the margins of Chamorro life. The cause of this literary marginalization can be traced to the destruction of the local trade economy and customary communal lifestyle; the Chamorro population decline; and the introduction of colonial language policies, education systems, and media (print, music, television, and film). These forces combined to displace and suppress Chamorro language and literature.

As a result of Spanish military conquest and missionary conversion, many of the communal practices in which the *kåntan chamorrita* thrived were destroyed or forbidden. Living under the surveillance of priests and soldiers meant that Chamorros could no longer express themselves as freely as before. Acculturation within the new religion and education system meant that the most prevalent themes of the *kåntan chamorrita* disappeared from the storytelling repertoire. As Michael Clement Sr. notes, Chamorros "could think no more of their warriors, race, country or nation, nor could such lyrics enter their poetry again."⁵³⁴ Similarly, Elizabeth Diego foregrounds how Chamorro "debate,

⁵³⁰ Ibid., 36.

⁵³¹ Ibid., 34.

⁵³² Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 21.

⁵³³ Souder, "Kantan Chamorrita," 190.

⁵³⁴ Clement Sr., "Tsamorita Singing," *Chamorroweb*, n.d., accessed February 7, 2009, <http://chamorroweb.com/tsamorita-singing.asp>.

chants, stories, and songs met their fate as these practices were attacked by the missionaries who preached that the exercises contradicted Christian principles. Slowly those who were converted abandoned their traditional practices as they became increasingly convinced that their oral culture had no utilitarian use.⁵³⁵ In 1817, the King of Spain declared that Spanish would be taught in the Marianas, and Spanish became the language of business, education, and government. The introduction of Spanish changed the Chamorro language by introducing many Spanish loanwords, phrases, and sounds.⁵³⁶ However, the Jesuit priests learned the Chamorro language to better acculturate and convert the Chamorro population; Chamorro, therefore, became the language of the church.⁵³⁷ The priests even appropriated the *kåntan chamorrita* form:

The Jesuits began immediately to apply the same technique of making couplets and debating to teach Christian doctrine to young Chamorro boys and girls... Through poetry, debate, and miracle plays, the Jesuits supplanted the ancient beliefs...with stories and symbols of Jesus and Mary...Eventually this changed the way Chamorros expressed themselves through poetry, song and debate.⁵³⁸

While Chamorros still spoke their native language by the end of the 19th century and the *kåntan chamorrita* form was "nurtured in and around the Church community" and "stayed in the fields and family enclaves around the island," the American era would lead to the "linguicide" of the Chamorro language, the customary medium of the *kåntan chamorrita*, and the end of Chamorro oral literature as the dominant form of storytelling, cultural expression, and entertainment.

Chamorro language scholar Kenneth Gofigan Kuper exposes how the U.S. Navy, beginning after 1898, "implemented various policies and incentives aimed at eradicating the Chamoru language [and] forcing Chamorus to use English as the language both inside and outside the home."⁵³⁹ New laws established English as the official language of Guam,

⁵³⁵ Elizabeth A. Paulino Diego, "Reclaiming Identity in Articulating What It Means To Be Chamorro: A Phenomenological Study of the Indigenous Peoples of Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, School of Professional Studies (Gonzaga University, 2010), 93-4.

⁵³⁶ Kenneth Kuper, "Na‘la‘la I Hila‘-ta, Na‘matatnga I Taotao-ta: Chamorro Language as Liberation from Colonization," MA Thesis (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, 2014): 18-9.

⁵³⁷ Anthony Apuron, "The Role the Church Played in Helping to Preserve the Chamorro Language and Culture," paper presented at the Marianas Ballroom, Hilton Hotel, Tumon, Guam on April 1, 1996.

⁵³⁸ Clement Sr., "The Ancient Origins of Chamorro Music," 97.

⁵³⁹ Kuper, "Na‘la‘la I Hila‘-ta, Na‘matatnga I Taotao-ta," 21.

the government, and the school system.⁵⁴⁰ The Chamorro language was banned in public buildings, baseball fields, classrooms, and playgrounds; students were punished if they were caught speaking Chamorro. The American authorities even burned Chamorro-English dictionaries. Services in the Catholic Church, a bastion of Chamorro language, began to be performed in English, and American priests replaced Jesuit priests. After World War II, the island shifted to a wage economy, and many of the new jobs in the military, tourism industry, and consumer sectors required applicants to speak English. Additionally, many foreign workers were imported for the reconstruction of the island. This created a situation in which different groups needed to "communicate with each other, and in this case, English became the lingua franca...[because] all business was conducted in English."⁵⁴¹ English-only policies continued in the post-war school system; as Chamorros were punished for speaking Chamorro, administrators created English-speaking clubs and encouraged parents to speak English at home.⁵⁴² As English was gaining traction on the island, many Chamorros began to seek educational and economic opportunities off-island. This massive out-migration drained the island of many Chamorro speakers at a time when English was becoming more prevalent. For these Chamorros, success in the United States also meant they had to learn English and teach their children English.⁵⁴³ In addition to out-migration, out-marriage also contributed to language loss:

Unions between Chamorro women and stateside men also had implications in the dynamics of cultural change. Whereas in the past Chamorro women had generally acculturated foreign husbands to Chamorro society, the new orientation towards American national identity seemingly negated this dynamic and generally insured that such households would be exclusively English speaking zones.⁵⁴⁴

All these factors combined to make English the language of educational success and economic progress, as well as the major language at church, in the home, and across the Chamorro diaspora. The loss of indigenous language is a key component of colonialism

⁵⁴⁰ For a focus on the American education system, see Robert A. Underwood, "American Education and the Acculturation of the Chamorros of Guam," Doctor of Education Dissertation (University of Southern California, 1987).

⁵⁴¹ Kuper, "Na'la'la I Hila'-ta, Na'matatnga I Taotao-ta," 45.

⁵⁴² Robert Underwood, "English and Chamorro on Guam," *World Englishes* 8.1 (1989), 79.

⁵⁴³ Kuper, "Na'la'la I Hila'-ta, Na'matatnga I Taotao-ta," 27.

⁵⁴⁴ Michael R. Clement Jr., "Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance," 135.

because Chamorro language is often characterized as the "umbilical cord of the culture," and "the single most obvious expression of Chamorro identity today."⁵⁴⁵ (Diego, 257).

At the same time that the English language was colonizing governmental, educational, economic, and domestic spaces, the English language was also colonizing the public spheres of print, music, film, and television. The main publication on island during the Naval era was the English language monthly magazine, the *Guam Recorder*, a print outlet for the Navy. Many articles and editorials published during the publication history of the *Guam Recorder* (1924-1940) "reinforce[d] the English language as hierarchically better than Fino' Chamorro in all aspects of life and at the same time, devalue[d] Fino' Chamorro of any worth, purpose, utility, or meaning."⁵⁴⁶ The establishment of another print media outlet, the *Guam Daily News* in 1950, didn't change the situation because it was also published in English. Alongside English-language print media, two movie theatres opened in Hagåtña in the 1930s, featuring American Westerns. During this same time, the island's first radio station began broadcasting American music. In 1944, Armed Forces Radio began broadcasting American music on Guam, and was the only station broadcasting for the next decade. As music historian Michael Clement Jr. explains:

Through Armed Forces Radio, Chamorros listened to the likes of the Glenn Miller Orchestra, Frank Sinatra, Perry Como, Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters, along with every other kind of music that was nationally popular in the United States. No music had a bigger impact on Chamorros than country and western. Country music, particularly the cowboy tunes featured in western films, were already popular before the war... Now, with more cash and access to radios, Chamorros fell in love with the songs of artists like Kitty Wells, Patti Page, Hank Snow, Gene Autry, Tex Ritter, Eddy Arnold, Ernest Tubbs, and Hank Williams.⁵⁴⁷

The first local television program, KUAM, was established in 1956, which "presented idyllic images of American suburbia, consumer excess, and harmonious nuclear families that presented a stark contrast to the large extended family system that regulated daily life for Chamorros. The combined impact of such images was to present Chamorro [culture] as abnormal."⁵⁴⁸ Television not only promoted English language and American culture, but it also became the dominant form of entertainment. As Judy Flores observed, the

⁵⁴⁵ Diego, "Reclaiming Identity," 257.

⁵⁴⁶ Kuper, "Na‘la‘la I Hila‘-ta, Na‘matatnga I Taotao-ta," 28. "Fino' Chamorro" translates as the "Chamorro language."

⁵⁴⁷ Michael R. Clement Jr., "Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance," 126.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid., 117-8. For more on the impact of colonial media, see Robert Underwood, "The Role of Media in Small Pacific Island Communities," *Pacific Islands Communications Journal* (1981),13.

kåntan chamorrita has been "overwhelmed by radio, television and the ubiquitous boom box (portable stereo)...always set at high volume—preclud[ing] any possibility of Kantan Chamorrita performance."⁵⁴⁹ The post-war decades saw intensified efforts to acculturate Chamorros through an expanded American education system as well as the proliferation of English-language American music, literature, print media, and television, all of which acted to further situate English as the language of progress and success, and to degrade the Chamorro language as the language of failure and backwardness.⁵⁵⁰

The culmination of this history is what Kuper refers to as Chamorro linguicide. According to the census data, only 18% of Guam's population speaks Chamorro, and 44% of the population live in household in which only English is spoken.⁵⁵¹ Furthermore, a majority of those who speak Chamorro are elders, which means that "If the trend continues, there is a very great possibility that Chamorro will cease to be spoken...within another generation."⁵⁵² The traumatic decline and loss of the Chamorro population, religion, education system, communal practices, and language, in addition to the hegemonic presence of English-only policies, print, music, and film have all contributed to the decline of the *kåntan chamorrita*. As Laura Souder noticed in the 1990s:

Today, the Kantan Chamorrita is sung almost exclusively by Chamorro men and women over fifty years old. While the art form has not disappeared entirely, its continuity is threatened because younger Chamorros have not carried on the tradition. There are master singers of the Kantan Chamorrita in each of the twenty-three villages on Guam, but with fewer than fifty master singers islandwide, the chant's survival has become of increasing concern to those who appreciate its cultural significance.⁵⁵³

Like many other scholars of the *kåntan chamorrita*, Souder highlights the significance of the oral literary practice as based on "the chant's many insights into the Chamorro worldview, plus numerous expressions and metaphors that are no longer used in contemporary Chamorro oral expression."⁵⁵⁴ Put another way, the *kåntan chamorrita*, the

⁵⁴⁹ Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 25.

⁵⁵⁰ Robert A. Underwood, "Language Survival, The Ideology of English and Education in Guam", *Educational Research Quarterly* 20.4 (1984).

⁵⁵¹ Guam Census, Language Portion (2010). Cited in Kuper, "Na‘la‘la I Hila‘-ta, Na‘matatnga I Taotao-ta," 3.

⁵⁵² Donald Topping et al., *Chamorro-English Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1975), x.

⁵⁵³ Souder, "Kantan Chamorrita," 191.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

values it expresses in its contents and the values it embodies in its form, are significant because they articulate Chamorro cultural identity through literary expression.

Re-Articulating the Kåntan Chamorrita

The remainder of this chapter will show that the themes, aesthetics, and values of the *kåntan chamorrita* have continued by being re-articulated through different Chamorro literary, musical, and expressive forms, exemplifying Chamorro cultural and aesthetic vitality. I review the scholarship that suggests the Catholic *lisåyo* (rosary prayer) and contemporary Chamorro language music re-articulate and embody aspects of the *kåntan chamorrita*. Adding to this scholarship, I will argue that the *kåntan chamorrita* is also evoked and embodied in contemporary Chamorro written and spoken word poetry. Specifically, I propose that the dialogue, call-and-response form of the *kåntan chamorrita* is re-articulated in contemporary poetry as intertextual citation. I illustrate this point by putting into conversation two poems by Chamorro poets from different generations, Anne Perez-Hattori's "Thieves" (1991) and Michael Lujan Bevacqua's "My Island is One Big American Footnote" (2009). Secondly, I argue that the spoken word poetry movement on Guåhan also evokes the *kåntan chamorrita* through its focus on oral performance, communal composition, and public competition. I will discuss a poem, "Self-Guamination" (2011) by two poets, Ryan Leon Guerrero and Walla Wai, of the youth spoken word poetry team known as *Team Guåhan*, which is a part of the Sinangân-ta Youth Poetry group. Overall, I will show how contemporary written and spoken word poetry continue the aesthetic, cultural, and political values of the *kåntan chamorrita* in order to inspire the formation of a Chamorro community to feel empowered by their indigenous identities and to resist ongoing colonialism and militarism.

Several scholars suggest that after Spanish missionization, the Catholic rosary became the re-articulated site of indigeneity for the *kåntan chamorrita*. The rosary is a devotional prayer to the Virgin Mary, and is used as "devotional prayers for a number of Saints, important liturgical holidays such as Christmas, as well as during life events such as when someone passes away."⁵⁵⁵ In Chamorro, the rosary for the dead is often referred to as *lisåyo*, which lasts eighteen days, the first nine consisting of public prayers, and the second nine consisting of private prayers:

The first nine days are called *lisåyon linahyan* (group rosary) which begins the evening immediately after the death and includes the burial of the deceased individual. During this period, the rosary prayer is said every evening, usually at the home of an immediate family member or at a local Catholic parish. Refreshments are then served afterward. After the first nine days, the rosary then

⁵⁵⁵ Jessica Ann Unpingco Solis, "Traditions and Transitions: Explorations of Chamorro Culture through the Rosary Practice," MA Thesis (UCLA, 2014), 2.

shifts into another phase called *lisåyon guma'* (home rosary) which is held only for the immediate family.⁵⁵⁶

According to Jessica Solis, the rosary practice has remained a "cultural space where Chamorro culture is perpetuated through the use of the Chamorro language to pray and sing, reliance on kinship ties to support these events."⁵⁵⁷ The rosary is a space of *inafa'maolek*, offering healing and kinship during times of mourning. Chamorros who led the rosary prayer were known as *techas*. Anthropologist Judy Flores suggests that the *techas* recited the rosary in *kåntan chamorrita* style, characterized by a "particularly nasal, high-pitched singing monotone, which was joined in response by the congregation."⁵⁵⁸ Similarly, anthropologist Laura Thompson infers that the shrill voice of the *techa* and the style of the rosary are more closely linked to the *kåntan chamorrita* style than to any Hispanic oratory tradition.⁵⁵⁹

In addition to scholars interpreting the rosary as a re-articulation of the styles and values of the *kåntan chamorrita*, scholars have also interpreted Chamorro music that emerged during American colonialism as evoking aspects of the *kåntan chamorrita*. For example, Judy Flores argues that 20th century Chamorro singers commonly "borrowed" imported melodies to add in their own Chamorro lyrics, or they would loosely translate and sing popular American songs in Chamorro. She speculated: "perhaps the tradition of borrowing melodies is based on the traditional use of one melody with slight variations on which to create the impromptu verse in *Kantan Chamorrita*."⁵⁶⁰ Michael Clement Jr. further affirms that the "practice of borrowing and adapting foreign influences into Chamorro music" is consistent with *kåntan chamorrita* aesthetics and "deeply rooted in strategies of appropriation and resistance to colonial hegemony."⁵⁶¹ Flores also proposes that the *kåntan chamorrita* continues in Chamorro language songs "through the use of ribald humour, layers of meaning, and one-upmanship through the call-and-response song

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid., 3.

⁵⁵⁸ Judy Flores, "Chant." *Guampedia* (2009), accessed March 18, 2012. <http://guampedia.com/chant/>.

⁵⁵⁹ Laura Thompson, *Guam and its People: A Study of Cultural Change and Colonial Education* (San Francisco: American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941): 157.

⁵⁶⁰ Judy Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 24.

⁵⁶¹ Michael R. Clement Jr., "Kustumbre, Modernity and Resistance," 287-8.

format."⁵⁶² All in all, scholars have shown the *kåntan chamorrita* is audible in "new transformations of Chamorro music."⁵⁶³

To contribute to this scholarship, the remainder of this chapter interprets contemporary Chamorro written and spoken word poetry through the lens of the *kåntan chamorrita*. Before turning to that discussion, I first situate this analysis within the broader field of Native American and Pacific Islander literary studies. Specifically, I will review the work that theorizes indigenous oralities and the relationship between oral and written literatures.

Theorizing Orality in Native American and Pacific Islander Literary Studies

Orality has been one of the most prevalent and important topics in Native American, Pacific Islander, and Global Indigenous Literary Studies. During the 19th and 20th centuries, ethnologists and folklorists collected, translated, transcribed, archived, published, and interpreted indigenous oral tales, songs, and chants. This oral literature was exhibited as proof that indigenous peoples had a rich and complex literary tradition that should be studied and taught alongside other great literatures of the world. When contemporary written indigenous literature gained widespread recognition beginning in the 1970s, scholars began to theorize the genealogical relationship between oral and written literature, as well the complex aesthetic dynamics between orality and textuality.

In the 19th century, non-native ethnologists collected, translated, transcribed, and published indigenous oral stories, songs, and chants. From 1882-1890, ethnologist Daniel Brinton edited eight volumes in his series *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*.⁵⁶⁴ He aimed to "preserve...literature composed by the members of various American tribes, and exhibit[] their habits of thought, modes of expressions, intellectual range and aesthetic faculties."⁵⁶⁵ Brinton also wrote one of the earliest examples of Native American literary criticism, his 1883 *Aboriginal American Authors and Their Productions; Especially Those in the Native Languages. A Chapter in the History of*

⁵⁶² Ibid., 27.

⁵⁶³ Judy Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 25.

⁵⁶⁴ *The Maya Chronicles*, ed. Brinton; *Iroquois Book of Rites*, ed. H. Hale; *The Gueguence, a comedy ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish dialect of Nicaragua*, ed. Brinton; *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, with introduction by A.S. Gatschet; *The Lenape and their legends, with text and symbols of the Walam Olim*; *Annals of the Cakchiquels*; *Ancient Nahuatl poetry*; and *Rig Veda Americanus, sacred songs of the ancient Mexicans*, all edited by Brinton.

⁵⁶⁵ Daniel G. Brinton, *Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature. Number 1: The Maya Chronicles* (Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton, 1882), accessed on November 7, 2009, www.archive.org/details/libraryofaborigi01brinuoft.

*Literature.*⁵⁶⁶ In this work, he described how the “Native Mind” possessed the “literary faculty,” an innate sensibility composed of “a vivid imagination, a love of narration, and an ample, appropriate, and logically developed vocabulary.”⁵⁶⁷ Furthermore, he asserted that native literature contains “every whit as high a claim on the attention of European scholars as have the venerable documents of Chinese lore, the mysterious cylinders of Assyria, or the painted and figured papyri of the Nilotic tombs.”⁵⁶⁸ Brinton, along with other ethnologists and folklorists of the period,⁵⁶⁹ articulated similar “noble savage” literary ideologies that aimed to hold up oral literature as proof of indigenous humanity.

In the first half of the 20th century, scholars turned towards considering the formal aspects of indigenous orature, and began experimenting with new forms of transcription. Previously, ethnologists often textualized oral tales as prose and chants or songs as rhymed and metered verse.⁵⁷⁰ However, Mary Austin in *The American Rhythm: Studies and Reexpressions of Amerindian Songs* (1923) began to transcribe oral songs through free verse, or what she described as a modernist “cadenced verse,” in which the poetic line is conceived as “the landscape line, the line shaped by its own inner necessities.”⁵⁷¹ She also highlighted the importance of typography in textualizing musicality; she wrote: “melody had to do all the work for the primitive that is done now with print, with

⁵⁶⁶ First delivered as an address to the Congress of Americanists at Copenhagen in 1883, this 63-page essay presents an “extended review of the literary efforts of the red race,” in which an “entirely novel field of inquiry is opened to view, of equal interest to ethnologists, linguists and historians.”

⁵⁶⁷ Daniel Brinton, “Aboriginal American Authors and Their Productions; Especially Those in the Native Languages. A Chapter in the History of Literature” (1883). Reprinted in *Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations: A Gathering of Indian Memories, Symbolic Contexts, and Literary Criticism*, edited by Abraham Chapman (New York: Meridian Books, 1975), 186.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid., 223.

⁵⁶⁹ Other important works of ethnology include Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's two-volume *Algic Researches, Comprising Inquiries Respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians: Indian Tales and Legends* (1839); William Gilmore Simms' “Views and Reviews in American Literature, History and Fiction” (1845); Frank Hamilton Cushing's *Zuni Folk Tales* (1901); and Alice C. Fletcher's *Indian Story and Song from North America* (1900).

Additionally, the Bureau of Ethnology (founded in 1879, and renamed the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in 1897), created a major archive of indigenous orature. The BAE sponsored ethnographic, linguistic, and anthropological research related to North American Indians and published this research in their *Annual Reports 1-48* (1881-1933). Many ethnologists of Native American oral stories and songs worked for and published with the BAE, including Washington Matthews, J. Owen Dorsey, James R. Murie, Franz Boas, Carlos Troyer, Francis La Flesches, John R. Swanton, Walter Hoffman, James Mooney, Jeremiah Curtin, Frank Russell, Ruth Benedict, and Frances Densmore.

⁵⁷⁰ See Dennis Tedlock, “On the Translation of Style in Oral Narratives,” *JAFL* 84, 1971, 114-137.

⁵⁷¹ Austin, Mary. *The American Rhythm: Studies and Reexpressions of Amerindian Songs*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc, 1970. First Edition published in 1923, 54.

punctuation and capitals and italics, with visual arrangement of line and stanza.”⁵⁷² Similarly, Nellie Barnes, in *American Indian Love Lyrics and Other Verse: From the Songs of the North American Indians* (1925), argues that the poetic line, stanzaic form, and metrical pattern are shaped into free verse by the rhythms of thought.⁵⁷³ This thread of free verse transcription culminates in A. Grove Day’s *The Sky Clears: Poetry of the American Indians* (1951). Day highlights the presence of metaphor, imagery, variation, monotony, an economy of expression, parallelism, contrast, apostrophe, personification, onomatopoeia, euphony, and repetition in native oral poetry. He also points to the use of symbolism, figurative language, mythological and cultural allusions, and “secret” and “archaic” language. Lastly, he describes the “measured rhythmic scheme” of native poetry as “closely associated with the drum-beat.”⁵⁷⁴ During this period, non-native scholars transcribed indigenous oral literature into free verse. This shift attempted to embody the perceived free-ness of the Western landscape and the perceived rhythm of native drumbeats.⁵⁷⁵ Even though this seems like a dramatic shift from the 19th century, the discourse and rhetoric of primitivism remained.

Postmodernism was the next major turn in translating and transcribing indigenous oral literature in the 1960s and 1970s. In *Technicians of the Sacred: A Range of Poetries from Africa, America, Asia, & Oceania* (1968), Jerome Rothenberg describes native poetry as a forerunner of postmodern poetry, comparing chant to jazz poetry, native imagism to surrealism, minimalism to concrete poetry, and non-verbal sounds to total theatre.⁵⁷⁶ In “Total Translation: An Experiment in the Presentation of American Indian Poetry” (1969), Rothenberg changes the way oral poetry is translated: “I don’t want to set English words to Indian music, but to respond poem-for-poem in the attempt to work out a ‘total’ translation—not only of the words but of all sounds connected with the poem,

⁵⁷² Ibid., 49.

⁵⁷³ Barnes, Nellie, editor. *American Indian Love Lyrics and Other Verse: From the Songs of the North American Indians*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925.

⁵⁷⁴ Day, Arthur Grove, editor. *The Sky Clears: Poetry of the American Indians*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1951, 24.

⁵⁷⁵ This trend would continue in many anthologies of indigenous oral literature that were published well into the 1970s, including William R. Trask’s two-volume *The Unwritten Song: Poetry of the Primitive and Traditional Peoples of the World* (1966); William Brandon’s *The Magic World: American Indian Songs and Poems* (1971); and John Bierhorst’s *In The Trail of the Wind* (1971), *The Red Swan: Myths and Tales of the American Indians* (1976), and *Four Masterworks of American Indian Literature: Quetzalcoatl/The Ritual of Condolence/Cuced/The Night Chant* (1974).

⁵⁷⁶ Rothenberg, Jerome, editor. *Technicians of the Sacred: A Range of Poetries from Africa, America, Asia, & Oceania*. New York: Anchor Books, 1969 (1968).

including finally the music itself.”⁵⁷⁷ A total translation includes the translation of the aural and performative aspects of the original song: “[e]verything in those song-poems is finally translatable: words, sounds, voice, melody, gesture, event, etc., in the reconstitution of a unity that would be shattered by approaching each element in isolation.”⁵⁷⁸ Rothenberg presents “analogues to the full range of vocal sound” through adding translated elements and typographical innovations. In *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians: From Performances in the Zuni by Andrew Peynetsa and Walter Sanchez* (1972), Dennis Tedlock argues that written prose poorly represents spoken narrative because it “rolls on for whole paragraphs at a time without taking a breath: there is no silence in it.” To change this, he breaks the narratives into lines: “the shorter pauses, which average three-fourths second and almost never drop below one-half second, are represented here by simple changes of line; the longer pauses, which run from two to three seconds, are represented by strophe breaks.”⁵⁷⁹ Tedlock also indicates pitch, chanting, and long vowels by using “small type for soft passages or words, larger type for middle-level passages, and capitals for loud passages.”⁵⁸⁰ Finally, he uses italicized notations for gestural indications, such as when the performer “clears his throat, sighs, breaks into laughter, turns his head to make an aside, or gestures.”⁵⁸¹ Dell Hymes, in “*In Vain I Tried to Tell You*”: *Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics* (1981), employs conventions of theatre, such as acts and scenes to represent the performative aspects of oral literature.⁵⁸² All in all, these three scholars represent the most experimental translations and transcriptions of orality.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁷ Rothenberg, “Total Translation: An Experiment in the Presentation of American Indian Poetry,” in Abraham Chapman, ed., *Literature of the American Indians* (New York: New American Library, 1975), 294.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid., 306.

⁵⁷⁹ Dennis Tedlock, *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians: From Performances in the Zuni by Andrew Peynetsa and Walter Sanchez* (New York: The Dial Press, 1972), xix.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., xxi.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., xxiv.

⁵⁸² Dell Hymes, “*In Vain I Tried to Tell You*”: *Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics* (Studies in Native American Literature 1. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

⁵⁸³ Brian Swann edited one critical anthology, *On the Translation of Native American Literature* (1992), gathering essays on the major debates and controversies surrounding the ethnopoetic movement. Additionally, Swann continued the tradition of “total translation” in his anthologies, *Song of the Sky: Versions of Native American Song-Poems* (1993) and *Coming to Light: Contemporary Translations of the Native Literatures of North America* (1996).

When *written* Native American literature circulated widely in the 1970s, scholars began to theorize the relationship between new native written literature and the tradition of native oral literature. Kenneth Rosen, editor of *The Man to Send Rain Clouds: Contemporary Stories by American Indians* (1974), and *Voices of the Rainbow: Contemporary Poetry by American Indians* (1975), proposed a "oral/written continuum," suggesting that when you read written native literature, "you can still hear the old singer's refrain, the incremental repetition that served as so powerful an aid to the memories of so many generations, and you can still discern the communal beat beneath the varied tones and tempos of the individual artists."⁵⁸⁴ Kenneth Lincoln, in *Native American Renaissance* (1983), conceives of native literature as a "written renewal of oral traditions translated into Western literary forms."⁵⁸⁵ In a similar vein, other scholars conceptualized written literature not as a betrayal of authentic indigenous oral expression, but instead as an extension, development, or evolution from oral to textual literature.⁵⁸⁶

Beyond theorizing a genealogical relationship between oral and written literature, scholars have also examined how oral aesthetics have shaped textual aesthetics. For example, Susan Berry Brill de Ramirez, in *Contemporary American Indian Literatures and the Oral Tradition* (1999), foregrounds the presence of oral strategies and structures in written Native literature, such as voice shifts, repetition, parallelism, unexpected transitions, mythic time, lack of closure, omission, episodic structure, interconnectedness, and circular forms.⁵⁸⁷ Kimberly Blaeser, in *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition* (1996), highlights oral aesthetics in the work of Gerald Vizenor, including his use of nonlinguistic sounds, stock characters, a fixed grammar of themes, dialectical discourse, riddles, neologisms, formulaic diction, repetitive phrases, and allusiveness to sacred reality. She even suggests that Vizenor elicits audience participation—similar to an oral performance—through the use of absence, contradiction, ambiguity, satire, shock, humor, abrupt transitions, unusual juxtapositions, pronoun shifts, repetitions, and the lack of closure.⁵⁸⁸ Helen May Dennis, in *Native American Literature: Towards a Spatialized Reading* (2007), posits that native writers utilize "a series of textual strategies..."

⁵⁸⁴ Kenneth Rosen, editor, *Voices of the Rainbow: Contemporary Poetry by American Indians* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1975), xx.

⁵⁸⁵ Kenneth Lincoln, *Native American Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 8.

⁵⁸⁶ See Andrew Wiget's *Native American Literature* (1985) and *Critical Essays on Native American literature* (1985); Arnold Krupat's *New Voices in Native American Literary Criticism* (1993); Norma Wilson, in *The Nature of Native American Poetry* (2001); Blanca Schorcht's *Storied Voices in Native American Texts: Harry Robinson, Thomas King, James Welch and Leslie Marmon Silko* (2003)

⁵⁸⁷ Susan Berry Brill de Ramirez, *Contemporary American Indian Literatures and the Oral Tradition* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999).

⁵⁸⁸ Kimberly Blaeser, *Gerald Vizenor: Writing in the Oral Tradition* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

includ[ing] the nuanced use of voice and the creation of the implicit reader as confidante and addressee” to retain the flavor of oral literature.⁵⁸⁹ Throughout, scholars insist that the aesthetics of orality have continued in the textual forms of new, written indigenous literature.

During the same period, scholars of Pacific Islander literature theorized that the new, written Pacific literature emerged genealogically from the rich tradition of oral literature in the Pacific. As Subramani notes in *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation* (1985):

The tradition which has given considerable stimulus to the literature in English is the indigenous oral literature. Oral literature, where cultural transmission takes place by word of mouth, in face-to-face contact, and which depends for its survival on memory and habits of thought and action, belongs to the pre-literate stage but continues to be added to up to the present day.”⁵⁹⁰

One formal aspect of oral poetry that Subramani believes transferred to written verse is “a spontaneous song-like effect,” and the presence of phonic and rhythmic effects, simple chant-like metrical units and even distribution of repetitions and lexical variants.⁵⁹¹ Similarly, Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, in “Samoan Writing: Searching for the Written Fagogo” (1985), grounds the written literature of Samoa within the traditional Samoan oral storytelling tradition known as *fagogo*. Dunlop explains:

Samoans relish the spoken word. The development of Samoan writing must be set against this tradition of language to be understood. The love of words, building up into logical argument and woven into intricate plots, allusion and innuendo, are all here. The development of an indigenous written literature has been slow, following a pattern evident in other developing countries moving from an oral to a written literacy.⁵⁹²

⁵⁸⁹ Helen May Dennis, *Native American Literature: Towards a Spatialized Reading* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 4-5,

⁵⁹⁰ Subramani. *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1992 (1985)), 5.

⁵⁹¹ In several essays, critic and writer Subramani attempted to draw links between the oral and written tradition. “Oceania: From Oral Tradition to Literature in English” (1978), “Oral Literature and the Beginning of Prose Fiction in Tonga” (1980), “Oral Forms in Wendt’s Fiction” (1981), “Artists in a Changing South Pacific: The Oral Poet and the Writers” (1983).

⁵⁹² P. Dunlop, “Samoan Writing: Searching for the Written Fagogo,” (*Pacific Islands Communication Journal* 14.1, 1986), 41-2.

In terms of aesthetics, Dunlop claims that the written literature follows the “natural rhythm of the spoken voice.”⁵⁹³ Similarly, Epeli Hau’ofa also wrote about the connection between written words and oral literature in Tongan writing:

My main reason for writing is to develop a personal style that echoes the sounds of the spoken words in the islands. Like most Pacific Islanders, I was nurtured throughout my pre-pubescent years mainly on the spoken word... When I string words together on a piece of paper, what I actually do is to connect sounds, each of which should flow naturally and easily from the preceding sounds. I believe that this is exactly the way that island masters of the spoken word use their language. The style that I have developed is an attempt to translate into writing the cadences of sounds as produced in the islands by story-tellers, preachers, orators, people in supplication, people giving orders, arguing, quarrelling, gossiping, and so forth.⁵⁹⁴

In the latter essay, Hau'ofa describes books as “silent story-telling” and a reader as “a listener to stories told silently by invisible tellers.”⁵⁹⁵ Beyond viewing oral literature as the foundation of contemporary written literature, Hawaiian scholar ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, in “He Lei Ho‘oheno no nā Kau a Kau: Language, Performance, and Form in Hawaiian Poetry” (2005), details how aesthetic elements in contemporary Hawaiian poetry, such as dualistic pairings, linked assonance, complementary elements, opposites, repetition, chant, rhyme schemes, connectors, closing lines, and other mnemonic devices, are drawn from customary Hawaiian orature.

Before the widespread publication of written native literature, what literary scholars considered indigenous literature consisted entirely of oral song and tales that were collected, translated, transcribed, and published. The ways in which orality was textualized changed in different eras, and included modernist free verse and postmodern experimental verse. With the emergence of written native literatures in the 1960s and 1970s, scholars began to conceptualize the relationship between oral and written indigenous literature. Whereas one might have considered written literature a sign of assimilation and demise of traditional orality, many scholars instead insisted that oral literature formed the foundation of contemporary native written literature, and that the

⁵⁹³ Ibid., 54.

⁵⁹⁴ Epeli Hau'ofa, “The Writer as an Outsider,” *World Englishes* 9.2 (1990), 245.

⁵⁹⁵ Epeli Hau'ofa, “Oral Traditions and Writing,” *Landfall* 176 (44.4) 1990, 402.

themes, forms, and techniques of oral literature are still present, active, and audible in textual, written literature.⁵⁹⁶

This chapter brings Chamorro literature into the scholarly discussion about the relationship between indigenous orality and textuality. Additionally, this chapter furthers the scholarship on the re-articulation of the *kåntan chamorrita*—beyond the rosary and Chamorro music—by arguing that the *kåntan chamorrita* is audible in both written and spoken forms of contemporary Chamorro poetry. Firstly, I suggest that the call-and-response form of the *kåntan chamorrita* is embodied through intertextual references in intergenerational Chamorro poetry. Secondly, I suggest that the oral, communal, and competitive aspects of the *kåntan chamorrita* is also evident in the recent movement of Chamorro spoken word youth poetry.

Intertextual Orality: Anne Perez Hattori & Michael Lujan Bevacqua

In this section, I bring together two poems by two Chamorro poets from different generations: Anne Perez-Hattori's "Thieves" (1991) and Michael Lujan Bevacqua's "My Island Is One Big American Footnote" (2009). I suggest that the intertextual references between the two poems embody the call-and-response aesthetics of the *kåntan chamorrita*. Anne Perez-Hattori is a Chamorro historian, activist, and professor. Her poem, "Thieves," appeared in *Storyboard 5* (1995).⁵⁹⁷ The title refers to the name that Magellan christened Guåhan and the Mariana Islands, "Isla de los Ladrones" ("Islands of the Thieves"). Magellan considered Chamorros to be thieves after a misunderstanding and dispute over trade.⁵⁹⁸ As a result, Magellan and his men disembark their galleons, burn several homes, and murder seven Chamorros. Hattori's poem begins with a reflection on this violent encounter and its colonial and missionary aftermath:

Thieves, they called us.
Religious converts, they made us.
Said we were sinful,
naked, savage, primitive
Playmates of Satan,

⁵⁹⁶ Other examples include, Miriam Fuchs, "Reading Towards the Indigenous Pacific: Patricia Grace's Potiki: a Case Study," *SPAN* Special Issue 36:2 (1993): 566-583; Michelle Keown, "Orality, Textuality, and Memory: The Language of Pacific Literatures," in *Pacific Islands Writing: The Postcolonial Literatures of Aotearoa/New Zealand and Oceania* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 147-184; and ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, voices of fire: reweaving the literary lei of pele and hi'iaka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

⁵⁹⁷ Anne Perez Hattori, "Thieves." *Storyboard 5: A Journal of Pacific Imagery* (Mangilao, Guam: University of Guam, 1995), 46.

⁵⁹⁸ See Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 7.

native souls blackened and corrupted
by immoral appetites⁵⁹⁹

Perez-Hattori points to how the colonizing "they," referring to explorers, missionaries, and administrators classified the Chamorro population as corrupted savages and immoral sinners. This ideological and rhetorical dehumanization was used to justify forceful ("they made us") Catholic conversion. The speaker of the poem points to the ironic fact that even though Chamorros were called "thieves," it was the missionaries that stole native souls. The poem then moves forward in history to show how the changing colonial situation birthed new destructive stereotypes:

Exterminated, they called us.
Half-castes, they branded us.
said we were impure,
racially—culturally—spiritually
casualties of inauthenticity
native blood contaminated and polluted
by casual miscegenation⁶⁰⁰

This stanza captures the degrading anthropological idea that "pure" Chamorros were exterminated by contact, disease, acculturation, and miscegenation. As a result, the Chamorros who survived the first wave of colonialism and conversion and their descendants were seen as "impure" because of mixed bloodlines, Catholic religious practices, and other cultural changes brought upon by Spanish acculturative efforts. The poem continues to address American perceptions of Chamorros in the early 20th century:

Infantile, they called us.
Wards of the state, they made us.
Said we were immature,
UNeducated, UNdeveloped, UNCivilized
Victims of illiteracy,
native intelligence retarded and muted
by indifferent laziness⁶⁰¹

The U.S. Navy and Congress viewed Chamorros as childlike wards without literacy, intelligence, education, economics, government, or even civilization, thus justifying their

⁵⁹⁹ Perez-Hattori, "Thieves," 46.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

colonial territorialization of Guam. Hattori's capitalization of the prefix "UN" not only creates a sonic stress on the first syllable, but it semantically invokes the United Nations, and the fact that Guam is still on the UN's list of non-self governing territories. Once again, the ironic tone highlights the fact that opportunities for native governance continued to be stolen by Naval administration and colonial policies. "Thieves" ends by looking at the current stereotypes of Chamorros:

Now they tell us
we are simply, sadly, contemptibly
OVER-developed
OVER-modernized
OVER-theologized
OVER-Americanized.

UNDER-Chamorricized⁶⁰²

Centuries of successful colonial acculturation has forged an image of Chamorros who were once seen as in need of religion, civilization, and governmental wardship, but are now seen as being severed from indigeneity, as "UNDER-Chamorricized," and thus not authentically eligible for indigenous rights to self-determination under the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Through the poem, Perez-Hattori subverts the colonial, dehumanizing rhetoric by implying that the real thieves were, and continue to be, the colonizers that stole Chamorro souls, blood, culture, language, and freedom. Thus, the poem questions the hegemonic representation of Chamorros as merely thieving savages or pathetic wards, both of which functioned to justify continued colonization.

Fourteen years after Perez-Hattori's poem was published, another Chamorro scholar, historian, activist, and writer, Michael Lujan Bevacqua, published the poem, "My Island Is One Big American Footnote" (2009).⁶⁰³ Bevacqua was an undergraduate and graduate student at the University of Guam, where he took several courses from Perez-Hattori.⁶⁰⁴ Bevacqua's poem not only explores and critiques another colonial, dehumanizing representation of Guam and Chamorros, but it also intertextually cites Perez-Hattori's poem, "Thieves," and her scholarship, specifically her monograph,

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "My Island Is One Big American Footnote," in *The Space Between: Negotiating Culture, Place, and Identity in the Pacific*, edited by Marata Tamaira. (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, 2009), 120-122.

⁶⁰⁴ Bevacqua, "Thieves," Minagahet Blog (January 22, 2014), accessed 12/5/14, <http://minagahet.blogspot.com/2014/01/thieves.html>. In this blog post, Bevacqua remarked how Perez-Hattori's poem, "Thieves," influenced the development of his political and decolonial consciousness.

Colonial Dis-Ease: US Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941 (2005).⁶⁰⁵

At first glance, Bevacqua's poem appears to be comprised of a single line and a mere five words: "Guam, Where America's Day Begins!!!"⁶⁰⁶ This phrase is actually a well-known slogan on Guam, and comes from the fact that Guam lies west of the international dateline and is a day ahead of any other state or U.S. territory. In the 1970s, the Guam Visitors Bureau developed the slogan to market the island as the next major tourist destination in the Pacific after Hawai'i.⁶⁰⁷ Even though the slogan started as a tourism ploy, you can now see the phrase on t-shirts, websites, advertising, and articles; and you can hear it spoken during public events and political speeches. Ideologically, the slogan articulates Guam "not as a point of inequality or exploitation, but rather as a point of celebratory exceptionality." By repeating the slogan, Chamorros "embody America and claim to finally be a secure piece of it."⁶⁰⁸

Even though the "main text" of Bevacqua's poem is only five words long, *three* footnotes append the slogan, and the footnoted text inhabits *three entire pages*. The first footnote begins: "Life in the colonies, the borderlands, the territories sucks. Sucks like nationally strategic words and verbs used to keep my ethnicity selfishly un-determined... it sucks like carefully crafted, beautifully bound footnotes that no one bothers to read or quote."⁶⁰⁹ The use of the prefix "un-" connects this poem intertextually to Hattori's "Thieves" through her use of the same prefix ("UNeducated, UNdeveloped, UNCivilized"). Throughout the footnote section of the poem, Bevacqua describes how Guam and the Chamorro people are simply footnotes to the American empire that no one bothers to learn about. He characterizes Guam as a "small island of text [that] no one bothers to read or quote [because it is simply] conditional, contextual, so dependent on the [main] text."⁶¹⁰ The footnotes sit "on the bottom of every red whitewashed and blue

⁶⁰⁵ Anne Perez Hattori, *Colonial dis-ease : US Navy health policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004).

⁶⁰⁶ Bevacqua, "My Island Is One Big American Footnote," 120.

⁶⁰⁷ See Keith L Camacho, "Enframing I TaoTao Tano': Colonialism, Militarism, and Tourism in Twentieth Century Guam," (MA thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1998).

⁶⁰⁸ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Chamorros, Ghosts, Non-voting Delegates: GUAM! Where the Production of America's Sovereignty Begins" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2010), 2.

⁶⁰⁹ Bevacqua, "My Island Is One Big American Footnote," 120.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

page" at the "margins of national importance."⁶¹¹ Furthermore, Bevacqua describes how these margins are infected with "constitutional, conscious and colonial disease, / Colonial *dis-ease*" (120). This is another intertextual moment in the moment, as Bevacqua references Perez-Hattori's major work of historical scholarship, *Colonial Dis-Ease: US Navy Health Policies and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898-1941* (2005). Those diseased Chamorros who live in the footnotes are indeed "excesses that don't really belong in this 'glorious' document of democracy and freedom."⁶¹² Bevacqua's creative and subversive reconceptualization of the footnote exposes the colonial rhetoric of the slogan. In other words, by exposing the colonial relationship between the *footnote island* of Guam and the *main text* of the U.S., Guam no longer signifies a celebratory footnote of American democracy, but is instead seen as marking "Where America's Empire Begins."⁶¹³

In addition to defining the footnote as a symbol of colonial subjugation, Bevacqua also imagines the potential agency of the footnote. He asks, "So what does my footnote do?" Besides being evidence of U.S. imperialism, the existence of the footnote encourages the poet to speak out (or up, as it were) to the main text. From under the hegemonic text, the footnoted voice of the Chamorro rises to challenge its marginal position at the "bottom of any flag/budget/page."⁶¹⁴ In the final footnote, the speaker in the footnote exclaims: "Release us to flutter beyond these American borders and margins! / Leave us to determine self-fully! A text of our own!"⁶¹⁵ By highlighting the voice from the footnote island, Bevacqua re-imagines the signifying power of Guam.

Perez-Hattori's poem, "Thieves," critiqued the many colonial and dehumanizing representations that have suppressed and stolen Chamorro identity and representational agency for centuries. While her poem critiques these representations and exposes who the real thieves are, the poem does not speak back. Nearly fifteen years later, Bevacqua reads Perez-Hattori's poem and, I argue, responds with his poem, "My Island is One Big American Footnote." His poem takes up the same theme: representational theft and power. The power of Guam has been stolen and is represented as a mere footnote to America, something that is not worthy of its own text, but instead only worthy of existing in the political margins. While intertextually referencing Perez-Hattori's poem and re-contextualizing the theme of her poem, Bevacqua also responds by adding his own verse: the voice of the footnote, the Chamorro voice speaking back, demanding representational

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Ibid., 121.

⁶¹³ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Guam: Where America's Empire Begins," *Minagahet Blog* (February 18, 2008), accessed May 15, 2014, <http://minagahet.blogspot.com/2008/02/guam-where-americas-military-empire.html>.

⁶¹⁴ Bevacqua, "My Island," 122.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

power, demanding a text of our own.

Taken together, these poems can be interpreted through the aesthetics and ethics of the *kåntan chamorrita*. Perez-Hattori's poem casts out the initial call and first verse, while Bevacqua's poem takes up the challenge by repeating the theme, intertextually weaving the two poems, and adding his own verse. Thus, we can think of the oral call-and-response technique as an "intertextual orality" in the sense that the intertextual moments replicate the oral technique in written form.⁶¹⁶ This intergenerational and intertextual call-and-response creates a communal situation in which both poets protest colonial regimes of representation used to dominate, control, and suppress Chamorro identity, culture, history, and politics. In the face of this power, these poets weave a counter-tsamorita to advocate for Chamorro empowerment and self-determination.⁶¹⁷ Through their communal interweaving, they prove that Guam is more than an Island of Thieves, more than a footnote to American empire. They prove that Guam is where the voice of Chamorro empowerment begins.

Sinangân-ta: Chamorro Spoken Word Poetry

Contemporary Chamorro Spoken Word Poetry is "performance-based poetry that is presented as a narration, as if the poet were engaged in a conversation."⁶¹⁸ These narrations are considered poetic because they are recited in a rhythmic and rhyming oral form, often drawing parallels to hip-hop and rap. Spoken word poetry is most often performed at a "poetry slam," which is an "interactive event that showcases poetry and its crucial component, performance."⁶¹⁹ During the slam, the poet must perform original work (no longer than three minutes) without props, costumes, or musical instruments.

⁶¹⁶ My analysis was inspired by Judy Flores's argument that the kåntan chamorrita was evident in two Chamorro songs. In 1999, Jess Castro recorded a very popular song called "Chada' Fresko" ("Fresh Eggs"), which contained sexual innuendo that offended many listeners. A few months later, Chilang Delgado released "Chorisos Pakpak," ("Sizzling Chorizos"), with an equal amount of humorous, sexual innuendo. To Flores, it was as if "Chilang Delgado was responding to a verse initiated by Jess Castro, down the street...These singers, in response to modern-day electronic communication devices, are still 'throwing' verses back and forth," "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 27.

⁶¹⁷ Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' draws a connection between the kåntan chamorrita tradition and contemporary decolonial Chamorro poetry because they are both represent acts of resistance and self determination. See Fanggi'i I Linachi Siha—Sinangan Inaguaguati yan i Lina'l'a' Minesngon: 'Kantan Chamoritta' siha gi Siklon benti i unu (Writing the Wrongs—Poetry as Resistance and Survivance: 'Kantan Chamorittas' in the 21st century)" in Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' and Anghet Hoppe-Cruz, "*I Kareran I Palâbran Mâmi—The Journey of Our Words*" MA thesis, Center for Pacific Islands Studies (University of Hawai'i, Mânoa, 2010), 8-41.

⁶¹⁸ Nathalie N. Perez, "Melvin Won Pat-Borja," *Guampedia* (2014), accessed 12/4/14, www.guampedia.com/melvin-won-pat-borja/.

⁶¹⁹ Fanai Castro, "Poetry/Spoken Word," *Guampedia* (2014), accessed 12/4/14, [www.guampedia.com / poetryspoken-word/](http://www.guampedia.com/poetryspoken-word/).

Five judges (sometimes selected before the slam, sometimes chosen from the audience) score each performance on a scale of one to ten. There are usually several rounds of competition before a final "champion" is chosen. Beyond spoken word poets, slams can also include singers, dancers, actors, storytellers, and comedians.

In 2007, Chamorro poets Melvin Won Pat-Borja, Kie Susuico, Fanai Castro, and Jovan Tamayo established the first youth poetry slam competition in Guam. They named the series of events "Sinangân-ta," which translates as "our spoken words." The founders aimed to "provide the community with a forum for mutual education and free expression, to resurrect the art of poetry and place it into a lively setting."⁶²⁰ Additionally, Sinangân-ta conducted writing workshops for youth at high schools, the University of Guam, and other community and non-profit organizations, with the goal of forming a slam team that would represent Guam in national and international poetry competitions. One of the co-founders, Kie Susuico, considers spoken word poetry to be "a modern form of storytelling rooted in indigenousness, a link to the customs and beliefs of the first peoples to settle these islands now known as the Marianas."⁶²¹ Fellow co-founder, Fanai Castro, also notes: "The fact that the audience can be actively involved by making noise if they hear something that they like or dislike evokes the system of call and response that is characteristic of Chamorro oral narration, challenging all participants to listen and think critically."⁶²² While many scholars of indigenous literature have highlighted the textual orality of written narratives, here is a wayreading of contemporary spoken word as a re-articulation of the *kåntan chamorrita* because spoken word is performed orally and presented to a live, participatory audience.⁶²³

In 2011, the Sinangân-ta Poetry Collective put together a youth poetry team, dubbed *Team Guåhan*, to compete in the *Brave New Voices International Poetry Slam Festival*, a national competition for youth spoken word poetry sponsored by the national organization, *Youth Speaks Inc.* Four youth poets from Guåhan, along with their coaches, traveled to San Francisco, California, to compete. We can wayread this competition as similar to pre-colonial events on Guam, in which kåntan chamorrita singers from different villages compete. The winners would bring their villages and clans great prestige.⁶²⁴ Even though *Team Guåhan* did not win the *Brave New Voices* competition, they performed several, crowd-pleasing poems, most notably a group poem titled "Self

⁶²⁰ Ibid.

⁶²¹ Ibid.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ Clement Sr. posits that the "competitive extemporaneous poetry of teen-age rap, utilizing stock phrases and mnemonics in poetry-dictated meter, sung to a simple rhythmic ground...represent[s] the evolution of tsamorita singing," in "Tsamorita Singing," n.p.

⁶²⁴ Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 21.

"Guamination," performed by Ryan Leon Guerrero and Walla Wai. During the performance, the two poets stand side by side, sometimes alternating lines and phrases, and sometimes speaking the same lines and phrases simultaneously. Throughout, the poets vary their vocal registers and rhythms, and attempt to embody the emotions, actions, and rhythms of the poem with hand gestures and body movements. Additionally, the audience would respond during the poem with cheers and applause, more than once forcing the poets to stop the performance until the crowd noise subsided. While I was not in attendance for the competition, the performance was recorded by an audience member and has been posted on YouTube.⁶²⁵ Between its original posting in 2011 and the end of 2014, the YouTube video of "Self-Guamination" has been viewed nearly 35,000 times.

Similar to Perez-Hattori and Bevacqua's poems, "Self-Guamination" exposes and critiques the colonial history of Guam, from the Spanish to the American colonial eras. The poem begins at the beginning of Spanish military conquest and Catholic missionary conversion:

In 1668 silence sailed from Spain
and invaded the shores of Guam
The Spanish hushed the Chamorro culture with rifles
and the sounds of extinction were deafening
They justified genocide with bibles
Burnt down huts, destroyed villages,
and called it...Catholicism
they forced us to our knees to praise a foreign GOD
as if chanting to our ancestors was anything less than spiritual
The Spanish brought disease, soldiers, and missionaries to our island
colonization was their mission⁶²⁶

"Silence," the first subject of the poem, is figured as a force that sailed and invaded Guam, symbolizing the silencing effect of colonialism as it "hushed" the Chamorro culture through the deafening "sounds of extinction" (gunshots and other violent sounds). As the end of the above passage mentions, even the spiritual chanting (possibly a reference to kåntan chamorrita) was replaced with prayers to a foreign god. While we can interpret the meaning by reading the transcribed spoken word poem, we can only wayread the connection to the kåntan chamorrita by paying attention to how the poem is vocalized. Based on the video, the spoken performance can be transcribed in this way:

⁶²⁵ "Brave New Voices 2011 Team Guahan," YouTube Video, 5:24, posted by Erica Benton, July 24, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cvjxqy1dHU4>.

⁶²⁶ The print version of the poem can be found here: "Self-Guamination (Sneak Peek) Spoken Word Poetry," Kinahulo' Linahyan: The Awakening of the Masses Website, accessed 12/4/14, <http://kinahulo.bandcamp.com/track/willa-wai-ryan-leon-guerrero-self-guamination-sneak-peek-spoken-word-poetry>.

Poet 1 (Wai):

In 1668 silence sailed from Spain

Together:

and invaded the shores of Guam

Poet 2 (Leon Guerrero):

The Spanish hushed the Chamorro culture with rifles

Together:

and the sounds of extinction were deafening

Poet 1:

They justified genocide with bibles
Burnt down huts, destroyed villages,
and called it...

Together:

Catholicism

Poet 2:

They forced us to our knees to praise a foreign GOD
as if chanting to our ancestors was anything less than spiritual

Poet 1:

The Spanish brought disease, soldiers, and missionaries to our island
colonization was their mission⁶²⁷

As evident, the poets' voices interweave to create a sonic landscape that replicates a call-and-response narration. The tone of their voices embodies the emotions of the passage, ranging from anger to rage to loss. Their hand and bodily gestures emphasize the stressed

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

syllables of their words and sometimes enact the movements described in the poem (i.e. they gesture downwards when describing how their ancestors were made to kneel, and gesture upwards when mentioning the foreign god). As the poem continues, the poets continue to testify about the abuses and trauma caused by Spanish and American colonialism.

Later in "Self-Guamination," the poets turn away from trauma to highlight the strength and survival of the Chamorro people. The poets assert that the "foundation of strength...to keep the Chamorro culture living and breathing" is oral stories because they have the power to "break free from this tyranny" of silence. Indeed, the poem reaches a narrative and emotional climax when the poets testify about the power of contemporary spoken word poetry:

Poet 1:

But with the strength we inherit from our ancestors
We will engage in this war to preserve our past

Poet 2:

Using our vocal chords as slings and our vocal tones as stones

Together:

they are thrown,

Poet 1:

not to break bones,

Together:

but to break the silence of our people

Poet 2:

to all of you this is just a poem,

Poet 1:

but to us, it's the chance to bring justice to our home⁶²⁸

The young poets imagine themselves as continuing the legacy of indigenous survival and resiliency. For them, spoken word poetry preserves the past by retelling stories and reanimating history in the present. The dialogue phrasing and the long vowel rhymes—tones, stones, thrown, bones, poem, and home—further emphasize the interwoven quality of the poem. While slings and stones were traditional weapons used by ancestral Chamorros against the Spanish military, the youth poets view their voices and words as narrative weapons. However, the poets are not advocating armed conflict; instead, they are insisting that Chamorros must break their silence and speak out against oppression. As they note in the final couplet: spoken word poetry is more than just an aesthetic object, it is an opportunity to advocate for justice.

Conclusion

The *kåntan chamorrita* was once the most important and prevalent form of Chamorro literature. Its dialogue, call-and-response form embodied the communal values of Chamorro cultural identity as it, literally, brought people together during many communal activities, from feasts to funerals, planting to harvesting, weaving to thatching. Tragically, the history of religious, educational, cultural, and media colonialism, in addition to the history of Chamorro linguicide, has led to the marginalization and endangerment of the themes, contexts, and indigenous language of the pre-colonial *kåntan chamorrita* tradition.

Despite Guam's colonial history, there have been efforts to preserve and revitalize the Chamorro language and the *kåntan chamorrita*. In 1979, a Chamorro mandate was passed into law, requiring Chamorro language to be taught in elementary grades. Chamorro language classes expanded to high school in 1992. In the 1980s, a group of Kåntan Chamorrita singers, along the Guam Council of the Arts and Humanities, the Chamorro Studies Program of the Department of Education, and several faculty from the University of Guam, began to revitalize the art form by offering apprentices to young women who were interested in learning the form.⁶²⁹ Through a grant from the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts, *kåntan chamorrita* poets (including Clotilde Gould, Asuncion Cruz, Marcella Aguon, Angelina Anderson, Maria Crisostomo, Lourdes Taitague, Floren Paulino and Vicente Meno) were able to teach apprentices in replicated home settings, and performances were held throughout the island.⁶³⁰ Another

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Allan M. Nazareno, "A Study on the Effect of Spanish Culture on the Traditional Music and Dances of Guam," MA Thesis (California State University Dominguez Hills, 2005), 64.

⁶³⁰ Souder, "Kantan Chamorrita," 191. See also Flores, "Kantan Chamorrita revisited," 24.

important endeavor was an oral history project conducted by Flora Baza Quan through the Government of Guam Department of Parks and Recreation Historical Preservation Program. As a result of these efforts, the Chamorro Heritage Foundation was established in association with the Guam Economic Development Agency. With the support of these new cultural agencies, the *kåntan chamorrita* singers attended and participated in the 1988 South Pacific Festival of the Arts in Townsville, Australia, and in the 1992 festival in the Cook Islands. As Nazareno notes, the "attendance at arts festivals in the Pacific region created more interest from the international community and its acceptance as an indigenous art form."⁶³¹ In 1990, the group received the Governor's Arts Awards for the Performing Arts, and, in 2000, the Guam Council of Arts and Humanities Agency honored them as Masters of Chamorro Tradition.⁶³² The support for and interest in these projects offers "hope that this poetic tradition will rise in popularity as a means of cultural expression. With continued community interest and support, the revitalization of the *Kantan Chamorrita* can be of tremendous value to the preservation and development of Chamorro language and culture."⁶³³

Alongside the preservation and revitalization of the *kåntan chamorrita*, scholars have showed how other forms of contemporary Chamorro expression, such as the rosary and music, can be wayread as replicating *kåntan chamorrita* aesthetics and ethics. This kind of interpretation suggests that the contemporary Chamorro aesthetic practices are neither degraded nor inauthentic because they have been influenced by foreign media, print technologies, or international cultural productions. Instead, we can wayread contemporary Chamorro cultural and literary production—rosaries, songs, and written and spoken word poetries through the indigenous aesthetics of the *kåntan chamorrita* to reveal the survival of the form. In this chapter, I have illustrated how the call-and-response oral technique is textualized as intertextual references in written contemporary Chamorro poetry. At the same time, I show how the form and function of the *kåntan chamorrita* is replicated in the intertextuality of intergenerational Chamorro written word poetry and the oral, collaborative, and competitive aspects of youth spoken word poetry. These contemporary practices articulate an imaginative communality, in which today's Chamorro poets braid their poems together to create a new communal situation (on the page and on the stage). From this empowered space, these poets protect Chamorro culture and defend against ongoing colonialism. Moreover, this braiding heals what was once deemed severed by connecting contemporary Chamorro poets to indigenous aesthetics, weaving songs and voices to articulate justice, and singing forwards and backwards to sing the past into the urgency of the present and the hope for an indigenous future.

⁶³¹ Nazareno, "A Study on the Effect of Spanish Culture," 64.

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Souder, "Kantan Chamorrita," 192.

Conclusion

"Prutehi yan Difendi": Chamorro Literature as Decolonial Activism

"If you can read the ocean you will never be lost."⁶³⁴

—Mau Piailug

Towards our Destination: Sighting Chamorro Literary Horizons

Throughout the journey of this dissertation, we have navigated vast expanses of Chamorro "time/space/self/narrative" in order to experience and understand the diversity, complexity, resiliency, and vibrancy of Chamorro culture, identity, and literature. As I have shown, Chamorros have an impressive aesthetic tradition, including the oral form of kåntan chamorrita, latte stone megalith architecture, and outrigger canoe design. These pre-colonial aesthetic practices, and the Chamorro values they embodied, were reified as the "authentic," "pure," and "traditional" Chamorro art and aesthetics. Similarly, pre-colonial Chamorro customs, practices, and values defined what most people would understand as authentic, pure, and traditional Chamorro culture and identity. Because Guam has experienced more than three centuries of colonization by three different imperial nations, Chamorro language, beliefs, customs, practices, identities, and aesthetics have dramatically changed. Thus, anthropologists and historians have claimed that authentically indigenous Chamorro culture no longer exists. Similarly, literary scholars have argued that contemporary Chamorro literature is degraded and inauthentic because it is often composed in a written form as opposed to an oral form, predominantly in English as opposed to Chamorro, and in a foreign genre as opposed to an indigenous genre. This discourse of inauthenticity, I suggest, is based on an understanding of Chamorro culture and literature as static essences that once existed in a "pure" and "authentic" state before colonialism, modernity, and globalization. As a result, Chamorro people and writers have struggled to navigate indigenous identity in a sea of cultural and literary assimilation.

I countered this fatal impact cultural and literary theory by arguing that Chamorro culture is a dynamic, moving entity composed of core, enduring values, customs, and practices that are continually transformed and re-articulated within various historical contexts and political pressures. Relatedly, I contend that Chamorro literature is a dynamic phenomenon comprised of an enduring aesthetic genealogy that has also been

⁶³⁴ Quoted in Nainoa Thompson, "Non-Instrument Navigation," *PBS Hawai'i* (n.d.), accessed on 9/10/14 (<http://www.pbs.org/wayfinders/wayfinding2.html>).

transformed by colonialism and re-articulated by every successive generation of Chamorro authors. To navigate this complex terrain, I develop and enact an interpretive and literary methodology that I term *wayreading*, inspired by Pacific Islander, Native American, and Global Indigenous Literary Studies. First, wayreading maps Chamorro culture, identity, and literature as dynamic, transformative, and resilient—as *moving islands of articulated indigeneity and aesthetics*. Wayreading indigenizes our interpretation of a text within indigenous ecologies, images, languages, themes, metaphors, stories, identities, histories, cultural practices, values, traditions, aesthetics, and epistemologies. Wayreading, therefore, involves learning the etak and pookof of Chamorro history and culture in order to situate our analysis within the cultural, political, ecological, and linguistic contexts of Chamorro literature. Wayreading also prioritizes analyzing contemporary indigenous literature through the lens of customary indigenous aesthetics. This involves engaging indigenous aesthetics and technologies—such as canoeing, tattooing, weaving, carving, etc—not only for how they function as a theme within a text, but also how they function as a primary structural logic for the formal elements of a text. Lastly, wayreading involves being attentive to how indigenous literature contributes to movements of liberation, decolonization, and self-determination. Overall, wayreading is an indigenous literary methodology that involves conceptualizing indigenous cultural identities as complex articulations; centering indigenous literary productions within indigenous intellectual, historical, cultural, and political contexts; examining contemporary literary forms through the aesthetics of customary indigenous oral, visual, and performative arts; and foregrounding the role that indigenous literature plays in imagining and enacting decolonial activism.

The first chapter of this dissertation maps and discusses the scholarship on the discourse of Chamorro identity formation and cultural colonialism, in addition to Chamorro aesthetic production and aesthetic colonialism. I detail the acculturative efforts of the Spanish, Japanese, and American colonial regimes and how these efforts changed Chamorro culture, identity, and literature. I also highlight how the discourse of inauthenticity was employed to de-indigenize, disempower, and de-legitimize Chamorro claims to indigenous rights, decolonization, self-determination, and political sovereignty. As I discussed, scholars have argued against the rhetoric of inauthenticity and instead proposed an "articulation" approach to understanding Chamorro culture, art, and identity. This new approach, often classified as a Native Pacific Cultural Studies approach, foregrounds how Pacific indigeneity is an "articulated" identity in the sense that it survives, changes, adapts, and negotiates with colonial ideologies and structures. Thus, scholars and literary critics must transform how we interpret cultural expression in order to become attuned to the markers and transformations of indigenous identities and expressions. By mapping the etak and pookof, this chapter oriented our navigation, or wayreading, of how the primary themes of Chamorro literature express the survival and vitality of Chamorro language, customs, values, and practices, as well as how the primary narrative structures of Chamorro literature embody Chamorro aesthetics, technologies, and ecologies.

In the other major chapters, I wayread an intergenerational selection of contemporary Chamorro literature published between 1982-2013 in order to show how "differently positioned authorities represent a living tradition's combined and uneven processes of continuity, rupture, transformation, and revival."⁶³⁵ Each chapter focuses on how important cultural symbols (land, banyan trees, *i guma' latte*, outrigger canoes, and *kåntan chamorrita*) are thematized in Chamorro literature. I argue that the presence (or "absent presence" in the case of *i guma' latte*) of these cultural symbols function to decolonize, revitalize, re-construct, and re-articulate Chamorro culture and identity. Furthermore, I insist that the aesthetics associated with these cultural symbols influence the forms and structures of Chamorro literature, re-connecting contemporary Chamorro literature to ancestral Chamorro aesthetics. This kind of wayreading maps the indigenizing agency of Chamorro authors and navigates the complexity, vitality, and survival of Chamorro aesthetics.

While I foreground the anticolonial, decolonial, and postcolonial impulse of Chamorro literature throughout the dissertation, I will conclude our voyage with a few examples of Chamorro literature as pragmatic decolonial activism. Contemporary Chamorro literature has developed hand in hand with the Chamorro decolonization movement because literature is one space through which Chamorros revitalize indigenous identity and cultural pride, as well as to advocate for ecological protection, land reclamation, and political liberation from colonialism, militarism, and capitalism. As Monique Storie phrases it, Chamorro and Pacific literatures are "simultaneously a cultural artifact (a product of a culture) and a cultural agent (an influence on a culture)."⁶³⁶ By creating new literature and employing creative writing and arts in political spaces, Chamorro authors are disrupting the celebratory narratives of American exceptionalism, revealing the ruptures of empire, and "maladjusting" colonial structures.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁵ James Clifford, "Indigenous Articulations," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13.2 (2001), 480.

⁶³⁶ Monique R. Cariveau, "All Fifty Kathousand Cousins: Chamorro Teachers Responding to Contemporary Children's Literature Set in Guam," Ph.D. dissertation, Language, Reading and Culture (University of Arizona, 2009), 75.

⁶³⁷ In "The Consciousness of Guam and the Maladjusted People" (1987), Robert Underwood satirically classifies the people of Guam into two categories: the "Consciousness of Guam" and the "Maladjusted People." The consciousness of Guam has been adjusted by colonial education and mass media to reject the integrity of the island, the value of native culture, and the worth of the Chamorro people. In a sense, they are colonized. The "maladjusted," however, "cannot find it in their hearts to adjust to the demise of their own people" (104) and openly critique U.S. colonialism. They are the decolonial activists. This refusal to adjust causes the consciousness of Guam to view the maladjusted as a threat to "infect the population with their vision, their perception, their recognition of reality" (105). I consider decolonial Chamorro artists and poets as "maladjusted." And I agree with Underwood's insight: "The hidden strength of the people lies with the maladjusted" (107). Robert Underwood, "The Consciousness of Guam and the Maladjusted People," in *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People I Derechon I Taotao* (Mangilao, Guam: Chamorro Studies Association and Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1987), 101-107.

Decolonizing "America's Pacific Century" through Chamorro Literature

In a 2011 issue of *Foreign Policy*, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced "America's Pacific Century," a foreign policy turn—or pivot—towards the Pacific.⁶³⁸ She wrote:

By virtue of our unique geography, the United States is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power. We are proud of our European partnerships and all that they deliver. Our challenge now is to build a web of partnerships and institutions across the Pacific that is as durable and as consistent with American interests and values as the web we have built across the Atlantic.⁶³⁹

This strategic turn to the Pacific aims to expand trade and investment throughout the region. The cornerstone of America's Pacific Century is the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a free trade agreement that has been described as "NAFTA on steroids" for the Asia-Pacific region. According to a global trade watch group, the TPP will undoubtedly:

undermine financial regulation, increase pharmaceutical drug prices, flood [America] with unsafe imported food and products, ban Buy America policies aimed at recovery and redevelopment, and empower corporations to attack [America's] environmental and health safeguards before tribunals of corporate lawyers.⁶⁴⁰

The TPP seeks to remove "barriers to trade," such as labor laws, unions, environmental protections, product safety laws, taxes, healthcare, zoning, and other policies. Multinational corporations, from mining to tobacco, pharmaceutical to agriculture, stand to gain from the TPP and the vision outlined as "America's Pacific Century."

These neoliberal economic policies depend on the further militarization of the Pacific. This has led the U.S. military to "pursue a more geographically distributed,

⁶³⁸ While Clinton foregrounded the 21st century as America's Pacific Century, many scholars have shown that American hegemony in the Pacific defined the 20th century as well. See, for example, the Introduction by Rob Wilson and Arif Dirlik, editors, in *Asia/Pacific as Space of Cultural Production* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 1-14.

⁶³⁹ Hillary Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," *Foreign Policy* (2011), accessed April 1, 2012, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/10/11/americas_pacific_century.

⁶⁴⁰ Lori Wallach, "A Stealth Attack on Democratic Governance," *The American Prospect* (March 13, 2012), accessed on April 2, 2012, <http://prospect.org/article/stealth-attackdemocratic-governance>.

operationally resilient, and politically sustainable force posture.⁶⁴¹ For Guam, this new force posture had already manifested in 2006, when the U.S. and Japan announced a major "realignment" of U.S. military forces and operations in the Asia-Pacific region. This realignment would include one of the largest military buildups and relocations in U.S. history. This "Mega-buildup" would include the construction of facilities to house and support the transfer of 8,600 marines and their 9,000 dependents from Okinawa to Guam, as well as 7,000 transient Navy personnel, 600-1000 Army personnel, and 20,000 foreign workers to sharpen the tip of the spear.⁶⁴² Additionally, the buildup would establish an Air and Missile Defense Task Force, a live firing range complex, and the creation of a deep-draft wharf in Apra Harbor for nuclear powered aircraft carriers. As the "Westernmost sovereign territory of the United States," Guam allows the military to conduct operations with maximum "freedom of action."⁶⁴³

For any military project, the Department of Defense must prepare an Environmental Impact Statement to assess the potential environmental, social, and cultural impacts of the proposed project.⁶⁴⁴ The Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS) of the proposed military buildup was released in November 2009 online and in print at various locations on Guam.⁶⁴⁵ The 10-volume, 11,000-page document detailed the plans and impacts of the military buildup. Some of these impacts include limiting access to Pågat (the richest site of ancient Chamorro artifacts such *latte* stones) to build a live

⁶⁴¹ Clinton, "America's Pacific Century," n.p.

⁶⁴² Gwen Kirk and Lisa Natividad, "Fortress Guam: Resistance to U.S. Military Mega-Buildup," *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 19-1-10 (May 10, 2010), accessed August 15, 2010, <http://japanfocus.org/-Gwyn-Kirk/3356>.

⁶⁴³ The importance of Guam in military strategy is not only due to its colonial geo-political status and location as the "Westernmost sovereign territory of the United States," but Guam's importance is also due to "freedom of action." "Freedom of action" is "the ability of the U.S. to use bases and training facilities freely and without restriction at a particular locale, as well as affording the U.S. the ability to engage in rapid force posture movements and contingency response from those locations." Because Guam is a territory, the U.S. military does not face the same restrictions it might face in U.S. states (such as Hawai'i or Alaska) or sovereign countries (such as Japan or South Korea). Guam and CNMI Military Relocation Environmental Impact Statement, Volume Two: Marine Corps Relocation—Guam, "Chapter 1: Purpose of and Need for Action," *U.S. Department of the Navy: Guam and CNMI Military Relocation Website*, accessed March 18, 2015, <http://www.guambuildupeis.us/documents/>.

⁶⁴⁴ Gwen Kirk and Lisa Natividad, "Fortress Guam," n.p.

⁶⁴⁵ The Draft of the Environmental Impact Statement was released for download at www.guambuildupeis.us and in print at the University of Guam Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Library and the Nieves M. Flores Memorial Library on Guam, as well as at the mayor's offices in several villages of Guam, including Dededo, Yigo, Agat, Mangilao, and Barrigada. See Press Release, "Draft Environmental Impact Statement for Guam and CNMI Military Relocation Available for Public Review," *U.S. Department of the Navy: Guam and CNMI Military Relocation Website*, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://guambuildupeis.us/>.

firing range complex, eliminating hundreds of acres of jungle rich with medicinal plants to construct permanent military facilities and a camp for foreign laborers, removing more than 70 acres of living coral reef from the ocean floor to build a deep-draft wharf, and producing over 8 tons of hazardous waste. The DEIS also noted that the increase in population would increase the instances of violence, crime, prostitution, and rape, and put an unsustainable stress on affordable housing, social services, education, health care, and utility services such as water, power, and sewage.⁶⁴⁶ Residents of Guam were given a 90-day period to read, decipher, and comprehend the DEIS in order to submit online commentary or to voice their opinions (or "testify") for three minutes or less at public hearings held throughout the island.⁶⁴⁷

The first DEIS public hearing was held on January 7, 2010, at Southern High School in the village of Santa Rita, which is in the southern part of Guam, near the Naval Base. In fact, the history of Santa Rita began when villagers from the ancient village of Sumay were evicted and relocated to the current village of Santa Rita so that the US military could make room for the construction of Naval station.⁶⁴⁸ Chamorro poet Melvin Won-Pat Borja, who taught creative writing at Southern High School, performed an autobiographical spoken word poem, titled "No Deal," for his three-minute testimony.⁶⁴⁹ Won-Pat Borja represented *We Are Guahan*, a "multi-ethnic collective of individuals, families and grassroots organizations" that emerged in November 2009 to "to inform and engage our community on the various issues concerning the impending military build up." As stated on the group's website: "We Are Guåhan aims to unite and mobilize our people to *protect and defend* our resources and our culture. We Are Guåhan promotes peaceful, positive and prosperous change for our island."⁶⁵⁰

Throughout the promotional and activist materials that We Are Guåhan produced, the group often used the phrase "prutehi yan difendi," or the translation "protect and defend," as a rallying message to the community. This phrase (and its indigenous and decolonial ethos) comes from a well-known poem, Bernadita Camacho-Dungca's

⁶⁴⁶ Gwen Kirk and Lisa Natividad, "Fortress Guam," n.p.

⁶⁴⁷ The comment period lasted from November 20, 2009 to February 17, 2010. Comments were accepted online or by mail; additionally, the public could submit oral and/or written comments during the four public hearings on Guam, which were held between January 7, 2010 to January 12, 2010, at two public high schools, the University of Guam Field House, and the Yigo Gymnasium. See Press Release, "Draft Environmental Impact Statement for Guam and CNMI Military Relocation Available for Public Review."

⁶⁴⁸ Leo Babauta, "Santa Rita," *Guampedia* (2014), accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.guampedia.com/santa-rita/>. For a history of Sumay, see James Perez Viernes, "Fanhasso I Taotao Sumay: Displacement, Dispossession and Survival on Guam," MA thesis (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2008).

⁶⁴⁹ Melvin Won-Pat Borja, "No Deal," YouTube (2010), accessed Feb 23, 2012. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YzmXU6u5CTE>.

⁶⁵⁰ Emphasis added. "About," *We Are Guahan Website*, accessed March 20, 2015, <http://www.weareguahan.com/about-weareguahan/>.

“Inifresi” (1991), the title of which translates as “Pledge” or “Offering.”⁶⁵¹ Examining this poem, briefly, will illustrate the power of literature to respond to colonial and military oppression. The poem reads in its entirety:

Ginen I mas Takhelo' gi Hinasso-ku
I Mas Takhalom gi Kurason-hu yan
I Mas Figo' na Nina'siña-hu, hu
Ufresen Maisa yu' para bai hu
Prutehi yan Difende I Hinengge,
I Kottura, I Lengguåhi, I Aire I Hanom yan
I Tano' Chamorro ni' Irenciå-ku Direchu Ginen
as Yu'os Tåta. Este hu Afitma gi hilo' I
Bipblia yan I Banderå-hu, I Banderan
GUÅHAN⁶⁵²

The speaker pledges to “prutehi yan difendi” (protect and defend) “I Hinengge, I Kottura, I Lengguåhi, I Aire I Hanom yan I Tano” (the beliefs, culture, language, air, water, and land). The source of this pledge comes “ginen” (from) “I mas Takhelo’ gi Hinasso-ku” (the depths of the speaker’s mind), “I Mas Takhalom gi Kurason-hu” (the bottom of her heart), and “I Mas Figo’ na Nina’siña-hu” (the totality of her strength). The pledge is affirmed on “I Bipblia” (the Bible) and “I Banderan Guåhan” (the Flag of Guam). The Bible represents the strong connection between Chamorro culture and Catholicism⁶⁵³; the Guam Flag, which was created in 1917, is often associated with Chamorro nationalism.⁶⁵⁴ The fact that the poem is entirely in the Chamorro language is also a politicized linguistic act since one of the main goals of the U.S. colonial education system on Guam has been to eliminate the Chamorro language. “Inifresi” was read at a Chamorro language event to students at the University of Guam in 1998. Because English is the official language of Guam, this event in and of itself holds cultural and political significance. A week later,

⁶⁵¹ It should be noted that Camacho-Dungca’s father was a kantan chamorrita poet. See Bernadita Camacho-Dungca, “Interview on tsamorita singing,” quoted in Michael R. Clement Sr., “Traditional Chamorro dialog song of the Mariana Islands,” *Chamorroweb*, n.d., accessed January 20, 2012, <http://chamorroweb.com/tsamorita-singing.asp>.

⁶⁵² Bernadita Camacho-Dungca, “Inifresi,” quoted in *Executive Order No. 98-28: “Inifresi,”* signed by Governor Carl T. C. Gutierrez on Oct 29, 1998. Government of Guam. Office of the Governor. accessed February 6, 2012, <http://documents.guam.gov/sites/default/files/E.O.-98-28-Relative-to-Adopting-Inifresi-the-Chamorro-P.pdf>.

⁶⁵³ See Vicente Diaz, *Repositioning the missionary: rewriting the histories of colonialism, native Catholicism, and indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010).

⁶⁵⁴ For a history and analysis of the Guam Flag, see Christine Taitano DeLisle, “Navy Wives/ Native Lives: The Cultural and Historial Relations Between Naval Wives and Chamorro Women in Guam, 1898-1945,” PhD dissertation (University of Michigan, 2008).

the Governor of Guam at the time, Carl T.C. Gutierrez, issued Executive Order No. 98-28, which adopted the "Inifresi" as the official "Chamorro Pledge of Allegiance." The Executive Order described how "the public recitation of 'Inifresi' will foster deeper appreciation for the Chamorro people, culture, language and our Guam homeland," and that it could be recited "in any public and private event where the 'American Pledge of Allegiance' might also be recited."⁶⁵⁵ The Order not only recognizes the inspirational quality of Camacho-Dungca's poem and the important role of art to inspire cultural pride, but it also re-affirms the idea that poetry can have political power, as evident in the belief that the "Inifresi" is considered equivalent to the American "Pledge of Allegiance."

With this history in mind, let us return to Won-Pat Borja's poem. "No Deal" opens in a classroom, when the speaker in the poem, a teacher, is asked a question by a student: "Sir, what if we protest and unite as a people, and in the end they just do whatever they want."⁶⁵⁶ At first, the teacher is rendered speechless by his student's fear; after embracing his identity as "a native of Guam," the teacher responds:

I am not naïve to the reality of the situation, I understand that the federal government has done worst things and gotten away with it, like smallpox blankets, like nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands, like dropping bombs on Vieques, like holding the sovereign queen of Hawai'i at gunpoint to sign the annexation.⁶⁵⁷

The teacher draws these transnational connections to expose these abuses and to insist that Chamorro are not alone in this struggle. Borja asserts that Chamorros can find strength in their ancestral claims because "for centuries [Chamorros] have been the guardians and caretakers" of Guam. This genealogical insistence dispels the belief that Guam is merely "part of a perverse manifest destiny."⁶⁵⁸

Borja suggests that the hopelessness that the student feels, mirroring the hopelessness that many residents felt after the DEIS was released, causes some to believe that "the best course of action is to make a deal." Borja resists making a deal by thinking of the long-term, genealogical effects the military buildup will have on the Chamorro people: "I cannot go home and look my son in the eyes and tell him that I love him knowing that behind closed doors, I am making a deal, I cannot look at my students and tell them I care about their future if I am making a deal—I am not here to make a

⁶⁵⁵ Executive Order No. 98-28: "Inifresi," signed by Governor Carl T. C. Gutierrez on Oct 29, 1998. Government of Guam. Office of the Governor. Accessed February 6, 2012, <http://documents.guam.gov/sites/default/files/E.O.-98-28-Relative-to-Adopting-Inifresi-the-Chamorro-P.pdf>.

⁶⁵⁶ Borja, "No Deal." Written version of this spoken word poem, which appears as prose, provided through personal communication.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

deal.⁶⁵⁹ While the teacher refuses to make a deal regarding the military buildup, he also points out the fact that many Chamorros have made deals with the military:

We are loyal servants fighting for your freedom of action, fighting so that you can let the federal government label Guam sovereign US soil and impose the largest military relocation in history. We are so loyal that we enlist more sons and daughters into America's armed services to fight and die than anywhere else in the world. We have paid your ultimate sacrifice time and again.⁶⁶⁰

Guam is not only a strategic location for American military bases, but it has also become an invaluable resource for military recruiters. Chamorros have been enlisting and dying in the US armed forces at some of the highest rates in the nation. During the Vietnam War, Guam had one of the highest killed-in-action rate per capita. In 1980, the Department of Defense estimated that 5 percent of Guam's population was in the military, which was twelve times the national average. During the Iraq war, most recruitment officers struggled to meet their quotas; however, Guam's recruiters excelled: four of the Army's twelve most successful recruiters are based in Guam.⁶⁶¹ The military is the major employer on Guam, and there are three JROTC programs in the public schools, as well as an ROTC program at the University of Guam. A key reason for recruiting success is economic: 25% of the population is defined as poor, and around 40% of the population received Food Stamps.⁶⁶² Many Chamorros see the military as the only opportunity for economic, social, and political capital. Out of the relationship between Chamorros and the military emerged the description of Guam as a "recruiter's paradise."⁶⁶³

Beyond economic pressures, scholars have noted that Chamorros enlist in such high numbers due to historical and psychological factors related to World War II. On December 8, 1941, the Japanese military invaded Guam, overtook the American military, and occupied Guam for three years. On July 21, 1944, the US military returned to Guam and a three-week battle for the island ensued, which would ultimately end Japanese rule. "Liberation Day" was created a year later. This annual commemoration was seen as a

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "The Exceptional Life and Death of a Chamorro Soldier: Tracing the Militarization of Desire in Guam, USA," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*. edited by Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2010), 35.

⁶⁶² Kirk and Natividad, "Fortress Guam."

⁶⁶³ Matthew D. LaPlante, "U.S. territories: A recruiter's paradise," *The Salt Lake Tribune* (8/5/07), accessed March 20, 2015, <http://decolonizeguam.blogspot.com/2007/08/guam-recruiters-paradise.html>.

time of rebirth and forgiveness, emphasizing "notions of spiritual salvation, national sacrifice, and cultural obligation."⁶⁶⁴ The first liberation celebrations resembled Catholic rituals, as opposed to civic or military ceremonies, and the themes of salvation and liberation became intertwined, reflecting the "interconnected nature of spirituality, identity, and nationality in postwar Guam."⁶⁶⁵ Liberation Day underwent a shift in the 1950s-1960s when the key commemorative theme became Chamorro loyalty to America, and the actual event became more civic and secular with parades, marching bands, and floats. Young women even competed to become "Liberation Day Queen" by selling fundraising tickets. Over the years, Liberation Day has shaped the collective memory of the Chamorro people.⁶⁶⁶ Some scholars believe that the rhetoric of salvation and liberation inscribed by Liberation Day ignited Chamorro "indigenous code of indebtedness,"⁶⁶⁷ thus partially explaining Chamorro enlistment patterns and "the high levels of public and phatic patriotism, military and civilian loyalty and devotion."⁶⁶⁸ In other words, the Chamorro soldier "willingly and loyally shoulders the indigenous sacrifice"⁶⁶⁹ because military service is considered payment towards the Chamorro debt for "liberation" from the brutality of Japanese occupation.

With these contexts in mind, let us return to Won-Pat Borja's testimony. In his poem, the speaker mentions Guam's high enlistment rates to show the cruel irony that even though Chamorros sacrifice their lives in the military, Guam continues to be exploited by the U.S. military and its geopolitical ambitions. Borja explores this irony when he asks how the US government can consider Chamorros "Americans" if they "add insult to injury by burdening us with 8,600 marines all of whom Okinawa has lost its patience for, a nuclear aircraft carrier that will cost us a coral reef, over 50,000 foreign workers to make it all happen, and an army ballistic missile system to defend it all."⁶⁷⁰ In the next moment of the poem, the teacher powerfully proclaims: "The hands of your Presidents are drenched in the blood of our fallen—the same presidents that we are not

⁶⁶⁴ Keith L. Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 86.

⁶⁶⁵ Ibid., 89.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid., 109.

⁶⁶⁷ Vicente Diaz, "Deliberating 'Liberation Day': Identity, History, Memory, and War in Guam," in *Perilous Memories: the Asia-Pacific War(s)*, edited by T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham: Duke U Press, 2001), 162.

⁶⁶⁸ Bevacqua, "The Exceptional Life and Death of a Chamorro Soldier," 36.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid., 48.

⁶⁷⁰ Borja, "No Deal."

allowed to vote for."⁶⁷¹ Borja, evoking the Insular Cases, unravels the truth that the entirety of the US constitution does not apply to Guam, since it is an unincorporated territory. The sacrifice of Chamorro soldiers does not change the colonial truth that Chamorros do not have the right to vote for the President who decides the fate of Chamorro soldiers. Angered at this injustice, Borja concludes the poem with volcanic rhetoric:

Let the record show that in the face of oppression and injustice, the people of Guam refuse to live a life absent of liberty, that we refuse to accept anything less than justice, that we refuse to sell Guam to the highest bidder. And should we die fighting your war machine, let your history books show your children the struggle that we fought to find freedom in a country filled with hypocrisy. Let the record show that Guåhan stood up and said, Uncle Sam, sorry, but *No Deal*.⁶⁷²

Throughout Borja's passionate performance, audience members at the public hearing cheered loudly, sometimes muffling his words. As he spoke the last words, "No Deal," with strength and conviction, the audience erupted with cheers. Borja's poetic testimony exposed America as a country of hypocrisy, not freedom. Because of Guam's unincorporated status, the U.S. constitution does not apply fully on Guam, disempowering the Chamorro people; on the other hand, the U.S. refuses to grant Guam independence since this would eliminate the military's freedom of action on Guam. Within this seemingly hopeless situation, Borja's poem-testimony offers hope that Chamorros can find strength to refuse to live under such an unjust and oppressive situation. Even though Won-Pat Borja's poem is composed in English, unlike Camacho-Dungca's "Inifresi," the decolonial call to prutehi yan difendi is evident in both poems. Furthermore, the performative power and public contexts of both poems speaks to the usefulness and resonance of poetic speech as political rhetorical action. Despite their differences, both "Inifresi" and "No Deal," managed to move many people with their refusal to adjust to the demise of the Chamorro people.

Throughout the history of Chamorro and Pacific literature, the interplay between the poetics of political speech and action and the politics of creative production is apparent. As Hawaiian poet and activist, Haunani-Kay Trask once wrote: "Life is a confluence of creativities: art is a fluid political medium, as politics is metaphorical and artistic."⁶⁷³ In general, most Chamorro and Pacific literature can be conceived as

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

⁶⁷³ Haunani-Kay Trask. 1999. "Writing in Captivity: Poetry in a Time of Decolonization," in Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (eds.), *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield: 17-26.

decolonial literary activism in the sense that literature functions to decolonize hegemonic representations of Chamorro and Pacific history, culture, and identity in the imagination of the reader, as well as to offer new imaginaries and unities for a decolonial future through language. At the same time, there exist a number of Chamorro-authored texts that have entered into the public and political realms, enacting a pragmatic decolonial activism in which literature travels outside the page and becomes a tool through which to inform and engage the community on political various, to unite and mobilize different groups, and to rally and inspire people to *protect and defend* our island.

The End of Our Journey & the Future of Chamorro literature

Guam's decolonization movement emerged in the 1970s and 1980s, when the concepts of "indigenous" and "indigenous rights" became popularized on Guam. During this time, Chamorros fought for land reclamation, political independence, demilitarization, environmental protection, linguistic preservation, and cultural revitalization. The spirit of the time was captured in the 1987 anthology, *Chamorro Self-determination: The Right of a People I Derechon I Taotao*. In the preface, the editors write:

Inspired by their own heritage and motivated by their own history, today, many Chamorros are articulating issues pertaining to their existence as a people. They articulate, define and seek redress to issues not merely as participants in an American body politic, but as members of an indigenous people whose cultural institutions predate any of the social, economic, and political institutions, which currently hold sway on Guam. This spirit has fueled the movement for Chamorros self-determination, inspired the artistry of the island's creative community, and motivated the quest for the return of stolen lands.⁶⁷⁴

The Chamorro spirit is fueled by the articulation of cultural pride and vitality as indigenous peoples. One venue for this articulation has been Chamorro literature. As the editors point out, there is a symbiotic relationship between Chamorro activism and the Chamorro artistic and creative community. In this way, political and social activism are inextricably linked to literary and aesthetic creation.⁶⁷⁵ Conversely, the literary forms and genres that give Chamorro narratives their shape allegorically embody ancestral Chamorro aesthetics, which further enact an aesthetic re-articulation and revitalization.

⁶⁷⁴ Laura Souder-Jaffery and Robert A. Underwood, "Preface," in Souder-Jaffery and Underwood, eds., *Chamorro Self-Determination: The Right of a People I Derechon I Taotao* (Mangilao, Guam: Chamorro Studies Association and Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1987), viii.

⁶⁷⁵ To illustrate this point, the editors include several poems in the anthology that speak to the issue of Chamorro self-determination.

Within the maps of Pacific and Indigenous literary studies, Chamorro literature has remained mostly invisible. Even within Chamorro Studies, literature has been a marginalized field of study. For example, the "Chamorro literature" entry for *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (2000) declared the "richest sources of Chamorro literature are to be found in oral traditions, ranging from legends and folk tales to a variety of musical forms."⁶⁷⁶ When referring to contemporary Chamorro literature, the entry mentions only one text, Chris Perez Howard's *Mariquita: A Tragedy of Guam*, before pronouncing: "To date there are no established Chamorro creative writers."⁶⁷⁷ For many years, *Mariquita* was the representative and most-traveled Chamorro work mainly because it was published outside of Guam by the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University of the South Pacific, Fiji, a major source of Pacific literature. Despite the seeming scarcity of Chamorro literary production and visibility, the encyclopedia entry ends in a hopeful note:

The future of Chamorro literature as an integral part of the contemporary culture of the Mariana Islands appears bright. The current momentum, linked to an resurgence of cultural pride and consciousness, encourages young people and elders to put their thoughts and experiences on paper as well as to make use of film and music. The growth of mass media opportunities and popular cultural resources in the islands will undoubtedly contribute to the flourishing of written literature as a vehicle for the expression of Chamorro culture and identity.⁶⁷⁸

My dissertation has shown that the body of Chamorro literature is not only "measurably more than previously believed,"⁶⁷⁹ but that it represents a vibrant chorus of native voices singing and writing our survival, resiliency, and vitality. Furthermore, by *wayreading* Chamorro literature, I have shown how contemporary Chamorro texts articulate the complexities of Chamorro cultural identity and aesthetics. I hope this dissertation will lead scholars to pay attention to the many other texts of Chamorro literature that have yet to receive critical attention.

I will conclude this dissertation by arriving, once again, on the shores of Guam. Imagine: families lining the entire coastline from Hagåtña all the way to Tumhom during the seasonal fish runs to cast their fishing throw nets, cook, and share food. Hear them singing the *kåntan chamorrita*:

⁶⁷⁶ Keith Lujan Camacho, "Chamorro Literature," *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Lal, Brij V., and Kate Fortune (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 520.

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ Skinner, "Contemporary Micronesian Literature," 3.

For miles up and down the shoreline, the calls and responses of the lead singers would be heard. Sometimes a neighborhood group would respond. Sometimes women in the group would band together to try to outsmart the men through their verse innovations. Rhyming phrases would be thrown back and forth, sometimes for hours, with different people joining in and calling out challenges or responding to the rhyming of others.⁶⁸⁰

Now imagine all the intergenerational, on-island and off-island authors under discussion in this dissertation, as well as those mentioned in footnotes, standing along the figurative shores of Chamorro literature, throwing their cultural, political, and decolonial verses (in various languages, forms, and genres) back and forth along the westernmost border of the American empire and across the Chamorro diaspora. Listen to our first ancestors, Puntan and Fu’una, singing in canoes while they sailed across the ocean and after, as they created our island and birthed our people. Listen to our ancestors threading poems while carving latte stones, hewing wood, weaving mats, and thatching roofs. And look—or better yet, wayread—how the aesthetics and visual literacies of these customary aesthetic practices continue to inform our contemporary arts. Now listen to our ancestors praying, speaking, and talking story in churches, schools, military bases, hotels, and concrete houses. Listen to our kin singing on the radio and television, in books and literary journals, at public hearings and political rallies. Listen to our diverse voices, identities, texts, and aesthetics echoing across “time/space/self/narrative” to interweave a meta-*kåntan chamorrita* that will inspire us and our descendants to continue to *prutehi yan difendi* our home, our lands, our waters, our histories, our language, our culture, our people. Imagine these interwoven literary acts and contexts as a collective song map, a communal and transnational navigational chant, that will guide us towards the moving islands of a decolonized, demilitarized, and sovereign future.

⁶⁸⁰ Laura Souder, "Kantan Chamorrita: Traditional Chamorro poetry, past and future." *Manoa* 5(1), *Writing from the Pacific Islands* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i Press, 1993): 189.

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