

“Reduction” of the Marianas

*Resettlement into Villages
under the Spanish*

Francis X. Hezel, SJ



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(1680–1731)

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Foreword

The resettlement of the Chamoru people into a few select villages was not the most exciting part of the early Spanish period. It isn't a compelling tale of mortal combat, long sieges, crafty maneuvers and noble speeches such as we find during the years of open conflict between islanders and those who took the side of the Spanish. But the early resettlement is not just a historical after-thought. It could be viewed as the confirmation of the colonial influence that Spain would retain over the Marianas for the following two centuries. In addition, it offers a clear view of the early changes in the cultural landscape of the islands. If we look hard enough at this period, we can also get a glimpse of the way in which islanders repackaged important parts of their culture that they would carry into their colonial future.

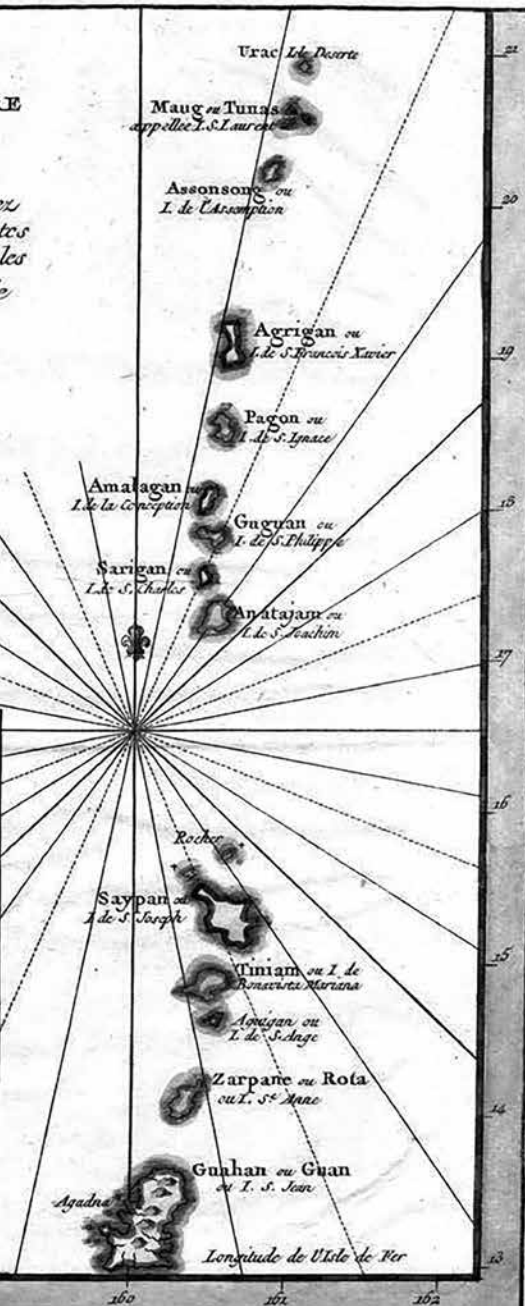
This is certainly not intended to be the last word on the Spanish resettlement, but I hope that it will provide useful material for those who write on this subject in the future. Let me add my own wish that more students of island history might focus on the resettlement. There is still a great deal to be learned.

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Francis X. Hezel, SJ

CARTE
DE L'ARCHIPEL DE S^t LAZARE
OU LES

ISLES MARIANES,
*Sur les Cartes du P. Alonso Lopez
Et le Memoire du P. Morales Jesuites
Espagnols Missionnaires dans ces Isles
Pour servir à l'Histoire Générale
des Voyages
Par le S^r Bellin Ing^r de la Marine
1762*



Introduction

When the Spanish dispatched the first mission party to the Mariana Islands in 1668, they marked the beginning of an era of intense Western contact in the Pacific that led to evangelization and colonization. Needless to say, the event and all that followed also left a permanent imprint on the history and culture of the Marianas.

The arrival of Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores and his missionary band—five other Jesuits and a group of 31 mission helpers chosen from Mexico and the Philippines—began with an enthusiastic reception by a village chief and his people. As the priests and their helpers began their evangelization of the island chain from Guam northward, violent encounters soon occurred. The next thirty years brought intermittent hostilities, provoked by missionary opposition to cultural practices, islanders' retaliation for insults suffered, and simmering resentment at their treatment under the Spanish. From the outset the Spanish mission drew mixed reactions from an island people without a unified leadership system. While many of the Chamorro people came to resent the Spanish, other chiefs and their people were sympathetic to them for a variety of reasons.

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

“Reduction of the islanders,” however, can have more than one meaning when applied to the early history of the Marianas. Not only can it refer to the plummet in the local population during the early years of intensive contact with the outside world, but it can also mean the resettlement of the island people into a few select large communities. Indeed, the common Spanish understanding of the term *reduccion* was the concentration of the people from outlying hamlets and remote villages into towns served by a church.

The relocation of the population into well defined villages is sometimes understood as nothing more than a tool of more effective colonization. Although that purpose can not be totally discounted, its rationale rests much more on the christianization of the island population—a goal which, even if neglected at times by the local governor, was affirmed again and again in Spanish royal documents as the main purpose of the original Spanish venture in 1668. The assumption of Spanish missionaries, in these islands as in other mission fields, was that merely

baptizing non-believers and expecting them to sustain their faith in isolation was to leave their work half-done. Just as important as the initial evangelization was the establishment of what they would have called *cristianidad*—a faith community that would have provided the support needed to sustain the belief of these converts.

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

Even before the end of the fighting in the island group, the Spanish governor, with the support of the missionaries, began the “reduction” of the surviving island people by resettling those on Guam in a handful of the larger villages. Soon the policy was extended to the northern islands of the archipelago, leading to the depopulation of nearly all of them and the relocation of their people on Guam. The consolidation of the population continued for several more years before the entire process was completed. In all, the “reduction” of the island people, which was largely accomplished by 1700, extended over a 50-year period—from 1680 until 1731, when the last of the people from Saipan were resettled on Guam.

This short study will focus on the consolidation of the local population under the Spanish into these select villages, an event in early contact history of the Marianas that has not received as much attention as its importance demands. Many have written at length about the Spanish missionary venture that began with San Vitores in 1668 and the developments that followed from it. There are books and articles aplenty describing the missionary evangelization of the islands, the sporadic violence that soon occurred and developed into a series of hostile encounters known as the “Spanish-Chamorro Wars,” and the Spanish conquest of the northern islands in the final years of the 17th century. We even have works describing the machinations of a few avaricious governors to secure the royal subsidy for their own ends and the impoverishing effect this had on the population, retired soldiers included.¹ But we still have surprisingly little on the reduction itself.

The Spanish concentration of the population into select villages redrew the map of the Marianas, particularly Guam. In examining that period more closely here, we hope to explore not just the motives for the reduction, from the viewpoint of the Spanish and Chamorros, but the means employed to carry out this undertaking. We will consider the norms used in choosing the resettlement villages and

look at some of the problems that the resettlement might have entailed. In the second part of this piece, we will attempt to reconstruct a picture of the new village and its main features, especially the church. But the purpose is also to show something of the life of the villagers and the extent to which this life might have been changed by the new village. At the same time, we will consider a few examples of ways in which traditional features might have been assimilated into these new surroundings.

The point, as always, is to open up this critical period to a deeper understanding of events and their significance for those people today who call the Marianas their home. Our hope is to paint the past in something more than stark color contrasts; instead, it is to help readers appreciate the finer tones and nuances of this critical period in the history of the islands.

Part I: Redrawing the Map

The Social Landscape Before the Spanish

The Marianas archipelago, which extends several hundred miles from Guam in the south to the much smaller islands in the north, had four well populated islands: Saipan, Tinian, Rota and Guam. Of these Guam was the largest, with half the total land area of the entire chain, and the most heavily populated. Even the tiny northern islands were occupied at that time, with eight of them sharing a population of a few thousand. Estimates of the total population size at the time of Spanish contact vary widely, but the figure for the entire island chain is generally thought to have been about 40,000. Half of that number were thought to be living on Guam.²

The islands were politically fragmented. Not only was there no paramount chief linking the various islands together, but there were not even island chiefs or the sort of sectional chiefs that were found in Polynesia or in Palau and Yap in the Western Carolines. On each island there was no formal authority beyond that of village chief. As one of the Spanish missionaries wrote: “Neither the islands taken altogether nor the individual villages have a head who governs the others.”³ This statement is supported by everything else that we know of the early social and political landscape in the Marianas.

Identifying the prominent villages on each island, then, is all the more important inasmuch as the village represented the largest political unit, with its chief holding the highest formal authority position on the island.

This is not to suggest that the residents of a village had no strong bonds outside the confines of their own village. Crosscutting relationships with others throughout the island were a strong feature of life on Guam, as they were on every settled island in the Marianas. A resident of Hagatna might have marriage ties with people from several villages, not to mention clan mates and perhaps even lineage mates elsewhere. These relationships were more than social; they could also become the



Early map of Guam with many of the principal villages identified. (Fr. Anthony Lopez, 1672)

practical starting point for establishing alliances between different villages on the island. Indeed, leaders of the anti-Spanish movement like Hurao and Aguarin had to move around the island selling other village chiefs on their intentions to mount a resistance effort against the Spanish, as the documents make clear.

VILLAGE LAYOUT ON GUAM

Guam's population at the arrival of the Spanish was, according to one early mission account, distributed throughout 180 villages.⁴ These "villages" would have included small hamlets of perhaps just a few households as well as larger settlements numbering a few hundred people. The villages did not seem to be formally ranked, but their prestige probably varied according to earliest settlement and the importance of the clan that ruled the village. This was certainly the case in other parts of the Pacific. Although we know nothing at all of the village history on Guam prior to European contact, we may assume that the more important villages were located on the coast (the most desirable setting for a people who depended so heavily on the sea for their sustenance), while the less important villages were those situated inland.⁵

With the aid of an old map of Guam, sketched soon after the arrival of the Spanish missionaries, and comments made in the early Spanish letters, we can identify with some confidence the more important villages on the island at the time. In all, the larger villages on Guam may have numbered fifteen or so.

Tarragui, situated at the northern tip of the island, was probably the biggest settlement in northern Guam at the arrival of the Spanish. It was described by one of the Spanish as "the capital of this side of the island, a town of 76 houses."⁶ Litek-yan (or Ritidian) seems to have been another significant settlement, only slightly smaller than Tarragui. (At first, the missionaries regarded the northern part of the island as too dangerous to visit, but soon they were making regular visits to both of these villages, each with its own church.) Other sizeable settlements were Inapsan, just north of Ritidan on the western coast, and Hanum, on the eastern coast just south of Tarragui.

Along the east coast the most significant villages were Nisichan, located in present day Mangilao, and Taraifofo (or Talafofo), much further down the coast. Pago, situated on a large bay between these two villages, was a smaller but still significant village.

One of the largest villages on Guam, of course, was Hagatna due to its favorable location and fine anchorage halfway down the western side of the island. To

the north along the same coast lay two other sizeable villages: Tumhon (Tumon) and Ayraan (located in what is now Dededo).

Along the southwestern coast of the island were a cluster of medium sized settlements: Talisay, Orote, Fuuna, Sumay and Agat. But there was no standout village in this area.

At the southern end of the island, the most populous and fertile section of Guam, could be found four good-sized villages. There was Umatac, which was soon to become the most important village after Hagatna, thanks to its location next to the bay at which the Spanish galleon made its yearly layover. Fina, an interior settlement located in a valley between Agat and Talofoto, was less notable than Umatac. Merizo and Inajaran also enjoyed favorable locations on the southern coast.

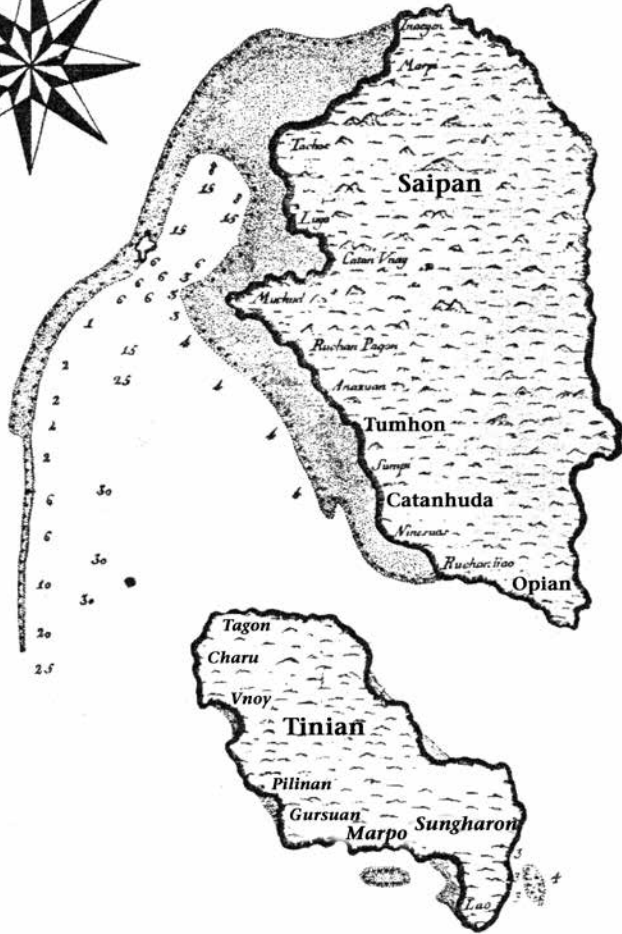
VILLAGES IN THE NORTHERN ISLANDS

On Rota, two villages are mentioned repeatedly as the major settlements: Songsong (or Sosa), situated on the bay at the present village site, and Agusan in the northern part of the island. These two villages became resettlement sites when the families living in hamlets were relocated during the early years of the reduction.⁷ Other villages on the island included Tetito on the north shore and the nearby village of Tatgua.⁸ Passing reference in mission documents is also made to the villages of Fuuna, Muchon, Matidpan and Aputon.⁹

Tinian, an island whose entire population was resettled under the Spanish, seemed to have had two chief villages, Marpo and Sungharon. These villages were at war with one another when the first missionaries visited the island. Sungharon seems to have once hosted the main church on Tinian, while Marpo had a reputation for opposing the Spanish.¹⁰

Saipan had a cluster of three villages situated on Laulau Bay on the east coast: Raurau, Sugrian and Tatachu. Not far uphill in the interior of the island was the settlement of Cao, whose people were implicated in the killing of one of the Jesuit priests.¹¹ Along the south shore, not far from the airport, lay the village of Objan, which was renamed Asuncion when it became a mission station.¹² On the southwestern side of the island, near the location of present-day Chalan Kanoa, was Tumhum (or Fumhon?).¹³

At the northern end of the Marianas chain were eight small islands that were collectively known by the name Gani. These islets, with a total land area of 60 square miles, may have had a pre-contact population as high as 4,000. The islands,



ISLA DE ROTA.

250,000



all of them once populated, are: Anatahan, Sariguan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, Agrihan, Asonson (renamed Asuncion), and Maug.¹⁴

LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE REDUCTION

The Spanish venture into the Marianas was not intended to expand its colonies in the Pacific. Legazpi had planted the Spanish flag on the island a full century before the arrival of the missionary party in 1668. In the course of that time, Spain came to realize that there was nothing to be gained by establishing a colony on this small and remote island group. It was only at the insistence of Jesuit priests and their advocates in Madrid—in the face of stout resistance from Spanish administrators in the Philippines, it should be noted—that an expedition was finally launched to colonize the islands.¹⁵ Fr. Diego Luis de San Vitores, who engineered this missionary effort, felt impelled to bring the gospel to these islands, which he had briefly visited seven years earlier en route to his assignment in the Philippines. To achieve his goal he was able to win the full support of the Queen Regent of Spain, Mariana, whom he honored by naming the island group for her.

For Spain such ventures, even those motivated by evangelical reasons, were unthinkable in those days without the close collaboration of the government—a link symbolized by the expression “the cross and the sword.”¹⁶ The sacred duty of the realm was to promote the Catholic faith among a colonized people, while the church was bound to support the colonial administration that protected it. But the benefits accruing to the missionaries were not just the protection they were receiving. The process of colonization under the colonial power, in the mind of the Spanish, was bound to provide the local people with the benefits of civilization, an indispensable aid to the Christian identity they were receiving.

Another assumption of the Spanish missionaries, in these islands as in other colonial lands, was that if the people were to be properly christianized, they would have to be concentrated into larger communities, even if this meant relocating them in another distant place. For the Spanish missionaries of that age, the only effective way of evangelizing the people was to move them into larger settlements where they might live close to the church and its pastor. Only thus would they be able to hear the Word of God preached and enacted in the liturgy even as they gradually learned to conform to Christian practices.¹⁷

In the Marianas the theory was put to the test in the mid-1670s shortly after the arrival of the first Spanish troops and their military commander. The militia, now independent and no longer under the direction of the Jesuits, began a cam-

paing to stamp out all local resistance throughout the islands. The campaign was in response to the increased number of violent deaths of priests and their mission helpers, killings that must have appeared to be part of an organized movement to drive out all the Spanish. In their retaliatory strikes against even the most remote villages of Guam, the Spanish troops were assisted by young Chamorro leaders—Ignacio Hineti, Antonio Ayhi and Alonso So'on—and the forces they commanded. Frequently one of these Chamorro leaders was appointed to lead these forays into the interior, and “a staff was given him that he always carried as a sign of his office.”¹⁸ This prompted the observation from one priest: “If the Spanish should leave the Marianas, there would certainly be many wars among the *Indios* because so many of them have now switched to our side.”¹⁹ (This priest was clearly unaware that “warfare” had long been a fact of life in this island group.)

As the Spanish and their allies moved from village to village demanding allegiance and open access to the missionaries so that they might work freely there, they found many of the villages surprisingly ready to comply. No doubt some acceded to the demands out of fear of the consequences if they refused, but others seemed relieved to be able to practice their new faith openly.²⁰

By 1680, with the campaign on Guam completed, the hostilities that had been breaking out in spurts ever since the arrival of the mission party twelve years earlier appeared to have wound down. The island was at peace, even if a brittle peace, for a change. Guam had been “quiet for more than a year,” as one of the priests could happily report.²¹

Even so, a cloud of apprehension shrouded the islands. The intermittent violence that had claimed dozens of lives for the past decade, especially during the past few years, had subsided. But no one could be sure for how long. Many Chamorros still harbored a simmering resentment against the Spanish and those of their own people who supported them. Embittered by indignities suffered at the hands of the Spanish, some fled to the interior of the island to live free of the constraints imposed by the new faith and the government that defended it. The fighting that had occurred repeatedly in recent years might not quite have been warfare, but it had divided the population even more than the frequent but short-lived battles between factions in more traditional times.

Beginnings of the Resettlement

INITIAL ATTEMPT

The peace of 1680, despite the hardening divisions among local people, offered an opportunity for the growing number of Jesuits—with the new arrivals in recent years they now numbered thirteen—to extend their work throughout the entire island of Guam and into the islands to the north.²² Mission stations and churches had already been established in many of the villages and even in some of the smaller settlements, although they frequently had to be relocated as feelings toward the missionaries changed. This peaceful interlude provided the Spanish the occasion they needed for consolidation and expansion of their evangelical work. The resettlement of distant families into larger villages would allow them to do their work much more effectively.

Within a year the newly appointed governor arrived: Antonio de Saravia, who would become the architect of the first resettlement. Saravia quickly established a reputation for his kind and gentle approach. From the beginning he showed a willingness to work with the island people, an endearing quality that not all his predecessors possessed. One of his first official acts was to appoint Antonio Ayhi, one of the strongest champions of the mission, as the lieutenant-governor of the colony and to bestow on him the title of *maestre-de-campo* along with the symbols of authority. Ayhi, in turn, played a major role in persuading the other chiefs to take an oath of allegiance to the Spanish throne which, the governor explained, would guarantee their equality with other subjects of the king.²³ These chiefs were then asked to represent the governor in different parts of the island to secure the cooperation of all in the establishment of those villages that would be designated official resettlement sites.

Meanwhile, the governor pursued an ambitious road-building project throughout the island, employing his own troops alongside Chamorro men from the vicinity. Together they widened trails, improved mountain passes, and straightened existing

roads to improve communications over the island. They then set about improving the infrastructure in those villages that would become official population centers, often by creating or widening existing channels to the sea, or by ensuring that the village had access to a nearby river. Finally, the work team assisted villagers in the construction or renovation of their village church.²⁴

As for the selection of the official resettlement villages, one of the earliest and most reliable sources on this period puts it this way:

*The most convenient locations were selected in which to assemble the natives in larger settlements. They were heretofore scattered in tiny villages or farming communities, some inaccessible, others too far from the center of administration. The plan was intended to facilitate the work of the fathers, a smaller number of whom would suffice if the people were not too widely dispersed.*²⁵

We know little about how the official villages were chosen, but it is clear that some of the island chiefs were consulted in the process. The norms used for selecting the main villages to serve as population centers were simple and few. Only the few larger villages on the island, most of which were readily accessible by land and sea, would be considered. Such villages would have numbered not more than fifteen or twenty even before the coming of the Spanish and the rapid population decline. Yet, some of the larger villages had to be ruled out because of their resistance to Spanish influence and overt hostility to the missionaries, as we have seen.

SELECTION OF VILLAGES ON GUAM

The two largest villages in northern Guam, Tarragui and Ritidian, both had churches that were visited for a time by the priests until both places came to be regarded as too dangerous to visit. Missionaries had been killed in each of the villages during the mid-1670s.²⁶ Ritidian, the site of one of the mission schools, had a sizeable Catholic population, but the village also served as the refuge for some of those leaders most hostile to the Spanish.²⁷ Despite the number of baptized in these villages, neither was secure enough to serve as a population center under the new administration.

Instead, Inapsan, located conveniently close to Ritidian, was selected as the resettlement village in the north. Even as the village was being built up to handle its new population, its church was deliberately burned down, after which most of the inhabitants fled to Rota for fear that the Spanish would blame them for the deed.²⁸ Shortly

afterwards, Inapsan was dropped from the list of official resettlement villages. The only other option was Hanum, south of Tarragui down the east coast, but this was another bastion of resistance. When attacked by Spanish troops in 1679, it was the scene of a battle described as the “fiercest that had yet taken place in the Marianas.”²⁹ Consequently, the north was left without a recognized settlement village.

The east coast presented another problem for the Spanish since the area had acquired a reputation for its hostility to the church. Nisichan, located in coastal Mangilao, and Talofoyo, much further down the coast, were large villages, but both were also notorious refuges for those who opposed the missionaries. The inland village of Mapupan, lying between Agat and Talofoyo, already had a church that served the surrounding area and was designated one of the resettlement villages in 1680, but the parish was closed just two years later.³⁰ Its replacement was Pago, situated on a large bay, modest in size compared to Nisichan and Talofoyo but far more welcoming to the Spanish. In the end, Pago was selected by virtue of its location, its accessibility, and its receptivity toward the Spanish.

Along the northwest coast were two sizeable villages of some importance: Ayraan and Tumhon. Ayraan, located in what is now Dededo, was an early mission station with its own school, but the church there was set on fire during an uprising in 1676.³¹ The other large village was Tumhon (present day Tumon), the site of Fr. San Vitores’ killing and the punitive expedition by the Spanish that left much of the village in ashes. Since both were troubled villages, neither was selected as the resettlement center for this part of the island. In addition, the population of both villages was falling as more people moved down to Hagatna to take advantage of what the growing town had to offer. By 1680, Hagatna and its environs had become by far the most populous region on the island. The town, confirmed as one of the resettlement villages, was already in effect the capital of an island that in pre-contact never had one.

The southwest needed a safe and reliable village with a church to serve people from this area. Yet, in the attack on the Spanish stockade at Hagatna just a few years earlier, Aguarin, one of the leaders of the resistance, won the support of a cluster of villages in this area: Orote, Fuuna and Sumay along with the inland villages of Talisay and Agofan.³² Residents of each of these villages, among the most prominent of that part of the island, had been punished because of their role in early clashes with the Spanish.³³ The only village of any size left was Agat, which was chosen to be another of the resettlement villages on Guam.

Three good-sized villages were already established in the southern end of the island with its rich farmland. Umatac, located next to the bay at which the yearly

Spanish galleon anchored, was probably the most important village after Hagatna by 1680, and its importance would only increase in the years to come. Naturally Umatac was selected as one of the major villages at the time of the initial reduction. The other village chosen was Fina, an interior settlement located in a valley between Agat and Talofofu. During the next two decades, however, as most of Fina's inhabitants drifted off to one of the other coastal villages in the south, Fina lost its status as a major village.³⁴

Both Merizo and Inarajan, on the other hand, enjoyed favorable locations on the coast, and the population of both increased significantly as those people moved from the northern islands began to be resettled on Guam in the late 1690s. Moreover, the missionaries had always seemed comfortable in traveling to this part of the island, even when the hostility shown in other places was at its strongest. By 1700, Merizo and Inarajan along with Umatac came to be numbered among the official population centers of the island.³⁵

In 1680, then, seven villages were designated as Guam's major centers: Hagatna, Pago, Umatac, Inapsan, Mapupan, Agat, and Fina. Three of these—Inapsan, Mapupan and Fina—would not last, as we have seen, but other villages would replace them as the resettlement continued.³⁶

APPEAL OF TOWN LIFE

Between 1677 and 1680 the growing Spanish garrison, which numbered about a hundred troops by that time, had marched around the island stifling opposition, punishing those implicated in earlier killings, and insisting that priests be allowed free access everywhere. But in this campaign the Spanish were aided by a local militia that was also taking a growing share of the initiative even as it was delivering a clear message to all: further resistance to the Spanish will put you at odds with many of your own Chamorro people who have now sided with the Spanish. This combined force was quick to set the torch to the houses of those who offered any resistance, as we have seen. This strategy was employed not just to punish stubborn villagers, but to remove the temptation of those who had already settled in one of the towns to run off and take up residence in their old home. Even Governor Saravia, as gentle as he was, authorized his men to destroy all abandoned houses in the outlying areas as the resettlement of the island moved forward.³⁷

If the early stages of the resettlement were put into effect without major protest, it was not entirely because of the strength of the Spanish forces. The duress Chamorros felt under the military was real, but so also were the attractions of

life in one of the major villages. Among the enticements were the new array of crops that were being introduced, mostly especially corn and tobacco, along with practical instruction on how to cultivate them. The domestic animals introduced by the Spanish—pigs, sheep, goats, ducks, geese, and even cattle—were a promising source of protein. Cotton had been planted by this time, and with it women were learning the weaving skills needed to make the clothes that were rapidly becoming so fashionable among the local population. Moreover, the town offered people easier access to trade for the ironware and other goods that the island people were not able to make for themselves.³⁸

Then, too, there was the lure of the church for the growing number of islanders who had already been converted to Christianity. New church buildings, replacing the rickety old wooden structures, were just then being erected in three of the major towns, and there were plans to add to the number in the other centers. The Jesuits reported with pride the changes that were taking place among the people at that time. Many people were attending mass regularly, while church baptisms and marriages were increasing each year. A number of people were even bringing the bodies of deceased family members for burial in the parish cemetery, something that would have been unthinkable just a few years earlier. Clearly many felt the appeal of a life within easy reach of the church. In several locations throughout the island group, then, the new village was starting to take shape.³⁹

Completion of the Resettlement

RESETTLEMENT OF THE NORTH

In 1680, just months after his arrival on Guam, Jose Quiroga, the new military commander, sailed off to Rota, just forty miles from Guam, to begin the pacification of the northern islands. During the recent troubled years, Rota had served as a hideaway for resistance leaders on the run from Spanish authorities. Aguarin, the mastermind of the siege of the Spanish compound in Hagatna just a few years earlier, had found refuge there until he was killed upon his return to Guam. Matapang also sought safety on Rota after he took the life of Fr. San Vitores and his mission helper.⁴⁰ The first order of business for Quiroga, then, was to rid Rota of its remaining troublemakers before attempting to pacify the islands further north.

Quiroga returned soon afterwards with 150 refugees from Guam to be resettled on their own island. The remainder of the island population, some 400 people, were allowed to remain on Rota provided that they settle in one of the two main villages: Sosa (or Songsong) and Agusan. Some months later, Quiroga and his troops were back on Rota, this time in pursuit of the men from Inapsan who had burned down their village church on Guam. These men, too, he tracked down and brought back to Guam.⁴¹ Within a month or two of his return, two Jesuit priests and a brother were on their way to Rota to care for the churches in these villages. In one of their first letters, they reported that new churches were under construction and that the houses once scattered at random along the shore were now arranged in neat rows.⁴² The reduction of Rota was well underway.

The Spanish made sporadic attempts to push on to Saipan and Tinian, but these were frustrated by the inability to obtain larger seaworthy vessels large enough to carry the troops required. One modest expedition soon after the pacification of Rota met firm resistance on Saipan and was unable to sail further north because of unfavorable winds.⁴³ In 1684, Quiroga set sail from Guam with a force of 70 troops and a fleet of canoes carrying even more Chamorro allies, but they met strong

opposition on Saipan when they were attacked by a combined force from that island and Tinian. Forced to withdraw after serious losses, the Spanish returned to Guam only to find the garrison in Hagatna under attack once again. The siege that had gone on for months was lifted, but not before both sides suffered the heaviest loss of life in battle yet recorded.⁴⁴

Nearly a decade passed before the Spanish were in a position to resume the reduction of the islands to the north. In 1694 Quiroga and 50 of his troops sailed to Rota, where the Spanish were greeted in friendly fashion by the people of Songsong. When they moved on to the northern village of Agusan, however, they found it deserted. Quiroga and his men scoured the island flushing out the missing villagers, who were then loaded onto 26 canoes and brought back to Guam. With this, Agusan was shut down and the remaining population moved to Songsong, which thereafter became the one recognized village on Rota.⁴⁵

A year later, in 1695, Quiroga led an expedition to Saipan and Tinian, islands that had received pastoral care intermittently at best since the founding of the mission. On Saipan Quiroga met token resistance, but the local forces quickly fled inland. The Spanish troops tracked them down over the next several days and then assured the people of Saipan that they would be allowed to remain on their own island on condition that they allow missionaries to work there in peace.⁴⁶ The main village was Anaguam, where a church had already been constructed, but a second settlement in Fatiguam was opened a few years later to accommodate the people from Gani.⁴⁷

Tinian, however, was a far different story. As Quiroga approached the island, he found the last of the people scurrying off to nearby Aguiguan, a steeply sloped island whose summit offered better defense than their own island. In an effort to convince the people to abandon their stronghold, Quiroga sent messengers to assure the people they would be pardoned and allowed to continue to reside on Tinian. When that failed, he had his men set fire to the houses on Tinian even as he threw a blockade around the small island to starve them out. In the end, his troops were forced to scale the heights and confront the people, after which the Tinian people were crowded onto some 50 canoes for resettlement on Guam. Those who could not be moved to Guam immediately for lack of transportation were told to move to Saipan where they could receive religious instruction before they were relocated on Guam.⁴⁸

The inhabitants of the smaller northern islands, collectively known as Gani, had never been a threat to the Spanish. Docile and submissive, they had promised the Spanish authorities that they would move to Saipan so that they could

more easily be instructed in the faith. Accordingly, 300 of them set out for Saipan and were baptized there; but most drifted back to their home islands before long. When the missionaries on Saipan reported this, the Spanish determined to launch another expedition to finish the reduction of the north at last. The Spanish commander—someone other than Quiroga for a change—led a force of over 400 men, including Chamorro allies, in a fleet of 112 canoes to the northern islands. The people of these tiny islands offered almost no resistance to Spanish orders that they leave their home and resettle their families on Guam. Their quiet acquiescence was partly due to their respect for Ignacio Nu'un, formerly a chief of Agrigan and now a strong supporter of the mission, who spoke to them of his own rich experience in the church.

In the end, some 1,900 people were removed from the northern islands for resettlement on Guam. Most were brought to Saipan to remain there for a short time until arrangements could be made for their movement to Guam. A few months later, in April 1699, the Spanish forces, together with their Chamorro supporters, returned to Saipan to complete the resettlement of the Gani people.⁴⁹

TALLYING THE RESULTS

By the turn of the century, 30 years after the coming of the Spanish, the reduction of the Marianas was all but complete. Most of the people from Gani were resettled in Inarajan and Merizo, settlements that would soon be numbered among

Village Population Figures: 1690-1741

Year	Hagatna	Pago	Umatac	Agat	Fina	Merizo	Inarajan
1690	300	200	180	300	200		
1693	449	155	370	249	154	254	
1696	746	180	192	275		177	139
1710	901	404	318	516		437	496
1727	752	214	209	343		256	198
1731	756	204	181	329		236	209
1738	650	142	192	275		159	133
1741	622	155	153	259		203	184

Sources:

Figures for 1690 are from Fr. José Hernandez, letter of 1690; published in Abella 1962: 42-5.

Figures for 1693 are found in Fr. Magino Sola, 1693; published in Repetti 1940a.

Figures for 1696 appear in ARSJ, Filipinas 14.

Figures for the remaining years are taken from Freycinet 1839: 331-3.

the major villages on Guam. The Tinian population reportedly settled in Pago and some of the barrios near Hagatna on land that the Spanish government had reserved for this purpose.⁵⁰ The entire population of the Marianas now resided on just three islands: Guam, Rota, and Saipan.

On Guam, the list of major villages was altered with the population shifts caused by the resettlement. Inapsan and Mapupan, as we have seen, faded in importance as their own residents resettled elsewhere, while Fina, another interior village, saw its population dwindle during the early 1690s. Replacing them in size and importance were the southern villages of Merizo and Inarajan. By 1700, then, the six major villages were Hagatna, Pago, Umatac, Agat, Merizo and Inarajan. Ten years later, at the time of the first official census, the population of these villages ranged between 318 (Umatac) and 901 (Hagatna), with the Chamorro population of Guam counted at 3,072.⁵¹ The population figures offered in Table 1 (Guam Village Population table) give some idea of the size of the village and its fluctuation over the years.

On Rota, the number of villages had been reduced from two to the single settlement at Songsong. The population of the island numbered 467 in the 1710 census, but by the next census, in 1722, the number of inhabitants dropped by nearly half to 249. For the rest of the century the island population would remain stable at between 200 and 300.⁵²

Saipan's population, listed at just over a thousand in 1696, was inflated for a time because of the temporary relocation of the Gani people prior to their final settlement on Guam, but by 1700 the island population may have numbered no more than a few hundred people.⁵³ The main village on Saipan was Anaguam, but Fatiguan served as a secondary settlement for a time.⁵⁴ Thereafter the population appears to have fallen so sharply that the Jesuit pastor was withdrawn and the church closed in 1731. A few hardy souls might have remained for a time, but thereafter the island was simply dismissed as depopulated.

Thus, only two islands of the archipelago, Guam and Rota, remained populated over the next century and a half. The total population of the Marianas—3,500 in the 1710 census—was distributed among a handful of villages: six on Guam, one on Rota, and one on Saipan (soon to be deserted). Some few people might have fled and led a secretive life in the remote interior, of course.⁵⁵ But for the most part the islanders lived within earshot of the church bell—the point of the reduction in the first place.

Problems in Relocation

The people who were resettled, and those into whose villages they moved, faced major difficulties aside from the resentment they might have felt at the Spanish insistence on this major disruption in their lives. Even for those who might have willingly relocated because they viewed this as an upward step, some basic questions had to be resolved. These questions related to two of the most fundamental issues in any island society: land and authority.

LAND

Those who were moved into the new consolidated villages first had to find a plot of land on which they could live. When people from nearby hamlets transferred their residence, we may suppose that they did what islanders normally did in such situations—made arrangements for land with their own matrilineal relatives. (We will explore this relationship in more detail below.) Even if the shape of the chosen villages had been altered, the social organization system founded on blood ties was largely unchanged. The villages, along with their land apportionment, remained matrilineal; and it was expected that relatives, especially those related through the mother's line, would care for one another in time of need.

What would happen to the land on which the family once lived before resettlement in the larger village? Under the Spanish directives during the reduction, families that would have been relocated would be permitted to retain their rights to the land on which they once lived. Their houses might have been destroyed, but buildings were always second in importance to the land itself in old island cultures. Spanish authorities, beginning with Governor Saravia, promised that the transplanted families would keep the rights to their former home estate, and the rights to any other land parcels they might have held.⁵⁶ The relocated families would have regularly gone back to farm the land on their old family estates, just as the older residents would have traveled in and out of the village to utilize the other land

parcels to which they had a claim. The Chamorro *lanchu* system, with its regular treks between residence and outlying land, probably had a very long history, but its cultural significance grew considerably in the early years of the reduction.

Early in the reduction process on Guam, the Spanish laid out sections (or *partidos*), each encompassing the main village along with its surrounding land. The *partidos* did not always correspond exactly with the old political divisions, but this innovation had no discernible impact on the traditional land inheritance system.

There would have been no shortage of available land for those who were being relocated. As people from outlying areas moved into the villages, the village size remained manageable because of the overall population decline during this period. The population figures for the Guam villages spiked sharply in 1710, doubling after the resettlement of those from the islands in the northern part of the chain; but by 1727 the numbers had dropped to what they had been formerly—an average of 200 or 300 per village with the exception of Hagatna (see Table 1).

In short, then, we may conclude that the reduction itself did not present a challenge to the traditional land rights, at least for those people who were resettled on their own island. (Two cut sentences) But even if the resettlement, with its shuffling of people from one village to another, may not have affected land ownership, it made the job of the village chief much more difficult, as we shall see.

VILLAGE AUTHORITY

Chamorro society was clearly matrilineal, as the early sources make clear even if they don't use that term.⁵⁷ Islanders traced their descent primarily through the mother's side of the family rather than through the father's. All of a woman's children, whether male or female, were considered part of her lineage, and all her daughter's children were of the same lineage group. Her son's children, on the other hand, were considered part of a different lineage—that of their own mother.⁵⁸ In this system, the highest ranking matrilineage—usually the one regarded as having the earliest rights to the village land and thus enjoying traditional authority in the place—was entitled to rule the village. The chiefly title was not passed down from father to son, as would be the case in any European society. "It is not the son of the deceased who inherits his father's estate, but rather the brother or the nephew of the deceased," one Spanish source notes with surprise.⁵⁹

Not only was descent reckoned through the mother's side of the family, but the mother's lineage was often concentrated in a single village. When girls married, they usually brought their husbands to live with them on their own family estate.

In other words, Chamorro society was not only matrilineal, but matrilocal as well. This was a common feature of traditional island societies in this part of the Pacific.⁶⁰ In such societies men would have assumed the role of chief, or spokesperson, even if the real decisions were made largely by older women within the lineage.

In the early attempt to concentrate the population into villages in 1680, Governor Saravia intended that local people provide the leadership in these villages. In promoting local leadership, he not only recognized the legitimacy of the traditional Chamorro chief in each of the major villages, but he bestowed on each village chief the Spanish military title of *maestre-de-campo*.⁶¹ The conferral of this title, then, was not a means of replacing the traditional chief, but a gesture to confirm his authority.⁶²

But what happens when two or three smaller villages, each with its own chief, are consolidated into a larger village? In such a case, the chieftainship seems to have gone to the traditional head of the main village, with little formal recognition given to the heads of the other smaller villages.⁶³ Accordingly, the chief of the main village would have been expected to exercise authority over those who were culturally outside his realm. The real authority of the village chief was limited even in traditional days, as we know from the missionary documents.⁶⁴ But to exercise that authority in the new system, when there may have been other contenders for leadership, would have been even more difficult and required even more discretion.

Somehow the village chiefs seemed to handle their expanded responsibility reasonably well for a while. But within a few years, under a string of governors who were notoriously self-serving, the chiefs would find themselves vexed by the increasing demands for village labor for the personal enrichment of the governor. In the face of such pressure and aware of the burden it would place on their people, most of the village chiefs, pleading inability to carry out their responsibility, appealed to the governor to find someone to replace them. Governor Damian Esplana and two of his successors (Pimentel and Tagle) solved the problem by appointing a Spaniard or Filipino, usually a retired soldier, as *mayordomo* to exercise de facto authority over the village.⁶⁵ These village administrators did not actually live in the local villages but they were notorious for their harsh treatment of the Chamorro residing there. They forced men to work on the public lands far longer than was stipulated by law and were notorious for molesting village women, viciously punishing those who resisted.⁶⁶

By 1725 the worst was over when the last of the corrupt governors had left office. Governor Arguelles attempted to reform the system by eliminating the added title and returning authority to the local village chiefs. But when the local author-

ities proved unable to mount relief efforts in the wake of a severe typhoon, the Spanish government modified its expectations of the village chiefs.⁶⁷ By mid-century the governor had appointed five village administrators, all of them Spanish or Filipinos, to assist the chiefs in dealing with larger island-wide matters. They, like the *mayordomos* before them, lived in Hagatna and were directly responsible to the governor, but their authority was strictly limited so as to guard against any future abuse. Local matters were to be left entirely in the hands of village chiefs.⁶⁸

Part 2: Life in the New Village

Appearance of the New Village

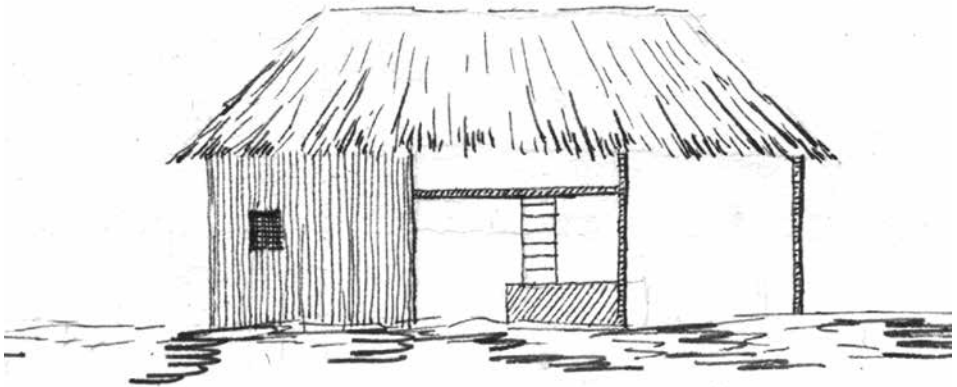
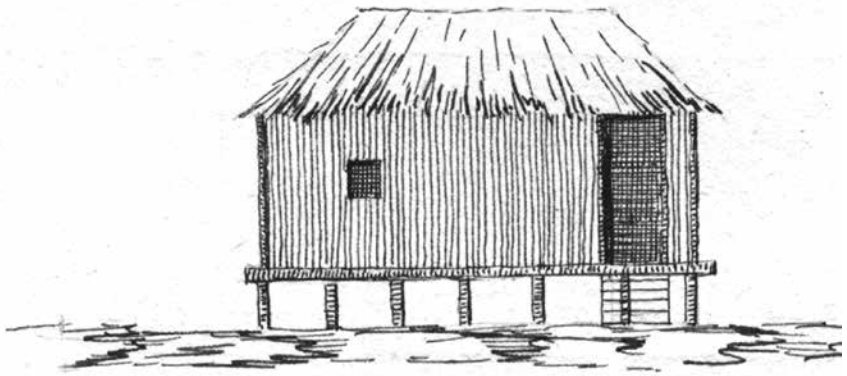
THE VILLAGE ON GUAM

It is tempting to imagine the new village as it is represented in the familiar illustrations that we're so used to seeing: stone houses lining a broad road, neat gardens planted near the homes, women clutching shawls and men dressed in trouser and occasionally sporting a top hat, with a large and ornate stone church towering over the entire scene. These drawings may have been an accurate reflection of what Freycinet, Dumont d'Urville, Lütke and Kotzebue—the French and Russian naval ship captains of the early 19th century—saw when they visited Guam. But that was still more than a century in the future.

Transformation takes time. The change in village appearance that occurred at the time of the reduction was not nearly as dramatic; in fact, modifications were relatively modest during the initial resettlement.

As people from the surrounding area were resettled in the villages, the Spanish used the opportunity to try to reorganize the layout of the village houses in a regular pattern. As early as 1682, at the direction of the Spanish, some of the homes scattered at random along the shore were being rebuilt in the heart of the village. These houses and those of the people recently resettled from the outlying hamlets were increasingly laid out in orderly rows.⁶⁹ Roads, too, were being enlarged and straightened by Governor Saravia's work crews and a rectangular layout seemed to be the plan for the ideal village.

Family buildings continued to be built with local materials—although some modifications, based on the availability of materials, were made in time. The cookhouse, originally a small hut covering a fireplace, was used to prepare the food that would be distributed to the small families that made up the lineage group.⁷⁰ Eventually it was modified so that a stone oven could be built above ground to



Two types of early housing (sketched by Louis de Freycinet)

prepare tortillas and roast new foods. The family dwelling was a long building, long enough to accommodate all the members of the extended family. People slept on plaited coconut leaf mats, the same type that were sometimes hung around the side of the building to protect those within.⁷¹

None of the celebrated giant latte stone structures were built after the reduction—the construction of these had ceased long before the arrival of the Spanish—but neither were the old ones destroyed. Families that owned these structures presumably retained their rights to them and continued to use them as status markers, as they always had. According to one of the early missionaries, the latte stone houses served as dwellings for some families, but they also had an even more important function. The priest observed that people “keep their belongings in... a structure built high upon pillar-like stones. Here are found all their riches, such as some tortoise shell,... a double-edged axe, discolored glass beads, and some castanets.”⁷² In

other words, the latte stone structure, whatever other purposes it may have served, provided an attic storage vault for family treasures.

The large canoe houses near the shore, usually the property of the lineage, also remained largely unaffected by the resettlement, it appears.

Clubhouses (so-called *urritaos* houses) were no longer to be seen in the new village. Nearly all had been destroyed at the insistence of the missionaries, who thought of them as little better than houses of prostitution. In fact, 30 bachelors houses were torn down in a single year (1679).⁷³ By that time, the Spanish were able to report that a total of 60 bachelors houses had been destroyed.⁷⁴ Still, these clubhouses, for all their prominence in the village, were not integral to family life in Chamorro culture any more than they were in other island groups in the region. Village life went on without them just as it did in Palau and Yap when clubhouses were eliminated there two centuries later.

These clubhouses provided much more than sexual services for young men with raging hormones, if we can draw on what we know of how these institutions functioned in other island groups in the Pacific. The clubhouse offered young men relief from the confinement of their homes, while uniting the young men on a village-wide basis as a semi-autonomous force that could act on its own, especially when the village faced a hostile threat from without. In at least one instance, the violence that broke out in a village and leading to the death of a missionary was attributed to the rash action of young men there.⁷⁵ As one missionary put it, “The *urritaos*, or unmarried men, are the most unrestrained and offer the most resistance until totally subdued by arms.”⁷⁶ The destruction of the clubhouses by the Spanish did not seem to evoke the same heated response from Chamorros that other Spanish provocations did—for instance, the disrespect shown to ancestral skulls. Indeed, we have reason to suspect that many of the village leaders might have been happy to see this institution vanish, if only because of the challenge to village authority that it represented.⁷⁷

One of the most visible changes in the village, as we might expect, was the church. Even before the reduction, all the main villages of Guam had at least a simple church building, usually built of wood. Even at that time, however, work was underway to replace it with a stone structure, along with a sturdy rectory and a cemetery. Increasingly, the church would become the center of village life, a favored gathering place for the villagers. Significantly absent at that time was the standard *municipio*, the mayor’s office, that normally was found across from the church in most Spanish colonies. There was no need for one, since the traditional village chief was still expected to provide leadership for the new village.

HAGATNA: THE NEW CAPITAL

Even before the Spanish landed, Hagatna seems to have been one of the most prestigious villages on the island, as is suggested by its favorable location on the coast near a popular port. Its importance was enhanced when it began to host the Spanish missionaries with the access to foreign goods they offered the island population.

By 1680 Hagatna had already taken on the aura of a colonial town. One of the Jesuit priests described it in the following words:

This town has as many as 200 houses in which live soldiers and some of the friendly Chamorros. The whole is enclosed by a stockade with two gates, one on the sea side and the other on the mountain side. ... Our Jesuit house is competently arranged, with the outer walls made of stone and mortar and the inner walls of wood. The Governor has a very good house that serves as a fort, and its royal warehouses in which are kept the relief supplies that come from New Spain and its storage vaults and granaries to keep local food supplies: rice, corn and fish (supplies found locally in abundance).⁷⁸

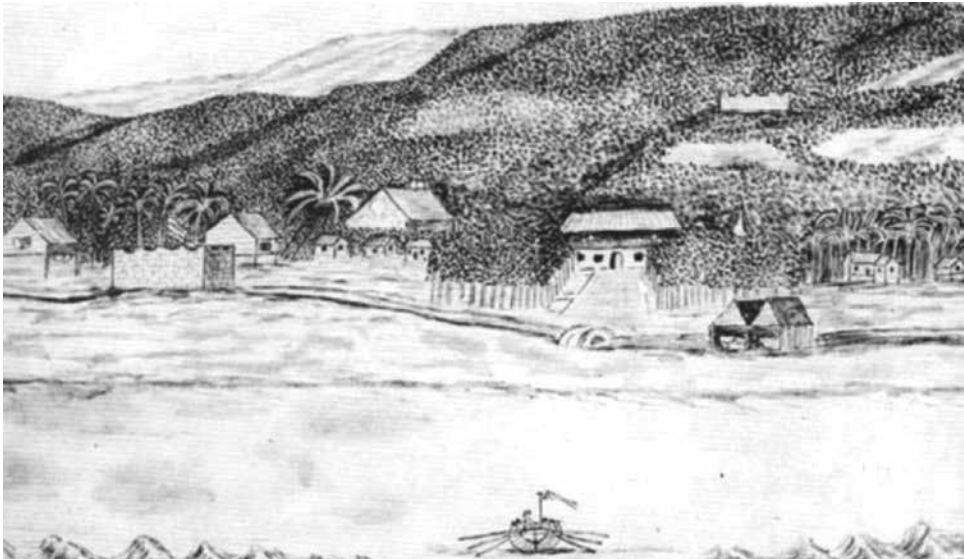
During the troubled times of the previous decade, Hagatna had assumed many of the features of a fortress, as the quote suggests. The population of the town in 1680 included about 130 soldiers from Mexico and the Philippines, most of whom were married to Chamorro women and had settled their families in Hagatna.⁷⁹ The garrison was large enough to warrant a stone church of its own, as well as its own hospital. Other imposing features had been added: “There is a sufficient provision of arms—four artillery pieces which they brought into the garrison this year. A fort has been built, made of wood. The enclosure, which until now was a wooden stockade, is being changed to stone.”⁸⁰

The transformation of the village continued as the resettlement of the island moved ahead. Dignified in 1687 with the status of *ciudad* (city), Hagatna began to assume more of the appearance of a Spanish provincial capital. A solidly built edifice to serve as the governor’s residence and a plaza were added—both distinctive marks of a colonial town. Within a few years the church was rebuilt to better reflect the town’s new status. Situated at the other end of the plaza, the church was fashioned from blocks of coral and mortar and had three naves.⁸¹ The new church was “large enough to hold 1,000 people;” but its expanded size was necessary, we are told, because “people were coming from two leagues around for Sunday mass.”⁸²

The town's foreign population grew quickly during the years—from perhaps 200 in 1690, it doubled to 400 by 1710.⁸³ But the number of Chamorros living around Hagatna was also increasing throughout the early resettlement years. From the beginning, all but a few of them resided outside Hagatna proper. “All of these people now live together in one village, located a quarter of a league from our garrison,” one Spanish priest noted in 1680.⁸⁴ But over time the settlements near the town grew in number. By 1728, several such suburbs, or *barrios*, had grown up close to Hagatna. They included Sinajana, Anigua, Mongmong and Assan, each with a population of a hundred or so.⁸⁵

Thus began what might be called a residential class system in Hagatna, with location signifying social status. Chamorros might not have had a place in the town itself, but they were able to build up small villages close by—settlements that offered them access to the town along with the freedom to live their familiar lifestyle in a more comfortable environment.

Meanwhile, Hagatna itself, with its central area increasingly built of stone and populated by foreigners, reflected the growing distance between itself and the other villages on the island.



Hagatna in 1802, with the stockade visible on the left and a canoe house on the right (sketched by William Haswell)

Village Activities

WORKADAY LIFE IN THE VILLAGE

The residents of the new village (except for Hagatna) were almost entirely Chamorro. A very few of the foreign troops who had married Chamorro women might have lived in the village for a short time, but by the early 1700s the records show no foreign-born persons living in any of the villages other than Hagatna and Umatac.⁸⁶ The Laws of the Indies permitted outsiders to conduct business in the villages during the day, but only on the condition that they were out of the village by nightfall.⁸⁷

After the reduction, we are told that village residents would spend at least one day a week, sometimes two or three, working on the land they owned outside the village.⁸⁸ After all, the island lifestyle in those early years was much the same as it had been formerly. Some years later one of the priests could still write: “Local people supported themselves as they always had—by subsistence farming and fishing. They spent much of their time on their ancestral estates—or in the case of those resettled from other islands, on the lands the Spanish had given them to farm—growing rice and cultivating taro and the other usual root crops.”⁸⁹

Yet, there were some changes in what they produced. Corn became one of the popular food crops. Many villagers soon began raising animals recently introduced by the Spanish—chickens, pigs and cows—for their own consumption or for sale to the passing ships in exchange for trade goods: iron tools, knives, cloth and tobacco.⁹⁰ In 1698, one missionary reported that the products taken on by one of the Spanish ships at Guam included “pigs, calves, watermelons, bananas, pineapples, sweet potatoes and melons as good as those in Spain.”⁹¹ The Chamorro people living in the new villages could cultivate these new crops with the confidence that they could keep for themselves the fruit of their labor, for by royal decree they were exempt from taxes for twenty years following their conversion.⁹²

In addition to their food crops, the villagers also planted tobacco. As early as 1682 one of the missionaries could report: “People have become so addicted to tobacco that men and women, boys and girls, walk around with pipes. In the past their only substitute for money was iron,... but now they value tobacco above all else, and tobacco has become the common currency with which one can buy and obtain anything. For a hen we pay two tobacco leaves, and for one leaf of tobacco a man will work all day.”⁹³

Those living in the new villages were producing a surplus that they could sell on the market. The profits of this trade should have accrued to the people who had raised the crops and livestock, but this was not always the case. Soon after the concentration of the population, the new governor, Damian Esplana, coopted this surplus for his own gain. Years later a long-time Spanish resident described the abuse in some detail: “The villagers were required to plant and tend fields of rice, corn, melons and root crops on royal land, as well as raise pigs and poultry—all of which was supposedly for the support of the garrison. In actual fact, however, the food raised by the local people was either used at the governor’s own table or sold... with the profits going to the governor.”⁹⁴ Work demands were imposed on women as well: “They collected copra to feed the pigs, made salt and oil, and plaited sleeping mats and canoe sails of pandanus to be sold in the Philippines.”⁹⁵

By royal decree the indigenous people of the Marianas were exempt from the usual royal tribute levied on colonial subjects of the Spanish crown to spare them unnecessary hardship. But a compulsory labor requirement of 40 days a year was imposed on the local people, with the fruits of this being used to provide for unforeseen needs that might arise on the island.⁹⁶ It was this labor tax (or *aplyu*, as it was known) that was utilized, and even expanded, by the string of avaricious governors for their own personal benefit. This abuse was finally corrected in 1726 when Governor Arguelles took office, lessened the number of labor days, and lightened the work load imposed by his predecessors.⁹⁷

The concentration of the island population into central villages may have been intended to help local people deepen their faith, but it had its negative consequences as well. For one thing, it put the villagers at great risk of contracting the contagious diseases that were ravaging the island in those years. Then too, as we have seen, it made it much easier for unscrupulous governors to draw from a ready pool of labor and resources.

The Place of the Church in the Village

CHURCH BUILDING

Since the beginning of the resettlement, church construction, with labor supplied by the villagers, was taking place everywhere. By 1680, new churches had been built in Pago, Agat and Inarajan.⁹⁸ Soon afterwards, churches had been restored in Inapsan and Mapupan, two of the villages on Guam initially chosen as resettlement center.⁹⁹ In 1682, one of the missionaries could report that a Jesuit brother, a skilled builder, was completing work on the two new churches in Rota.¹⁰⁰ The church-building process was interrupted for a time because of the general uprising of 1684, but continued once peace had been restored. In 1690 new church construction was underway in Fina.¹⁰¹

There seemed to be no end to the church-building fever that had seized the islands. Almost as soon as work on the village church was completed, it seemed that pastors and their people began planning for major renovations or replacement. In 1720 the pastor of the one remaining village on Rota reported that he had just finished a new stone church in his parish.¹⁰² That same year a new church was completed on Saipan: it was built not of stone but of sturdy *ifil* wood, and it was regarded as one of the most beautiful churches in the entire mission.¹⁰³

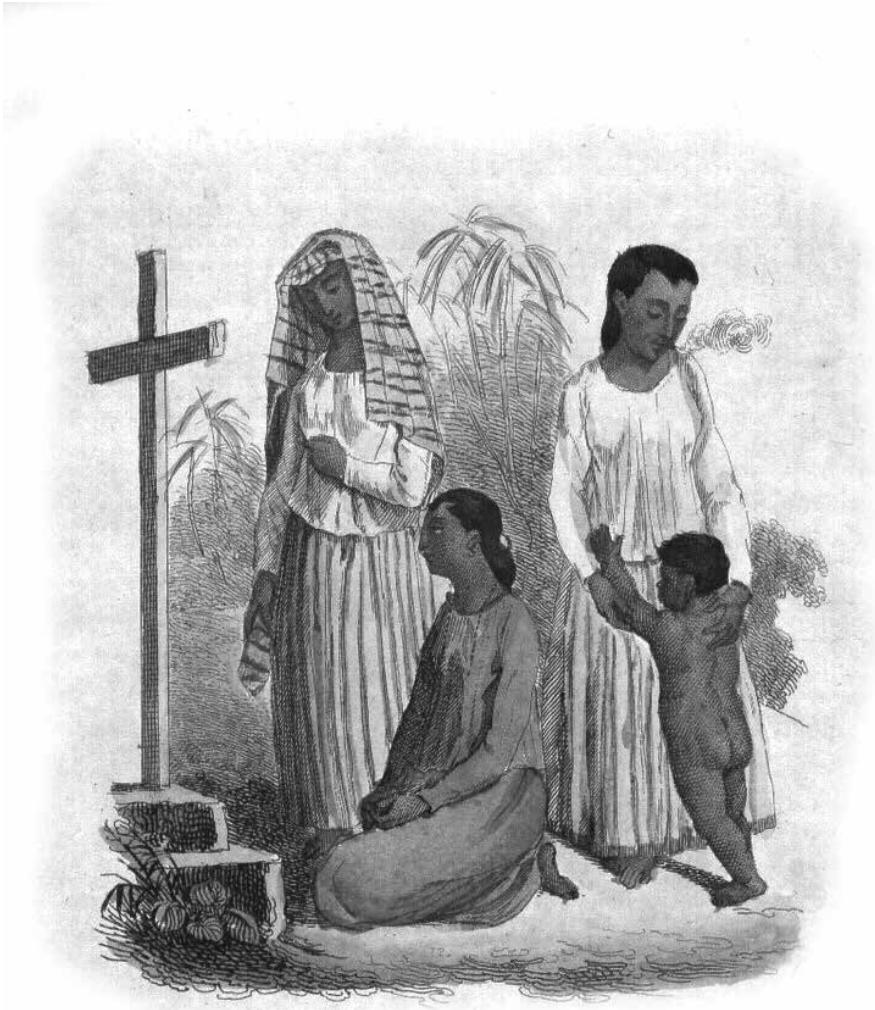
Alongside the new churches were built rectories to house the pastors who were now assigned to reside in these villages. Even as early as 1684 the Jesuits were able to report that on Guam “seven suitable localities were designated and dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua. A sufficiently large church and parochial residence were constructed where the people could be properly instructed and cared for. The full number of residences was now established...”¹⁰⁴ With the suppression of the 1684 uprising and a return to normal order, priests could be expected to do more than provide spiritual care by making occasional visits; they were now to become a continuous presence in the village. Within a few years, this would be true not just of Guam, but of Rota and Saipan as well.

FROM PERIPHERY TO CENTER

The church quickly assumed a central role in the social life of the village, as the mission letters triumphantly reported. Church bells rang at different times throughout the day to summon people for prayer and to announce village events. The newly converted islanders learned their Latin mass responses, chanted their devotions, and prayed the rosary together daily. Those same mission letters enthusiastically highlight the dramatic changes in the life of the Chamorro people that marked their progress toward Christianity and what they regarded as civilization. “The public houses are now demolished; tunics woven from the inner fiber of trees are now used; legitimate marriages have been made; children are baptized whom the parents bring in from far and near; the dead receive Christian burial; and the sick are brought to the church for the sacraments on the shoulders of relatives.”¹⁰⁵ The island people, in the eyes of the missionaries, were rapidly abandoning their heathen ways to become a new people.

The church, which would play an ever larger social role through the years, had already established new dress standards in the village. Women had shed the leaf or turtle shell covering over their groin in favor of cloth skirts, which had quickly become fashionable. Men, who had once gone entirely naked, were now wearing loincloths or trousers. For religious services clothing was accepted by the villagers as *de rigueur*: “Their greatest concern is to find a skirt or pair of pants in which to appear at church, and anyone who does not have one borrows from another.”¹⁰⁶ Within ten years, by 1691, the people had taken a few steps further in their dress code. Men and women were dressing up for daily activities, “even when they work in the fields,” one priest noted.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, women were no longer content to clothe themselves in a blouse and skirt when they attended mass; they “had already begun to adopt the custom of covering their heads with veils whenever they received the sacraments, with women who did not have a veil borrowing from those who had finished receiving.”¹⁰⁸ At the forefront of this change in fashion were the young students at the mission schools, boys decked out in white linen trousers and blue vests while girls sported “blouses and skirts of fine white cloth.”¹⁰⁹

Church life, which had always meant more than a single morning mass, broadened into a wide range of practices, many of them musical. Boys and girls might have no longer sung aloud their traditional creation myths, but they would sing the litanies in harmony as they romped through the hills or worked in the fields.¹¹⁰ They were not alone in embracing the hymns and chants of the new faith. Women,



too, seemed fond of the new church devotions set to music. In Hagatna in 1680, one Spaniard marveled, women would meet in the church to sing their prayers every evening, “with some of the prayers beginning at 7 o’clock, some at 8, and some at 9. Music could be heard even at 10 in the evening.”¹¹¹ In the church that had just become central to village life, there was a rich variety of outlets through which people could express their musical talent: parish choirs, chanted prayers, sung devotions and processional hymns.

In other ways as well, church life in the new village surprisingly reflected old Chamorro patterns. For one, church life largely honored the same gender divisions found in traditional life. Men were seated on one side of the church, and women

on the other. The religious organizations were also largely divided by gender, with men's and women's associations providing social outlets for each as they did in Europe and continued to do in the islands almost up to the present. The Congregation of the Holy Name of Mary was one of the first church organizations for women, but others would soon follow.¹¹² These religious societies, even as they proliferated, also functioned as important social circles in the life of the village.

Village feasts, with all the food and ceremonies they necessarily entailed, centered increasingly on the church calendar. The major church feast days, especially the feast day of the patron saint of the village, became festal occasions for everyone. The church soon determined the order of the day, with bells marking significant events during the day, but it also assumed considerable control over the yearly calendar.

TAMING THE SPIRITS

The village, traditional or new, has always been much more than a sprawling collection of buildings. The village, as most of us understand the term, must include the network of social relationships that make the village distinct. Those relationships, however, include not just the ties among the villagers themselves, but their bonds with the unseen spirits that were believed to exercise control over so much of what happens in the village. This spiritual dimension was viewed as critical, as much in the new village as in the old.

Pre-contact Chamorro culture placed huge emphasis on respect for the dead and veneration of ancestral spirits. The bones of beloved family members were cleaned and kept in caves where they were honored and sometimes consulted. Missionaries inveighed against this practice, destroying ancestral skulls whenever they could on the grounds that they were sacrilegious. Yet, the church offered other, no less striking means of honoring the dead. The early Jesuit missionaries mention the sung funeral masses in the parish churches and describe the line of acolytes and clergy accompanying the casket, draped in black cloth stitched with crosses, to the cemetery for religious burial in a grave blessed with holy water.¹¹³ Already by 1698, the people in the village had begun the custom of gathering nightly to recite the rosary for anyone who had recently died in the village.¹¹⁴ The celebrated custom of the novena, with the rosary recited each evening by a gathering of the family and friends, was an outgrowth of a tradition introduced in the early resettlement era. Prayers over the grave of a family member also became a common practice through the years.



Besides the ancestral spirits venerated by the islanders, there were also the harmful spirits (*taotao mona*) that had to be dealt with. These spirits, thought to be bound to a certain local feature—a rock outcropping, a tree, a particular shoal—were believed to be sensitive to intrusion. They had to be guarded against for fear that they might do serious injury to the interloper. Hence, the concern to protect persons from these dangerous spirits—not to mention enemies who might employ magical powers against them—was a major component in the religious practices of pre-Christian islanders.

In place of the traditional remedies, usually dispensed by *makanas*, or spirit mediums, to ward off spells and sorcery and the power of malevolent spirits, the church offered a wealth of symbolic means for affording the protection islanders sought. When an island leader found that rats were attacking the crops, he was instructed to raise a cross in the middle of the field after it had been blessed with holy water.¹¹⁵ The missionary reports at this time (1690) are filled with stories of how people sought protection from malevolent spirits. Erecting a cross, drinking holy water against disease, and receiving priestly blessings were all used as means of protection under the new religion.¹¹⁶ “The sick began drinking holy water... to ward off death and aid recovery. A cross could be found in just about every house since it was revered as a means of protection against diabolical powers and other evils.”¹¹⁷

All this exemplified the growing popular belief that the new religion offered even more effective resources than the old to protect against all harmful spirits, whatever their nature. At the same time, the spirits of loved ones were shown reverence, just as they always had been, even if the manner of displaying that reverence had changed.

Conclusion

SUMMARY

R*educcion*, as the Spanish called it, was a strategy commonly used during Spain's colonization thrust. It meant the consolidation of local people into a few centralized towns (or in the case of the Mariana Islands, villages), where the population might be better served by missionaries, more fully instructed in church life, and integrated into the Spanish governance system. Sometimes, as in Tinian and the northern islands of Gani, it meant transporting and resettling people on another island. This process was formally initiated in 1680 under a sympathetic Spanish administration, but was briefly interrupted by a general uprising of 1684 before it was largely concluded by 1700.

During the *reduccion* the population of three islands (Guam, Rota and Saipan), once spread throughout numerous sprawling settlements on each island, was concentrated into a few central villages. The central villages shifted in number (and sometimes in location) over the early years of the implementation. On Guam, there were at first seven villages, then five, and finally six (Hagatna, Pago, Agat, Umatac, Merizo and Inarajan). Both Rota and Saipan initially had two central villages before the population on each island was further reduced to a single village: Songsong on Rota, and Anaguam on Saipan. Within 30 years, however, Saipan became entirely depopulated for reasons that remain unclear even today.

The norms employed for the selection of the central villages were evident. The chosen village must be one of the larger villages located in a population center of the island. Moreover, it should be easily accessible to other settlements of that section of the island. Finally, the village had to have already demonstrated its receptiveness to the missionaries.

Although the *reduccion* was initiated by Spanish authorities and missionaries, its impetus was sustained by the attraction that populations held for many islanders. Chamorros voluntarily moved to the centers—in some cases to be closer to the

church in which they had been baptized; in other cases because of the appeal of the wonders of the Western world, including the crops and animals and trade goods more easily available there.

Under the terms of the resettlement, Chamorros were allowed to retain the land on which they had lived as well as traditional landholdings outside the village. Authority in the new villages was to be retained by their traditional chiefs, although the system would later be amended as the governors increased their demands for labor on the villages.

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

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE NEW VILLAGE

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

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

- The village after the reduction was not so much larger than it had been before, even if there were fewer villages on the island by then. Moreover, the population of these villages, with the exception of Hagatna, remained almost entirely Chamorro.
- Houses and buildings in the village, with the exception of the clubhouses, which had been eliminated by that time, were retained and constructed in largely the same way as formerly, although this would change over time.
- Clubhouses were the only major village structure lost, along with the institution that it represented. The clubhouse was a traditional feature of life, but not one vital to the organization of the village.
- The villages retained their matrilineal character, although the consolidation of nearby settlements made the governance of the few villages more problematic. Because of the village's matrilineal grounding, women seem to have retained their traditional influence in village life.

- Villagers depended for livelihood on the produce of the land and the sea as they always had, even if the range of crops had expanded with the introduction of corn and a few other vegetables. Moreover, the family land outside the village (*lanchu*) continued to be utilized after the reduction much as land parcels outside the village probably had been in earlier times.
- The greatest change in the new village, needless to say, was the emergence of the church as a prominent feature of village life. Although the church had been present for over a decade before the resettlement, in the new village it moved from the periphery to the center of island life.

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

Yet, the emergence of the church as the center of village life proved to be highly significant, as the records of this period make clear. It introduced obligatory standards of dress, established a new daily order that revolved around church devotions, created religious organizations that quickly evolved into social groups, provided a host of occasions for village fiestas, and altered the ways in which Chamorros dealt with the spirits. In other words, the church introduced substantial changes into village life; and it did so more forcefully than it could in earlier years, if only because each village now had a resident pastor.

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

The church, then, played a dual role in the new village of the early *reduccion* period and afterwards. It was both the agent of change, even as it served as the vehicle for maintaining many of the traditional elements in Chamorro society. At the center of the new village, the church provided the institutional apparatus—the rituals and devotions, the religious associations, the array of festivals—through

which Chamorro cultural features might be maintained. So it was that the flavor of much of the traditional society lived on, even if now embedded in an organization that was expressly religious.

Moreover, the church had a unifying effect on the people. Membership in the church provided a new relationship that brought villagers together more strongly than ever before, whatever their lineage and clan. Its outreach extended beyond the village to other parts of the island, and even to other distant islands. As would later happen elsewhere in the Pacific, the church became an instrument of unification since it offered extended “kinship” ties well beyond what the customary clan could provide. Perhaps in this way, then, the church, despite the turbulence it provoked, did accomplish at least part of what the reduction was intended to achieve: the pacification of the islands.

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

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1. See, for instance, Driver, *The Cross, Sword and Silver* (1987), Farrell, *History of the Mariana Islands to Partition* (2011), Hezel, *From Conversion to Conquest* (1982), Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall* (1995), Barrett, *Mission in the Marianas* (1975), Cunningham and Beaty, *History of Guam* (2001).
 2. Sources for this population estimate can be found in Hezel "From Conversion to Conquest" (1982), 132-133.
 3. Cited in Garcia 2004: 172. Garcia's volume, *Life and Martyrdom of Diego Luis de San Vitores, S.J.*, is more than a biography of the founder of the mission; it is also a compendium of missionary letters and other important documents on the period. For that reason and because of its easy accessibility the source will be used repeatedly in these notes.
 4. Coomans 1997: 7. The number of villages on Guam was estimated at 400 by a Franciscan friar who had lived on the island for a few months in 1602; see Driver 1989.
 5. This was a common pattern throughout the Pacific and attested to in the oral traditions of many island societies.
 6. Quiroga to Duchess of Aveiro, 10 May 1680, in Levesque 7: 211
 7. Repetti 1940, 320; see also Hezel 2015: 57-58
 8. Russell, Tiempon 286-7
 9. Garcia 2004: 208, 210, 245-6, 363
 10. Garcia 2004: 215, 371
 11. Garcia 2004: 365-8
 12. Garcia 2004: 360, 369
 13. Garcia 2004: 203-4
 14. Garcia 2004: 201, 213
 15. The objections of the authorities in the Philippines to establishing a new mission can be found in Garcia 2004: 138-139.
 16. Francisco Garcia offers an explanation of this familiar symbol of Spanish colonial collaboration in his biography of San Vitores (Garcia 2004: 504).
 17. The Spanish practice of *reduccion*, or concentration of the population into larger centers, was initiated in the Caribbean during the earliest years of Spanish presence there from 1503. The policy was followed everywhere the Spanish went during the following two centuries.
 18. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report 1679-80, in Levesque 7: 309. At this time the Chamorro leaders allied with the Spanish were beginning to be adopted into the military ranking system of the Spanish.
 19. Ibid.
 20. One of the missionaries offers a number of reasons for the local swing of support in favor of the Spanish; see Fr. Xaramillo, annual report 1679-80, in Levesque 7: 309.
 21. Fr. Coomans, 6 June 1680, in Levesque 7: 238.
 22. Fr. Besco to Fr. Espinar, 10 June 1680, in Levesque 7: 257.
 23. Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682, in Repetti 1946: 434-5
 24. Garcia 2004: 498-502
 25. Garcia 2004: 498
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26. In Ritidian Br. Pedro Diaz was killed together with two companions in December 1675; see Garcia 2004: 438. In Upi, close to Tarragui, Fr. Antonio de San Basilio was fatally assaulted in January 1676: see Garcia 2004: 449.
27. Tarragui offered refuge for Aguarin, the leader of the 1676 assault on Hagatna, while Ritidian provided support for Yura during the siege of Hagatna in 1684. On Ritidian's role, see Fr. Morales, annual report for 1684-1685, Abello 1962: 14, 17. On Tarragui's support for Yura, see the letter of Quiroga, to Duchess of Aveiro, 10 May 1680, Levesque 7: 213.
28. The burning of the church is mentioned in Garcia 2004: 503. But the village church was restored a year or two later, as the author reports; Garcia 2004: 545.
29. Garcia 2004: 491-2
30. Fr. Solorzano To Fr. General Oliva, 25 May 1682; in Levesque 7: 547
31. Garcia 2004: 458
32. Garcia 2004: 457
33. The punishments of these villages for their misdeeds are related in Garcia (2004): 455-6
34. The fate of Fina is not documented in the usual Spanish sources, but by 1696 the village no longer appears on the list of major villages (see Table 1: Guam Village Population)
35. Both places were added to the list of main villages by 1696, as Table 2 indicates.
36. Fr Coomans, report for 1680-1682; in Levesque 7: 566
37. Fr Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682; in Levesque 7: 557
38. Hezel 2015: 50-51
39. See, for instance, Hezel 2015: 47-48
40. Garcia 2004: 498
41. Garcia 2004: 503
42. Fr. Coomans, annual report for 1681-1682; in Repetti 1940b: 320
43. Fr. Solorzano to Fr. General Oliva, 25 May 1682; in Levesque 7: 535
44. A full account of Quiroga's expedition can be found in Fr. Morales, annual report for 1684-1685; in Abella 1962.
45. Astrain 1920: VI, 830-832
46. On the 1695 expedition see Gobien 1700: 173ff; summarized in Hezel 2000: 9-11
47. Tilpe, 19 May 1699, ARSJ, Chile 5 ff 278
48. Gobien 1700: 173ff; for summary see Hezel 2000: 9-11
49. For a fuller account of the 1698 expedition, see Astrain 1920: VI, 834-835; also Hezel 2000: 11-13
50. Astrain 1920: VI, 834
51. Population figures for the Marianas through the 1700's may be found in Freycinet 1839: 331ff.
52. Freycinet 1839: 354
53. Saipan's population is given as 1,269, according to a population tabulation of the islands of the Marianas in 1696, according to one mission source (ARSJ, Filipinas 14). There is no mention of Saipan's population in any of the government censuses after that time, however.
54. The precise location of these two villages is not known, but Russell (1998: 315, fn 136) suggests that Anaguam was in the vicinity of modern Garapan, while Fatiguan may have been on the southwestern side of the island near the old village of Catanhuda.

55. One visitor to the island in 1716 reported that some of the indigenous people “who did not want to bear the Spanish yoke” had settled in the mountainous interior; Hezel 2000: 18, fn 30.
56. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-1680; in Levesque 7: 311-313
57. Indications of matrilineality are scattered throughout the missionary documents. They are even to be found in the memoir of a friar stranded on the island for several months long before the arrival of San Vitores and his companions: see Driver 1989.
58. Note, however, that even if the family is traced principally through mother’s side, patrilineal ties are observed even though they are of less importance.
59. Garcia 2004: 169
60. Island societies throughout Micronesia were predominately matrilineal, while the island groups of the Central Carolines, including Chuuk and probably also Pohnpei at one time, were matrilineal as well.
61. Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682, in Repetti 1946: 433-4
62. In fact, Spanish colonial policy, established in Madrid, insisted that the Spanish governor abide by the ordinary custom of chiefly succession in the villages in accord with the Laws of the Indies, Book 6, Chapter 7, No 3.
63. Eventually the chiefs of the smaller hamlets that were incorporated into the main village were recognized by having other subordinate Spanish military titles such as *sargento mayor* conferred on them. But these subordinate titles were not awarded during the initial stage of the reduction. Atienza (2014: 40) notes that in the 1759 census a few such titles were found in nearly each of the villages.
64. See, for instance, the remark of one missionary that the village chief is entitled to respect, but holds “no authority” over his people; Garcia 2004: 172. Russell (1998: 143-147) offers a good summary of what is known about the social organization and authority system in pre-contact times.
65. For more on this, see Hezel 2000: 16, 40.
66. The full charges against these governors are listed in a document in the Archivo General de Indias, Fil. Leg. 99, f.33.
67. Hezel 2000: 44
68. Atienza 2014: 38
69. Fr Coomans, report for 1681-1682, in Repetti 1940: 319-20.
70. The cook house, even if the style varied from one culture to another, was a standard feature throughout Micronesia. It was a modest structure, but important in the life of the family.
71. Coomans 1997: 11
72. Coomans 1997: 12
73. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report 1679-1680, in Levesque 7: 307.
74. Fr. Xaramillo to the King, 29 June 1684, in Levesque 8: 143.
75. Fr. Gayoso to Provincial, 13 Sept 1676; in Levesque 6: 567
76. Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1678; in Repetti, “Conditions in Guam in 1678,” *Catholic Historical Review* 32:4 (Jan 1947), 432
77. See Hezel 2015: 14, fn 42
78. Fr. Francisco de Borja, 8 July 1680; in Levesque 7: 501
79. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-80; in Levesque 7:321
80. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-80; in Levesque 7:321

81. Driver and Hezel 2004: 9
82. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-80; in Levesque 7: 313
83. Freycinet 1839:331; see Table 2
84. Fr. Xaramillo, annual report for 1679-80; in Levesque 7: 313
85. Census is found in Freycinet 1839: 331-333; also in Levesque 19: 344.
86. David Atienza (personal communication) reports that in his review of the complete census for 1710, he found no instance of any “Spanish” (including Mexicans criollos or Filipinos) residing in any of the villages outside Hagatna and Umatac.
87. The ban against foreigners living in villages and even remaining overnight is found in the Laws of the Indies, Book 3. After 1710, however, a few of the foreign-born made their way back into the smaller villages. According to the 1728 census, Umatac had four Filipinos, Pago three, Agat two, and Merizo one mestizo and one black man. Hagatna, as might be expected, had dozens of Filipinos and Mexican creoles among its residents. (Census of 1728, AGI, Ultramar, Leg 561, ff 127-186)
88. Lawcock 1982
89. Fr. Bouwens letter, 1706; in Ibañez y Garcia 1886: 191
90. Hezel 2000: 17, fn28; Ibañez y Garcia 1886: 191
91. Anonymous Jesuit, 19 Sept 1698, *Revista Militar*, Vol 2 (Manila 1885), 66
92. Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682, Levesque 7: 557
93. Fr. Strobach, annual report for 1682, Levesque 7: 605
94. Quiroga, 26 May 1720, AGI Filipinas 95, ff 26; cited in Hezel 2000: 40.
95. Quiroga, 26 May 1720, AGI Filipinas 95, ff 21; cited in Hezel 2000: 40.
96. The purpose of the labor tax (*apluy*) is discussed in Madrid 2014: 50.
97. Hezel 2000: 47-8
98. Garcia 2004: 500
99. Fr Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682; in Levesque 7: 529ff
100. Fr. Tilpe to Fr. Espinar, 15 May 1682; in Levesque 7: 526-7
101. Fr. Bustillo, annual report for 1689-1690; in Levesque 9: 503-504
102. Hezel 2000: 28
103. Hezel 2000: 26. Ironically, this new church was dedicated just ten years before the parish was shut down for good.
104. Fr. Solorzano, annual report for 1681-1682; in Repetti 1946: 434.
105. Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Noyelle, 1684; in Repetti 1941: 95-6.
106. Garcia 2004: 487
107. Fr. Bustillo, annual report for 1690-1691, AGI Ultramar, 562.
108. Fr. Bustillo, 1 May 1691, AGI Ultramar, 402
109. Hezel 2000: 20
110. On the sung creation myths, see Coomans 1997: 16-7. Regarding the children singing litanies as they romped, see Hezel 2000: 20.
111. Quroga, 10 May 1680; in Levesque 7: 207
112. Hezel 2000: 23
113. Fr. Bustillo, 1 May 1691, AGI Ultramar 562: 390
114. “Puntos para la carta annua de este mision de Marianas,” 1698, RAH, Cortes 567, leg 12; Hezel 2000: 20
115. Fr. Bustillo, 23 May 1690, ARSJ, Filipinas 14, 400-401
116. Hezel 2000: 20-21
117. Cited in Hezel 2000: 20



Inapram
Ranhen

Turragan
Apola
Tuham

Apuragan
Mapaz
Hawam

Agadna
Cap Archubug
Tupungat
Anugag
Anan

I. Sienne
Tuparao
Orate
I. Fanna
I. Taraisag
I. Sagua
Simes
Opagat
Pagat
Nirahan

Mapupula
Pupuro
Taragricon
Sydia
Aty
Paga
Jrig

L. Dona
Umatag
Ternistoso

Mercaco
Hambadian
Pupug
Ariga
Mergan