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The Colonial Boundaries of Exilic Discourse:
Contextualizing Mabini's Incarceration in Guåhan

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in Asian American Studies

by

Josephine Faith Ong

2019

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The Colonial Boundaries of Exilic Discourse:
Contextualizing Mabini's Incarceration in Guåhan (1901-1903)

by

Josephine Faith Ong

Master of Arts in Asian American Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Keith L. Camacho, Chair

Abstract

The writings of Filipino revolutionary Apolinario Mabini, incarcerated in Asan Beach on Guåhan from 1901-1903, continue to have political implications today, as evidenced by Chamorro-led pushback against Filipino-sponsored Mabini memorials in the village of Asan. Much of this debate is centered around differences between Chamorro and Filipino memories about Asan that stem from the U.S. military's containment and disavowal of their cultural connections. Using a combination of archival and oral history analysis, I unpack the persisting political implications of Mabini's incarceration on Chamorro-Filipino historical relations. In centering Chamorro genealogical ties to place and Filipinos' histories of colonization, I argue that restoration of *inafa'maolek* or mutual relations between Chamorros and Filipinos lies in countering the colonial division of their cultural connections and histories.

The thesis of Josephine Faith Ong is approved.

Victor Bascara

Valerie J. Matsumoto

Keith L. Camacho, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

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Introduction: Contextualizing Chamorro and Filipino Contestations Over Space



Figure 1: *Panoramic View of War in the Pacific National Historical Park, January 6, 2019.*

After several days of rain and thunder, I arrived in the War in the Pacific National Historical Park, a federal park located in the village of Asan. Walking across the park's vast expanse of grass, I noticed that dark skies had given way to the sun and a strong breeze that shook the coconut trees that are scattered across the park. As one of the few green, open spaces left in Guåhan, I often used to come to the park to exercise and spend time with my family. Even as I flew kites by the American Mark 14 torpedo that marks the park's entrance and jogged past the Liberator's Memorial almost every week, I grew up unaware of Chamorro stories about Asan that identify gápang, a part of an unfinished wall to keep out potential invaders, and connect the San Nicolas and Limtiaco clans to the village.

As a class-privileged Pinay settler who migrated to Guåhan in 2001, I did not realize the importance of learning and respecting Chamorro familial ties to place. I chose to believe in Guåhan as part of the United States, rather than recognizing the U.S. military's forced occupation of Guåhan that began in 1898 and continues to this day. Considering how the War in the Pacific Park marks the site of U.S. military re-occupation and thus consolidates narratives of

U.S. military superiority,¹ layered histories of Chamorro dispossession surround the place I grew up playing in. In this case, my own pleasure and leisure came at the expense of Chamorro families that lost their familial land and were forced to bear the brutalities of Spanish, Japanese, and U.S. colonization. At the same time, growing up in Guåhan also means that I myself have experienced the horrors of U.S. military occupation. From encountering the military's tanks on my way to school to growing accustomed to warnings of unexploded bombs, I know what it is like to normalize but also fear the U.S. military's constant presence in Guåhan.

For this reason, my thesis aims to uncover how carceral structures in the Philippines and Guåhan caused Filipino investment in U.S. military occupation. In this way, I see my own experiences growing up playing in the War in the Pacific National Historical Park as symbolic of the constructed historical divide between Chamorro and Filipino struggles, where Filipino leisure and security can come at the expense of Chamorros. Thus, my thesis also intends to reevaluate my own relationship with Chamorro families like the Limitacos and San Nicolases in Asan. As a result, I revisited the War in Pacific Park's own monuments dedicated to commemorating Filipino revolutionaries' incarceration in Guåhan- the Mabini Historical Markers.



Figure 2: Mabini Historical Markers, January 6, 2019.

¹ R.D.K. Herman, "Inscribing Empire: Guam and the War in Pacific National Historical Park," *Political Geography* 27 (2008): 633.

Located in an area where Filipino revolutionary Apolinario Mabini was once imprisoned in 1901-1903, the markers represent a decades-long effort by the Philippine Consulate and Filipino community organizations to preserve memories of Mabini's incarceration. As part of the highly-visited War in the Pacific National Historical Park, the Mabini markers are now a part of the park's scenery, beach, and attractions. In response to the success of these memorials, the Philippine Consulate attempted to construct an additional Mabini statue in Asan village in 2014, but was met with intense pushback from Chamorro residents of Asan.²

The recent debate about Apolinario Mabini's statue suggests that his incarceration in 1901-1903 continues to have political implications today. How does revisiting and reevaluating Mabini's incarceration deconstruct the persisting cleavages between Chamorro and Filipinos? How does the 2014-2015 Mabini memorial debate represent historical tensions between Chamorros and Filipinos that began with Spanish and U.S. colonization of both islands? To begin to answer these questions, I will first trace the history of Chamorro-Filipino relations and their connections with the village of Asan.

Parallel Histories of Chamorro and Filipino Colonization

First, I will begin with a Chamorro story about Asan Beach. In this oral history, "Dinague Laolao," a rock located near Asan Beach is identified as part of an incomplete wall to keep out potential invaders. According to this story, the failure of a *maga'lahi* or chief's sons to successfully erect the wall led to the Spanish colonization of the island. Thus, *gâpang*'s Chamorro name conveys the "unfinished labor" in defending Chamorro ways of knowing and

² Jasmin Stole, "Asan, Guam Presidents Say No to Statue of Philippine Hero," *Marianas Variety*, Published December 11, 2014, <http://www.mvariety.com/cnmi/cnmi-news/local/71970-asan-guam-residents-say-no-to-statue-of-philippine-hero>.

living against various invasions that began after the Spanish colonized Guåhan in the 17th century. During Spanish colonization, Guåhan served as a refueling stop for Manila galleon ships crossing the Pacific Ocean. They carried valuable goods from Asia back to the Philippines, the Spanish empire's main trading port in Asia, and then to Mexico and Spain.³ To better facilitate the Spanish empire's trading networks, Asan was transformed into an agricultural rice farming community, although Chamorros still continued to engage in native fishing practices.⁴ Then, in 1892, the Spanish created a "leper hospital" in Asan Beach to isolate and imprison Chamorros with Hansen's disease, turning Asan Beach into a site of containment.⁵ As gâpang predicts, cycles of Indigenous dispossession also continued in 1898 when the Treaty of Paris forcibly annexed Guåhan and the Philippines to the United States without their people's consent.

Just a few days after the Spanish military was defeated in Manila in April 1898, Captain Henry Glass and his men landed in Guam.⁶ In her book, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam 1899-1950*, Penelope Bordallo Hofschneider revealed the fear and mistrust Chamorros felt upon Captain Glass's arrival.⁷ Furthermore, she suggested that "a benevolent, enlightened martial law was imposed on the people of Guam and perpetuated for half a century,"⁸ where the United States imposed their own ideas for how they wanted Chamorros to

³ Vincete M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 11.

⁴ "War in the Pacific NHP: Historic Resource Study (Asan Beach Unit, Asan Inland Unit and Fonte Plateau Unit)," *National Park Service: War in the Pacific Site*, Last modified March 7, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/hrs/hrsb1a.htm.

⁵ "War in the Pacific NHP: Historic Resource Study."

⁶ Leslie W Walker, "Guam's Seizure by the United States in 1898," *Pacific Historical Review* 14, no. 1 (1945): 1.

⁷ Penelope Bordallo Hofschneider, *A Campaign for Political Rights on the Island of Guam 1899-1950*, Occasional Historical Papers Series, no. 8, (Saipan: Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Division of Historic Preservation, 2001), 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

act.⁹ Hofschneider also argues that the U.S. Naval government violated ideas of American democracy because a single Naval officer controlled the whole island, no system of checks and balances was imposed, and the Naval government was created to govern Chamorros, but without their input.¹⁰

In this way, U.S. colonization created structures of discipline and punishment to consolidate its control over Guåhan and its people. Consequently, when Apolinario Mabini and other Filipino revolutionaries spoke up against American colonialism in the Philippines, they were incarcerated on Asan Beach.¹¹ At the same time, Asan Beach remained a site of agricultural and fishing activity until World War II's violence destroyed parts of the village.¹² World War II's destructive impacts on Asan began on December 8-9, 1941, when the Japanese military attacked and occupied Guåhan. Although Japanese colonization ended with the Battle of Guam, which was fought on Asan Beach in July 21, 1944, the U.S. military's reoccupation of the island enabled it to regain a base for its operations in Asia and the Pacific Islands.

While the U.S. military rebuilt their influence in the Pacific, they did not consider how their destruction impacted parts of the village of Asan. In fact, they leveled out Asan Beach and transformed it into a camp for the Seabees who built the bases that now occupy one-third of Guåhan's landmass.¹³ In this way, the U.S. military used Asan and the rest of Guåhan as base to reestablish their domination over the Japanese military in the Pacific. However, the U.S. military

⁹ Ibid., 20-23.

¹⁰ Ibid., 32-33.

¹¹ "War in the Pacific NHP: Historic Resource Study."

¹² Government of Guam, Guam Housing and Housing and Urban Renewal Authority, *The Prehistoric and Historic Development of a Beach and Community at Asan on the West Central Coast of Guam*, Darlene R. Moore and Michael W. Graves, (Mangilao: University of Guam Department of Anthropology, 1986), 3-4.

¹³ "War in the Pacific NHP: Historic Resource Study."

did not mainly rely on its soldiers' labor to build its bases, but instead turned to workers from its former colony, the Philippines.

As a result of the U.S. military's mass recruitment of Filipino workers from former bases and battlefields in the Philippines, around 28,000 Filipinos arrived in Guåhan to help the U.S. military rebuild its bases.¹⁴ While in Guåhan, Filipinos endured difficult working and living conditions. For example, they were quartered in labor camps, one of which was located in the village of Asan.¹⁵ However, the Philippine Consulate's establishment in 1952 helped the Philippine government advocate for Filipinos workers' rights in Guåhan.¹⁶ In addition, the consulate would later work with a Filipino community organization, the Philippine-American Council, to sponsor the Mabini Historical Marker in 1961. Thereafter, Filipino community organizations continued to partner with the Philippine Consulate to supplement and maintain the initial Mabini Historical Marker. In this way, Filipino laborers established historical claims to Asan Beach, where Mabini was incarcerated and the U.S. militarization of Guåhan was further consolidated. As such, Mabini's memorialization in Asan Beach is marked by both histories of Filipino labor oppression and incarceration and ongoing acts of Chamorro dispossession.

Methodology

Consequently, my thesis aims to uncover how Mabini's incarceration has severed *inafa' maolek*, or the Chamorro concept of mutual relations, between Chamorros and Filipinos. By connecting Mabini's incarceration in 1901-1903 to present-day implications for Chamorro-

¹⁴ Alfred Peredo Flores, "'No Walk in the Park': US Empire and the Racialization of Civilian Military Labor in Guam, 1944–1962," in *American Quarterly* 67 no. 3 (2015), 813-815.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 826.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 830.

Filipino relations, I question how structures of containment and the military occupation of Guåhan have also broken Chamorro and Filipino cultural connections that predated colonization.¹⁷ Taking inspiration from Keith L. Camacho’s theorization of commemorations as a way to remember and forget Indigenous pasts and presents while also recognizing common histories of resistance,¹⁸ I evaluate how Filipino commemorations of Mabini further constructed the historical divide between Chamorros and Filipinos. Motivated by Mishuana Goeman’s ideas about settler containment of Indigenous land as a “storied site of human interaction,”¹⁹ I argue that the containment of Chamorro histories and futurities maintains the U.S. military’s control over Chamorro relationalities with land and ocean and Filipino labor oppression. In this case, settler colonialism’s attempts to erase and replace Indigenous people depends on the erasure of Indigenous histories and stories about land.²⁰

For this reason, my thesis focuses on (re)centering Chamorro stories about Asan to counter settler memorialization’s erasure of their connections to land and ocean. Following Chamorro feminist historian Christine Taitano DeLisle’s theorization of placental politics, or a Chamorro feminist practice of maintaining genealogical ties to land,²¹ I examine how (re)centering Chamorro familial ties to and stories about place can break carceral structures that contain Chamorro-Filipino relations to maintain the U.S. military occupation of Guåhan. In this

¹⁷ Vicente. M Diaz, “Bye Bye Ms. American Pie: The Historical Relations Between Chamorros and Filipinos and the American Dream,” *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 3, no. 1 Rainy Season (1995): 156.

¹⁸ Keith L. Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2011), 9.

¹⁹ Mishuana Goeman, “Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment,” in *Native Studies Keywords*, ed. Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, & Michelle Raheja. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 72.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

²¹ Christine Taitano DeLisle, “Destination Chamorro Culture: Notes on Realignment, Rebranding, and Post-9/11 Militourism in Guam,” *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 21, 2016): 569.

way, I interrogate Chamorro and Filipino ways of memory-making about their histories of dispossession that come together in Guåhan to point out potential pathways for solidarity.

Because commemorations can reveal public memories and stories about place,²² my thesis uses a combination of archival analysis and oral history interviews to analyze systematic processes and highlight Chamorro and Filipino community memories about place. I use archival materials that describe the U.S. military's incarceration of Mabini from 1901-1903 and that survey Asan in the 1970-1980s to analyze how the U.S. military began its occupation from 1898 to today. At the same time, I also hope to bring Chamorro and Filipino histories in Guåhan into conversation with each other by highlighting their voices within the archives and interviewing Chamorro and Filipino community leaders.

First, I interviewed Janice Furukawa, a member of *Nasion Chamoru*, a community organization that continues to reassert Chamorro ways of knowing and living.²³ As a Limtiaco, one of the Chamorro clans that have been a part of Asan for generations, Janice Furukawa is genealogically tied to Asan and its histories of both survival and Indigenous dispossession. I interviewed her to connect present-day perspectives to Asan families' pushback about the National Park Service and GHURA's land-takings in the 1970-1980s. In addition, I interviewed Asan-Maina Mayor Frankie A. Salas about the history of the U.S. military and Chamorro memorialization in Asan. While he asked me not to record our interview, he pointed out to me the importance of the Asan memorial mass and identified war survivors in Asan. Later, as I was looking at news coverage about Asan residents' critiques of the Mabini memorial, I found that many of the war survivors to whom Mayor Salas referred me did not approve of the Mabini

²² Keith L. Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*, 11.

²³ Michael L. Bevacqua, "Nasion Chamoru," last modified June 28, 2018, <https://www.guampedia.com/nasion-chamoru/>.

memorial. Thus, I hope to build deeper connections with Asan's Chamorro families and war survivors if I pursue this research further.

To supplement archival materials I found around the 1961 Mabini Marker's creation and maintenance, I interviewed both Filipino community leaders and the current Consul General. Amongst the various Filipino community leaders in Guåhan, I chose to interview Norman Analista, the President of the Filipino Community of Guam, a Filipino community organization that unites all the other province-based associations. The Filipino Community of Guam also holds an annual Philippine Independence Ball and participates in annual commemorations of Mabini's exile. Considering the Filipino Community of Guam's influential role in Filipino social affairs and their memorialization of Mabini, highlighting Analista's perspectives about historical Chamorro-Filipino relations enabled me to unpack Filipino settlers' present-day anxieties and ways of finding belonging in Guåhan.

To further contextualize Filipino labor migrations' impacts on Guåhan after World War II, I also interviewed Bernie Schumann, a nurse and producer of the *Under the American Sun: Camp Roxas Film Project*, an upcoming documentary tells the story of Filipino labor migrants from Camp Roxas, which was located in the village of Agat. Because of Filipino labor migrants' crucial role in creating the Mabini Historical Markers, I chose to interview Ms. Schumann, who has passionately researched and interviewed Filipino labor migrants.

Finally, to understand more about the Philippine Consulate's decision to erect an additional Mabini memorial in 2014, I also interviewed Philippine Consul General Marciano De Borja, who decided to build the Mabini marker during the beginning of his term. In our interview, I asked Consul General De Borja about his perspectives on Mabini's revolutionary history and memorialization. While his opinions largely differed from those of my other

interviewees, they also represent a Filipino government official's opinions about Mabini and the village of Asan. For this reason, his perspectives also reveal the Philippine nation-state's interests in consolidating Filipino settler narratives of place.

Chapter Overview

In Chapter 1, I evaluate how the U.S. Navy constructed Asan as a site of imprisonment for Filipino revolutionaries like Apolinario Mabini. Using a combination of Mabini's memoirs of Guam and U.S. Naval reports and letters, I show how Mabini's incarceration created historical narratives that enforced colonial boundaries between Chamorros and Filipinos. At the same time, I also evaluate Chamorro families' own stories and genealogical ties to Asan in Chapter 2. In Chapter 2, I describe how the National Park Service's War in the Pacific Park and Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority purchased and transformed familial land in Asan at the very same time Filipino settlers were beginning to memorialize Mabini. Thus, in my third chapter, I question how Filipinos have memorialized Mabini to address their own histories of displacement to Guåhan while also becoming complicit in the erasure of Chamorro stories of place. In this way, I show how the U.S. military contained Chamorro and Filipino cultural connections and common colonial histories to maintain its occupation of Guåhan. In conclusion, I argue that *inafa'maolek* between Chamorro and Filipino can be restored through Pinay solidarities that (re)build mutual respect for each other's histories of dispossession.

Note about Terminology

To respect Chamorro names and genealogical ties to place, I use the name Chamorros have chosen for Guåhan, otherwise known as Guam. However, whenever archival sources such

as U.S. Naval documents specifically use the name “Guam,” I will use the name “Guam” to be consistent with that primary source. In addition, I will use and italicize Chamorro words and names for places throughout this thesis.

Introduction



Figure 3: Close-up Views of Mabini Historical Markers, January 6, 2019.

In Guåhan's War of the Pacific National Historical Park, two monuments honoring Filipino revolutionary hero Apolinario Mabini grace the beach where he was once imprisoned in 1901-1903. First erected by the Philippine-American Council and Philippine Consulate General in 1961, the Mabini Historical Markers honor Mabini as "the Sublime Paralytic, the Brain of the Philippine Revolution, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the First Philippine Republic under General Emilio Aguinaldo."²⁴ In addition, the memorials serve as a border between the ocean and the large expanse of grass where memorials of the Marines' 1944 reoccupation of

²⁴ "War in the Pacific NHP: Historic Resource Study (Asan Beach Unit, Asan Inland Unit and Fonte Plateau Unit)," *National Park Service: War in the Pacific Site*, Last modified March 7, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/hrs/hrsb1a.htm.

Guåhan also appear. Here, they continue to preserve both the legacies of Filipino revolutionary history and the U.S. military reoccupation of Guåhan.

As memorials that are grounded in place, the Mabini Markers and U.S. military are physical reminders of the U.S. military and Mabini's historical presence in Asan Beach. In fact, walking up to the Mabini markers requires one to step off the paved road and onto the rocky beach where Mabini was once imprisoned. At the same time, the Mabini markers preserve only brief descriptions of Mabini's memory that recognize his many accomplishments, but do not delve deeply into his thoughts and commitments to revolution.

Fortunately, Mabini wrote down his reflections about his incarceration and the Philippine Revolution from 1901-1903. This chapter analyzes Mabini's own perspectives on his incarceration that are documented in his Guam memoirs. By analyzing Mabini's memoirs and Naval documents, I trace how Mabini's ideas about revolution changed as a result of his incarceration in Guåhan. I begin by highlighting how Mabini's written advocacy for Philippine independence from 1899-1900 led to his incarceration in 1901. Then, I show how the U.S. Navy transformed Asan Beach into a prison site for Filipino revolutionaries that was meant to quell their resistance. In this analysis, I also center the U.S. military's gendered readings of Mabini's disability as a feminized but dangerous threat to its rule in the Philippines, leading to his incarceration. As a result, Mabini also reiterated settler narratives about Asan that contributed to its construction as a barren site of imprisonment. In this way, I argue that Mabini's incarceration maintained colonial boundaries between the Philippines and Guåhan by physically separating Mabini from the Philippines and invisibilizing Chamorro stories of place.

Mabini's Initial Responses to U.S. Empire

Unlike his wealthy fellow revolutionaries, Mabini was born into a peasant *indio* (Indigenous Filipino background) family that struggled to support him through school.²⁵ As Mabini himself reflected in a letter written to his friend Miss Blanchard in November 19, 1900:

Although my parents were poor I got some instructions and became a lawyer, thanks to persistent efforts. Since January 1896, I cannot stand because of weakness in my waist and legs. I do not suffer any other ache and look as if I were not sick. The physicians say that I will never recover my health; but I do not despair because I am still able to do something good for my country.²⁶

Even though Mabini struggled through bouts of sickness and poverty, he became an intellectual leader and critical theorist who dedicated his life to contributing to the Filipino revolution. In 1892, he joined a new incarnation of the revolutionary organization, *Liga Filipina*, and became Secretary of the Liga's Supreme Council.²⁷ Together with other revolutionaries like Dr. Jose Rizal, Mabini published *La Solidaridad*, a periodical aimed at reforming Spanish regulations for the Philippines. However, Mabini's sudden paralysis in 1896 and his increased doubts about the Spanish empire caused him to transition into supporting General Emilio Aguinaldo's Revolutionary Government.²⁸

On August 13, 1898, Manila, the capital of the Philippines, was captured by invading American military forces.²⁹ Months later, Cuba, Guåhan, and the Philippines were annexed by the United States through the Treaty of Paris. Filipino resistance to the Treaty of Paris resulted in

²⁵ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, trans. Alfredo S. Veloso (Parañaque City: Old Gold Publishing, 2013), 1.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁹ Alfred McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 64.

the Philippine-American War, where the U.S. military and Filipino revolutionaries led by General Emilio Aguinaldo clashed over control of the islands. In response to the Filipino revolutionary government, the United States created a surveillance and police state in the Philippines.³⁰ They even included an information division that monitored radical intellectuals such as Apolinario Mabini.³¹ Through the information division, Filipino revolutionaries could constantly be watched, both through the physical surveillance of their homes and through the tracking of their published articles.³² It was within the context of a U.S. surveillance state that Mabini, a leader in the revolutionary government, created multiple articles advocating for Filipino resistance to the United States' colonization of the Philippines.

After serving as Emilio Aguinaldo's adviser and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mabini resigned from the Revolutionary Government and focused on improving his health in May 1899.³³ Thereafter, Mabini published multiple articles in the local press that called for independence as the "Sublime Paralytic," a penname he adopted for all his publications. On June 30, 1899, Mabini published an article titled, "America in the Philippines," that declared:

We refuse to accept autonomy under American sovereignty, because the greatest benefit the country could obtain from it would simply be to relieve our pain, but not to radically cure our ills. Only Independence could bring about peace and well-being in a society deeply affected by the Revolution, that even the least educated of the nation's constituents often wonders about the fate awaiting him.³⁴

³⁰ Ibid., 68.

³¹ Ibid., 105.

³² Ibid., 128-129.

³³ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution: With Other Documents of the Epoch, volume 2*, trans. Teodoro Manguiat Kalaw (Manila: The National Historical Institute, 2009), 1.

³⁴ Ibid., 11.

Because Mabini conceptualized independence as liberation from systematic injustices, he believed that cooperating with the United States would result in a loss of sovereignty for Filipinos. In this case, sovereignty included the ability to control one's identity, pursue one's actions, and impose one's limits.³⁵ Under U.S. colonial conditions, Filipino sovereignty would be in the hands of the United States, who would then have the "domain of life over which power has taken control."³⁶ As a result, Mabini's argument for independence suggested that he was aware of the United States' potential power over Filipinos if colonial conditions were to be established in the Philippines.

At the same time, Mabini strategically invested in European Enlightenment ideals as a way to argue for Filipinos' humanity. On September 6, 1899, Mabini pronounced that the revolutionary government was "fighting for a God-given right; the Americans, for a right established by men who have rebelled against God, confident of the strength of their power and blinded by their ambition."³⁷ In Achilles Mbembe's article "Necropolitics," he defines sovereignty "as a twofold process of *self-institution* and *self-limitation* (fixing one's own limits for oneself)."³⁸ Thus, applying Mbembe's definition of sovereignty to Mabini's strategic investment in Enlightenment ideals reveals his attempts to recover Filipino political rights. Furthermore, by identifying sovereignty as a divine right, Mabini characterized the U.S. colonial attempt to dominate Filipino bodies as transgressive of established moral boundaries. While Mabini used European ideas about natural law to ground his ideas of resistance, he also

³⁵ Achilles Mbembe, "Necropolitics," translated by Libby Meintjes, in *Public Culture* 15 no. 1 (2003): 13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁷ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 46.

³⁸ Achilles Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 12-13.

appropriated these ideas to argue against a U.S. colonial government that would undermine Filipino rights.³⁹ At the same time, Mabini reminded revolutionary leaders that “Our strength lies within the people and without them we cannot achieve anything. . . . If the people respond, it is a sign that the moment has come to proceed and attain our goal.”⁴⁰ Therefore, Mabini’s ideas about revolution were based on Filipinos creating, in Mbembe’s words, “a project of autonomy and the achieving of an agreement among a collectivity through communication and recognition.”⁴¹

Because Mabini used Enlightenment ideals that focused on abstract political rights to explain the reasons for the Philippine Revolution, he also had to rationalize the revolution as a militant, armed struggle. As such, Mabini’s 1899 article, “Intransigence,” also explained:

We do not work for the defeat of the American forces. We only want to stop his uncontrollable ambition and impose reason in their demands through our perseverance and bravery in the battlefield. . . . We preach it as the only recourse left for us to save national honor and obtain true peace. To yield without prior recognition of our juridical ability is to surrender.⁴²

To counter racialized ideas of Filipinos as brute “savages” incapable of self-government, Mabini reasoned that Filipino revolutionaries engaging in a militant struggle was a form of self-defense.⁴³ Returning to ideas of U.S. colonization as an act of moral transgression, Mabini argued that the armed Philippine Revolution was a way to defend Filipinos’ sovereignty at a time when the U.S. military had already invaded the Philippines. Thus, Mabini conceptualized

³⁹ Jacques Derrida, *Monolingualism of the Other; or, The Prosthesis of Origin*, translated by Patrick Mensah, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 39.

⁴⁰ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 71.

⁴¹ Achille Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” 13.

⁴² Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 95.

⁴³ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 145.

revolutionary struggle as a form of self-defense against the U.S. military's own violent takeover of the Philippines. In Mabini's eyes, revolution was about fighting for the colonized's right to live and control their own lives.

Despite Mabini's investment in militant struggle, he was unable to use his legs after contracting polio in 1896.⁴⁴ While Mabini's disability ruled out the possibility for him to physically resist American colonialism, he believed that resistance could also be conducted through intellectual struggle. If maiming is "a primary vector through which biopolitical control is deployed in colonized space,"⁴⁵ as Jasmine Puar argues, then Mabini's determination to continue resisting colonization after his paralysis directly contests colonization's attempts to control people's bodies and minds. For example, in Mabini's July 1900 article, "The Parterno Program," he stated:

My heart is all hope; it never abandons the unyielding faith that I evoke in the most critical times so as not to let my heart ever despair....Fully aware and with my eyes wide open, I am not easily dazzled by the most brilliant promises. I suffer because the people's sufferings easily affect my heart. All my efforts, regarded as being intransigent, assure them the best of their fate. Since I could not be useful to myself anymore, I promised myself to be beneficial to others, and I hope that I would achieve this.⁴⁶

Mabini conceptualized revolution as a struggle for Filipino rights and autonomy, and the struggle gave him life. He recognized that fighting a revolution requires emotional, mental, and physical labor; he also believed in the promise of independence to continue the revolution. As such, Mabini argued that having the right to control one's own body is connected to sustaining

⁴⁴ Vicente L. Rafael, "Welcoming What Comes: Sovereignty and Revolution in the Colonial Philippines," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 1 (2010): 167.

⁴⁵ Jasbir K. Puar, "The 'Right' to Maim: Disablement and Inhumanist Biopolitics in Palestine," *Borderlands* 14 no. 1 (2015): 6, accessed May 26, 2018, http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol14no1_2015/puar_maim.pdf.

⁴⁶ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 160.

life and recovering the colonized's humanity.⁴⁷ In addition, he countered ableist idea of revolutions as being solely based on physical labor by arguing that his writings were a way to spread Philippine revolutionary ideals. Through Mabini's articles, he recovered Filipinos' humanity to counter what he called "...the civilizing and humanitarian American domination."⁴⁸

Mabini's advocacy for independence threatened the U.S. colonial state to the point where they decided to put Mabini under house arrest on October 1900, although he also continued to write at home.⁴⁹ Mabini's constant acts of resistance frustrated his colonizers, who could not find ways to contain him. For these reasons, General Arthur MacArthur, Jr. decided to deport Mabini to Guåhan. When the U.S. Senate conducted an inquiry into Mabini's deportation in January 1901, MacArthur replied:

Mabini deported; a most active agitator; persistently and defiantly refusing amnesty, and maintain correspondence with insurgents in the field while living in Manila, Luzon, under protection of the United States; also for offensive statements in regard to recent proclamation enforcing laws of war. His deportation absolutely essential.⁵⁰

Because Mabini was thought to be an important threat to American colonialism in the Philippines, the U.S. military wanted to remove and separate Mabini from the revolution, to which he had actively contributed and which had given him life. Mabini's struggle being waged on an intellectual front suggests that resistance to colonial education was crucial in combatting U.S. colonialism. Furthermore, the United States was just beginning to consolidate its hold over the Philippines, so the deportation and incarceration of Mabini prevented a potential crisis for

⁴⁷ Achilles Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 22.

⁴⁸ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 46.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵⁰ Senate 57th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 111, "The Mabini Case," January 26, 1903, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

American colonizers.⁵¹ In this case, prison became "...a geographical solution that purports to solve social problems by extensively and repeatedly removing people from disordered, deindustrialized milieus and depositing them somewhere else."⁵² Then, the military's enforcement of a colonial order in the Philippines entailed the physical construction of a prison, which for Mabini's case, was Guåhan.⁵³

Incarceration's Reinforcement of U.S. Colonial Power

On January 16, 1901, the *Rosecrans* left the waters of Manila, carrying Mabini and 31 other Filipino prisoners of war towards Guåhan.⁵⁴ In addition to two nurses, ten civilian employees, and 19 servants, these Filipino prisoners included revolutionary leaders such as Heneral Artemio Ricarte and Heneral Pio del Pilar who led the Philippine Revolution's armed struggle against U.S. colonization.⁵⁵ In this case, exile was a way to break down the Philippine Revolution by depriving it of its intellectual leaders and military strategists. Thus, as Mabini and his fellow exiles were sailing towards Guåhan, U.S. Naval Governor Seaton Schroeder searched for a suitable prison site. On January 28, 1901, the date of the exiles' landing in Guåhan,⁵⁶ Governor Schroeder declared that a potential location had been found:

⁵¹ Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁵³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, 2nd Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 168.

⁵⁴ Senate 57th Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 111, "The Mabini Case," January 26, 1903, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁵ Seaton Schroeder, Governor of Guam, to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, January 28, 1901, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁶ According to Governor Seaton Schroeder, the *Solace* also brought eleven additional Filipino exiles to Guam on January 31, 1901. From Seaton Schroeder, Governor of Guam, to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, February 12, 1901, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

A piece of ground, 3 ¼ acres in extent on the shore, about midway between Agana and Piti, was bought in 1892 by the Spanish Government and a leper hospital erected thereon. The last leper inmate died a short time ago, and the building was completely wrecked during the hurricane in November last; I have therefore had that property surveyed, plotted and allotted for the use of the prison establishment, it being the only public property available so far as is now known.⁵⁷

Asan Beach was chosen as the Filipino revolutionaries' prison site because of its central location and status as one of the few remaining public spaces in Guåhan. In addition, the Spanish empire's use of Asan Beach to isolate Hansen's disease patients from the rest of Chamorro society transformed it into another site of containment. In this case, containment of space and people enabled colonial transitions between the Spanish and U.S. empires that do not consider Chamorro relationships with the land. Furthermore, the U.S. Navy's conceptions of public property did not necessarily align with what Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori calls a "clan-based land tenure system."⁵⁸ While the Naval government tried to implement a land registration policy, Schroeder noted:

It is not believed that any Chamorro will voluntarily sell or rent land for the purpose of harboring Filipinos who are held in general detestation. In laying out the sites for the various buildings now, care has been taken to dispose them as to permit the greatest expansion possible; and it is estimated that the area is capable of accommodating about 150 prisoners in addition to those already arrived.⁵⁹

As the head of the U.S. Naval government in Guåhan, Schroeder surveyed the land's value based on what it could provide the U.S. military. Although the Navy conducted island-wide surveys to register land under the U.S. legal frameworks, in the case of Asan Beach, the Navy focused on investing in and then maintaining a site of incarceration. In addition, tensions

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Anne Perez Hattori, "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Military Land Appropriation on Guam," in *Farms, Firms, and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001), 189.

⁵⁹ Seaton Schroeder, Governor of Guam, to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, January 28, 1901, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

between Chamorros and Filipinos had recently culminated in a massacre of 60 Filipino exiles in 1897 when the Spanish still controlled the island.⁶⁰ Thus, incarceration was historically used to divide Filipino and Chamorro struggles from each other.

After about a month of traveling, Mabini and his fellow revolutionaries finally arrived in Guåhan and were brought to Asan Beach. There, they were isolated in tents while they waited for their prison to be built.⁶¹ On March 11, the prisoners were transferred to their building, which Mabini described in his diaries:

The building measures 80 feet long by 18 feet wide. Its only floor stands about two or three palms above the ground. It is made of pine wood and iron roofings. Its two separate sections is divided by a partition. . . . The building has three big doors facing the east and two doors at the back, one of which leads to the kitchen. The police and the civil guards in front of us block our view of the road. We can not leave through the front doors, because a permanent guard prevents us from doing so.⁶²

By constructing physical divisions and implanting various guards inside and outside of the prison building, the U.S. surveillance state isolated and surveilled its prisoners.⁶³ Because Mabini and other Filipino revolutionaries were deported and incarcerated for inciting fires of revolution in the Philippines, imposed physical boundaries were constructed to limit their mental and physical resistance against U.S. colonialism. Thus, their incarceration in Guåhan was meant to transform them into “subjugated bodies” that would not oppose U.S. colonial rule over the Philippines.⁶⁴ At the same time, Guåhan was transformed from a place of native life and resistance to a site of incarceration and colonial violence.

⁶⁰ Vicente M. Diaz, “Bye Bye Ms. American Pie: The Historical Relations Between Chamorros and Filipinos and the American Dream,” In *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies* 3, no. 1 Rainy Season (1995): 152.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁶² Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 202.

⁶³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141.

⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 138.

However, Mabini's incarceration did not only involve physical containment, but also included rigid regiments and rules. For example, the revolutionaries had to follow strict meal times, attain passes to leave, abide by orders on where they could go, and allow military guards to check their letters to family and friends.⁶⁵ In February 1901, Mabini noted this limitation of his physical movements, claiming that "the enclosure is a permanent fixture and whosoever attempts to pass through the same without due authorization shall be arrested."⁶⁶ By restricting the mobility and time of the Filipino exiles, the U.S. military attempted to take control of their bodies and behavior.⁶⁷ In addition, military guards that were "...instructed to use force, if necessary, or to shoot the offender, if need be"⁶⁸ enforced the threat of physical violence as a form of discipline that reinforced marginalized people's subordinated positions.⁶⁹

On the other hand, Mabini noted during the last few days of December 1901 that Mr. Pressey, the Assistant to the Governor, invited Mabini and eight other exiles and their four servants to live in Agana instead. However, Mabini "refused these offers, thinking it improper to leave our companions during these critical times"⁷⁰ and that "it is heavier for me to live at the expense of another strange person."⁷¹ In this way, Mabini maintained his own struggle for his independence from the U.S. Navy's assistance while also remaining committed to his fellow exiles that had to stay in the prison at Asan.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 197-198.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 198.

⁶⁷ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 151-152.

⁶⁸ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 198.

⁶⁹ Achilles Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 19-21.

⁷⁰ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 212.

⁷¹ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 247.

At the same time, it is also important to remember that Mabini was already sick before his incarceration. Recognizing that incarceration weakened his body and mind, he observed:

Our companions ordered the purchase of twenty pounds of meat. It cost them a lot of money but the meat already smelled rotten when delivered to them. On the other hand, those who wish to live in Agana were not granted a permit. We spent Christmas of 1901 with these painful thoughts. This is not surprising to me, because we were brought here precisely to make us suffer. Much as I am willing to suffer everything, I'm afraid my sick and weak body cannot withstand a prolonged self-deprivation. Be that as it may, I am convinced I will die all by myself, when my country shall no longer need my services [as an intellectual revolutionary leader].⁷²

Here, Mabini recognized that his sickness was only getting worse as a result of unhealthy prison food and difficult living conditions. Despite being aware of his declining physical condition, Mabini still wanted to support his country in any way he could. He also recorded his feelings of despair and loneliness in Guåhan while recognizing that incarceration was meant to dehumanize marginalized people to maintain power.⁷³ In this way, Mabini still resisted incarceration's attempts to detach him from his investment in Philippine nationalism even though he knew that his body was becoming weaker because of his imprisonment.

The Role of Disability

It is important to unpack how Mabini's physical disability impacted his experience under incarceration. Furthermore, it is telling that the U.S. military chose to incarcerate Mabini at the site of a former hospital for Hansen's disease patients built by the Spanish before the United States annexed Guåhan.⁷⁴ In fact, Mabini recalled, "They are telling us that this place is just the

⁷² Ibid., 212.

⁷³ Achilles Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 18.

⁷⁴ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 197.

most appropriate for us, for our mind is afflicted with a contagious illness forcing them therefore, to isolate us and prevent us from mingling with our own kind, just like the lepers.”⁷⁵

Imprisoning Mabini on the same site as a former hospital for Hansen’s disease patients establishes links between the incarceration of Chamorros with Hansen’s disease and that of Filipino revolutionaries. In this case, disease and disability were connected with revolution because of Mabini’s revolutionary writings that incited an armed struggle against U.S. colonization. Therefore, disease and disability interlocked through the prosthetics of revolutionary actions by others. Like a Hansen’s disease patient, Mabini needed to be separated from the rest of Filipino society so that he could be taught not to resist U.S. colonialism.⁷⁶ As a result, Mabini’s incarceration restricted both his physical and intellectual mobility to enforce the United States’ control over him.⁷⁷ Then, incarceration was a form of gradual death meant to deprive Mabini’s physical needs to the point where prison food was poisoning his body.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Mabini’s captors seemed to believe that weakening Mabini’s body would also erode his spiritual and emotional desire to be grounded in revolutionary struggle.⁷⁹ On July 18, 1902, the Navy observed, “As the insurrection in the Philippine Islands has been suppressed and the military government has ceased to exist, the further detention of the persons above described should be terminated; being no longer warranted by military necessity.”⁸⁰ Thus, Governor of

⁷⁵ Ibid., 200.

⁷⁶ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199.

⁷⁷ Jasbir K. Puar, “The ‘Right’ to Maim,” 2.

⁷⁸ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 212.

⁷⁹ Jasbir K. Puar, “The ‘Right’ to Maim,” 8-9.

⁸⁰ Elihu Root, Secretary of War, to the Secretary of the Navy, July 18, 1902, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Guam Seaton Schroeder immediately began to arrange for the exiles' transportation back to Manila, as long as they took the oath of allegiance to the United States.⁸¹

However, because Mabini and Ricarte refused to take the oath of allegiance, they continued to be held in Guåhan.⁸² While Mabini was supposed to be given "absolute freedom on the island, with like privilege of leaving there if he chose,"⁸³ Senator George F. Hoar noted to William Loeb Jr., Secretary to the President, that he was "informed by General Miles that he saw Mabini, late in October, in prison in Guam, under the guard of a Company of Marines, with a sentinel with a loaded musket marching backward and forward in front of his door."⁸⁴ In response to an inquiry from Senator Hoar, where he stated that he had a picture of Mabini in a military prison on October 1902,⁸⁵ Acting Secretary of the Navy Charles H. Darling clarified:

The Navy Department construed the words, "Pending further instructions I will detain them here," in Commander Schroeder's letter, as meaning that the Governor would detain them from taking an Army transport bound to Manila, but did not understand that Mabini or Ricarte would be restrained from full liberty upon the island or from going elsewhere except to the Philippine Islands.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Seaton Schroeder, Governor of Guam, to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, August 27, 1902, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁸² Seaton Schroeder, Governor of Guam, to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, August 28, 1902, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁸³ Charles H. Darling, Secretary of the Navy, "Memorandum for the Honorable the Secretary of the Navy: In re matter of Mabini being detained as prisoner of Guam," February 25, 1903, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁴ Senator George F. Hoar, to William Loeb Jr, Secretary to the President, February 20, 1903, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁵ Senator George F. Hoar, to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, March 6, 1903, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁶ Charles H. Darling, Secretary of the Navy, to Senator George F. Hoar, March 11, 1903, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

Because Mabini and Ricarte's refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, they were confined in a military prison that the other exiles had escaped because they took the oath. In this way, incarceration was tied to disciplining revolutionaries' bodies and minds to bend to the control of the United States. As a result of Mabini's prolonged incarceration and growing desperation to return home, he began to consider investing in a relationship with the United States. By the end of August 1902, Mabini wrote a petition asking Naval officials to allow him to return to the Philippines to "...occupy now important positions under the sovereignty of the United States to co-operate more effectively in the pacification of the Islands."⁸⁷ However, Mabini still hesitated to sign the oath of loyalty to the United States that was required for him to return to the Philippines.⁸⁸ In his August 25, 1902 letter to his brother Alejandro, Mabini explained why he refused to take the oath:

According to the formula, I must recognize and accept voluntarily the supreme authority of the United States in the Philippines and maintain sincere loyalty and obedience to same, without mental reservations, nor intent to evade this obligation. My conscience resists in accepting so serious an obligation, without previously knowing what laws and dispositions the United States has published in the Philippines and her purposes and intentions for the future, as well as the state of public opinions with respect to the laws, dispositions, and intentions.⁸⁹

Mabini's refusal to take the oath of allegiance was based on his constant commitment to the Filipino "people's sufferings"⁹⁰ that U.S. colonization could continue. At the same time, Mabini also considered how long he had been away from home and how "the duties of the citizen in time of war are different from those he has in time of peace."⁹¹ In this way, Mabini's

⁸⁷ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 244.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 160.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 251-252.

commitment to the Philippines adapted to its political transitions, so that his attachments to an independent nation-state became less important than the general wellbeing of the Filipino people.

Thus, even if Mabini still doubted the United States' promises to improve the lives of Filipinos, he eventually decided to take the oath to "know what the generality of my compatriots think or want..."⁹² In fact, Filipino historian Augusto Fauni Espiritu argues that exile actually strengthened Filipino intellectuals' nationalist thoughts through their shaping of ethnic and national identity in relation to the enforced cultural barriers they experienced in exile.⁹³ Therefore, although Mabini's ideas about revolution shifted from one based on militant struggle for an independent nation to one working within the U.S. colonial system, incarceration did not succeed in fully eliminating his humanity and commitment to "advocating for the rights of the [Filipino] people, convinced that through the official recognition of these rights peace would be restored and uprisings would be prevented."⁹⁴ In this way, Mabini's memoirs and reflections about the Philippine Revolution written during his incarceration maintained his strategy of resistance to U.S. colonial rule.⁹⁵

However, Civil Governor of the Philippines William H. Taft didn't want Mabini to return to the Philippines unless he took the oath of allegiance. In a January 12, 1903 letter to Secretary of War Elihu Root, Taft reasoned that Mabini was dangerous because of his physical disability:

He has manifested much skill and cunning in his appeals to the people of the Philippine Islands against the American Government, and may be said to be *the most prominent irreconcilable among the Filipinos*. His physical infirmity of course, has appealed to the imagination of the Filipinos and to the pity of all who have seen him. His consistent course of opposition to the Government in prison as a hopeless paralytic and his gentle and

⁹² Ibid., 262.

⁹³ Augusto Fauni Espiritu, *Five Faces of Exile: The Nation and Filipino American Intellectuals* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 189-190, 261.

⁹⁴ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 252.

⁹⁵ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 226.

courteous manner have all served to place him in the attitude of a martyr and to give him the kind of influence and popularity which it maybe supposed would come from such frailties and circumstances.⁹⁶

In Taft's letter arguing for Mabini's continued exile in Guãhan, Taft stated that Mabini's physical disability enabled his persistent resistance against U.S. empire. Thus, he intertwined narratives of both physical and mental disability to critique Mabini's resistance against U.S. empire as abnormal and unacceptable. Taft also noted that Mabini's return to the Philippines would induce "...the danger of disturbance and conspiracy which his presence would promote and of a possible new insurrection which could work nothing but misfortune and hardship to the people whom he thinks he loves and would aid" because his disability-turned-ability made him untrustworthy.⁹⁷ Through Taft's feminization of Mabini's "gentle and courteous manner"⁹⁸ yet dangerous and deviant character, he also established his masculine dominance over Mabini that mirrored the United States' patriarchal attitude toward the Philippines.⁹⁹ Therefore, Taft kept Mabini in Guãhan until he took an oath of allegiance to the United States.

At the same time, assuming that disability is a form of slow elimination within settler colonial contexts can potentially invalidate disabled people's forms of agency and resistance.¹⁰⁰ Although Mabini's health severely declined as a result of his incarceration, Taft still found his "consistent course of opposition to the Government in prison..." threatening, revealing how

⁹⁶ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 254-255.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 254.

⁹⁹ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 46.

¹⁰⁰ Jasbir K. Puar, "The 'Right' to Maim," 9.

Mabini's disability did not fully prevent his resistance to U.S. empire.¹⁰¹ For example, on February 12, 1903, Mabini remarked:

After two long years of absence, I return so to say, completely confused, and what is worse, almost annihilated by illness and sufferings. Nevertheless, after some time of tranquility and study I expect that I be still of some use, unless I returned to the Islands for the only object of dying.¹⁰²

Even if Mabini was aware that his incarceration had severely weakened his physical condition, incarceration did not completely break his spirit and dedication to the Filipino people, to the point where he believed that he could "still be of some use."¹⁰³ Here, it is important to point out that Mabini drew his motivation to live from the revolutionary struggle.¹⁰⁴ Although Mabini ended up signing the Oath of Allegiance in July 1903, incarceration did not sever his emotional and spiritual connection to his homeland that had already been successfully occupied by the United States. In fact, his exile only further strengthened his desire to return home, where he suspected that he would pass away. It is no coincidence that Mabini died a few months after returning to his homeland that had been radically changed as a result of U.S. colonialism.¹⁰⁵ As translator Alfredo S. Veloso argues in his introduction to his collection of Mabini's letters, Mabini "returned and found his people resigned to their fate under the yoke of American imperialism. He died shortly after. Frustrated. Disillusioned."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 254-255.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 262.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 160.

¹⁰⁵ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Settler Construction of Guåhan as a Site of Political Imprisonment

Because Mabini was a leader in the revolutionary government, his incarceration did not only affect him as a person, but the state of the Philippine Revolution as a whole. As such, U.S. Naval Secretary H.C. Taylor cited in his July 26, 1902's letter to the Governor of Guam:

In January a number of Filipino prisoners were deported to Guam, to be housed and cared for under the supervision of army officers and at army expenses, and only in the safe-keeping of the governor. This measure, in my opinion, exerted a powerful effect on the decline of the insurrection.¹⁰⁷

The U.S. military believed that Mabini and his fellow revolutionaries' forced separation from the revolutionary government in the Philippines had a profound effect on the revolution. By conceptualizing Guam as a site to contain and control Filipino revolutionaries, both the U.S. military and Mabini created narratives that constructed Guåhan as a site of incarceration rather than a place of Chamorro life or resistance. Thus, Mabini unintentionally contributed to settler claims of Guam by placing his history over Native Chamorro land. In this way, Asan Beach was transformed from a Chamorro village in the 17th century to a site of incarceration in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁰⁸ For example, when Mabini first arrived in Guåhan in early 1901, he remarked:

This is an arid land. As we took the road from the time we disembarked, we have seen only a few houses. The mountains, as well as the plains we saw have scarce vegetation and the little that we have seen seems to have been scorched by the sun.¹⁰⁹

Mabini saw Guåhan as lacking in resources precisely because he came to the island as a political prisoner. He also largely ignored Chamorro perspectives because his incarceration

¹⁰⁷ H.C. Taylor, Acting Secretary of the Bureau of Navigation, to the Governor of Guam, July 26, 1902, RG 80, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C.

¹⁰⁸ Leo Babauta, "Asan-Maina (Assan-Ma'ina)" last modified January 3, 2017. <http://www.guampedia.com/asan-maina-assan-ma%e2%80%99ina/>.

¹⁰⁹ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 200.

isolated him from most members of the Chamorro community. Mabini expressed his bias in a 1902 letter to his brother Alejandro:

I cannot say anything about the island because I have not seen any of it except the expanse that my sight reaches from the prison windows. I would say, however, that the articles destined for the necessities of life are scarce and expensive here; Only flies abound, and rain which does not lack thanks God, during all seasons of the year.¹¹⁰

Here, Mabini pointed out that his views about Guåhan were limited by his incarceration. In Sherene Razack's book, *Dying from Improvement*, she argues that the settler state uses carceral structures to "...mark the Indigenous body as one that is not up to the challenge of modern life, a condition that leaves the settler as legitimate heir to the land."¹¹¹ Consequently, Mabini's own incarceration purposefully separated Chamorro resilience and Filipino resistance from each other to consolidate the U.S. military's occupation of Guåhan. Because Mabini did not come into close contact with Chamorros, he invalidated Chamorro knowledge of Guåhan as a land that gives birth to life and growth.¹¹² In these ways, Mabini's own writings about Guåhan perpetuated ideas of the island as empty of life or rife with frustrating living conditions.

Conclusion: Incarceration's Role in Upholding Settler Occupation of Guåhan

By replacing Chamorro historical narratives with that of American and Filipino histories, settlers reinforce their superiority over Chamorro rights and stories about place.¹¹³ Through

¹¹⁰ Apolinario Mabini, *Apolinario Mabini: Testament and Political Letters*, 246.

¹¹¹ Sherene Razack, *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 193.

¹¹² Anne Perez Hattori, "Folktale: Puntan and Fu'una: Gods of Creation," last modified September 23, 2015, <https://www.guampedia.com/puntan-and-fuuna-gods-of-creation/>.

¹¹³ Michael L. Bevacqua and Isa K. Bowman, "Histories of Wonder, Futures of Wonder: Chamorro Activist Identity, Community, and Leadership in 'The Legend of Gadao' and 'The Women Who Saved Guåhan from a Giant Fish,'" *Marvels & Tales* 30 no. 1 (2016), 86.

Mabini's participation in the settler state's monopoly over the history of Asan Beach, he helped to maintain his "...control over a physical geographical area — of writing on the ground a new set of social and spatial relations."¹¹⁴ Therefore, Mabini imagined Guåhan's emptiness as that which produced "...differential rights to differing categories of people for different purposes within the same space; in brief, the exercise of sovereignty....Sovereignty meant occupation, and occupation meant relegating the colonized into a third zone between subjecthood and objecthood," as Mbembe theorizes.¹¹⁵ In this case, Chamorro stories and uses of place became invisibilized to uphold memories of both Filipino settler violence and revolutionary struggle.

However, it is also important to point out how Mabini did not intend to consolidate settler occupation of Guåhan. Instead, Mabini's perceptions of Guåhan were controlled by the U.S. settler colonial state that forcibly deported and imprisoned Mabini. For example, Mabini's inability to eat fresh food in prison led him to conclude that there was a lack of resources in Guåhan, when, in fact, his food access was heavily controlled by the U.S. settler state.¹¹⁶ As a result, Mabini's incarceration itself enforced colonial boundaries between Chamorros and Filipinos that were historically constructed to disguise their similar ancestries and struggles against the very same colonizers.¹¹⁷

Because Mabini's incarceration enforced physical and mental boundaries between Chamorro and Filipino revolutionaries, Mabini did not know about Chamorros' similar struggles against American and Spanish colonization. Without cultural and historical exchanges conducted

¹¹⁴ Achilles Mbembe, "Necropolitics," 25.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 26.

¹¹⁶ Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 210-211.

¹¹⁷ Keith L. Camacho. "Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and the American Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, ed. David K. Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 26.

outside of the constructed prisons of Mabini's site of exile, Mabini was unable to fully understand Guåhan as Chamorro land. As such, it is helpful to apply Puar's idea of open prisons of thought and geographical space to settler colonial sites like Guåhan, where the U.S. military seeks to contain and erase Chamorro stories of life and resistance.¹¹⁸ In this case, Mabini imagined Guåhan as a site of political imprisonment. Therefore, replacing Chamorro stories about place is a part of consolidating settler occupation over Chamorro land.

As a result, Mabini's settler narratives constructing Guåhan as a barren site of incarceration continues to have persisting effects on Chamorro-Filipino relations. In response to Filipino settler narratives about Asan, I highlight Chamorro stories about Asan that emphasize Chamorro familial ties to place in my next chapter. For this reason, (re)centering Chamorro stories of place is a crucial part of restoring mutual relations between Chamorros and Filipinos.

¹¹⁸ Jasbir K. Puar, "The 'Right' to Maim," 5.

Introduction



Figure 4: Gâpang, January 6, 2019.

A Chamorro story called Dinague Laolao describes how *gâpang*, a large rock in Asan Beach, came to be.¹¹⁹ According to this story, *gâpang* was part of a wall that the *manmaga'lahi siha* or chiefs of Guåhan had proposed to keep out a ship full of invaders that had appeared on the island's horizon. In response to this potential invasion, one of the *maga'lahi* decided to send his sons to bring a large rock from the village of Orote to Hågatna Bay, where the invaders were expected to land. However, once the men arrived in Asan, a celestial figure appeared, alarming them and causing them to drop the rock where it now resides in Asan Beach. This very same rock has since been named *gâpang*, which means “unfinished work” in the Chamorro language.

Michael Lujan Bevacqua and Isa Kelley Bowman argue that tales such as Dinague Laolao “...animate forms of resistance to American colonialism and militarism...[that] challenge

¹¹⁹ As told to me by Michael L. Bevacqua, July 17, 2018.

the various constricting colonialist legends by proposing alternative narratives by which Chamorros can activate themselves.”¹²⁰ Thus, Chamorro stories are a form of resistance because they center Chamorro agency and cultural survival. In the case of “Dinague Laolao,” identifying *gâpang* as part of an unfinished wall to keep out invaders emphasizes Chamorro ties to Guåhan that predate colonization. On the other hand, settlers often formed ties with Guåhan by way of colonial invasions. “Dinague Laolao” also reflects Chamorro resilience by painting Asan as a site of unfinished work in the ongoing struggle to defend Chamorro ways of knowing and living.

However, mapping out threats to Chamorro ways of knowing requires unpacking the role of U.S. militarization in Guåhan. As Bevacqua and Bowman have previously theorized, U.S. military occupation works through both the physical take-over of land and the attempted replacement of Chamorro stories about place.¹²¹ Through “colonial discourse and practice,” the U.S. military creates narratives that support U.S. military superiority over Chamorro ways of knowing and their ties to land.¹²² For this reason, I argue that it is no coincidence that *gâpang* is now located near a site that commemorates the U.S. military’s re-occupation of Guåhan, the War of the Pacific National Historical Park. From a preserved American Mark 14 torpedo to the Liberator’s Memorial that stands just two hundred feet away from *gâpang*, the U.S. military’s various memorials on Asan Beach preserve narratives of U.S. military sacrifice and superiority that led to their re-occupation of Guåhan. In the process of constantly telling these stories, the memorials, in turn, erase Chamorro stories of place like “Dinague Laolao.”

¹²⁰ Michael L. Bevacqua and Isa Kelley Bowman, “Histories of Wonder, Futures of Wonder: Chamorro Activist Identity, Community, and Leadership in ‘The Legend of Gadao’ and ‘The Women Who Saved Guåhan from a Giant Fish,’” *Marvels & Tales* 30, no. 1 (June 17, 2016), 71.

¹²¹ Michael L. Bevacqua and Isa Kelley Bowman, “Histories of Wonder, Futures of Wonder,” 71.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 86.

At the same time, Filipino settlers have also memorialized the Filipino revolutionary hero Apolinario Mabini alongside the U.S. military's own memorials. Because the War in the Pacific National Historical Park also contains Filipino settlers' narratives about Asan, debates about an additional Mabini memorial within the village of Asan reveal the persistence of Chamorro-Filipino historical tensions. How can cultural connections and mutual relations between Chamorros and Filipinos be restored by (re)centering Chamorro stories of place?

This chapter focuses on Chamorro stories about Asan to contextualize Chamorro resistance to the most recent Mabini memorial in Asan. As a Pinay settler and scholar-activist who continues to call Guåhan home, I recognize the importance of centering Chamorro voices and histories within a context of U.S. military occupation. Here, I argue that while the War in the Pacific's various memorials mainly uphold settler narratives, Chamorro stories of survival and agency can still be found within Asan Beach. I read *gãpang*'s presence in the park as resistance to the U.S. militarization's ongoing project of Chamorro dispossession. By focusing on "Dinague Laolao" and other Chamorro stories, Asan is centered as part of continuous efforts to maintain Chamorro ties to place. Similarly, Wailacki and Concow historian William J. Bauer argues that "oral histories are rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing the past..." and can center Native women's place in Indigenous nations.¹²³ For this reason, I highlight my oral history interview with Janice Furukawa, a daughter of Asan who is part of the *Nasion Chamoru* (Chamorro Nation), a Chamorro community organization, and her stories about Asan to center Native women's understandings of place. In addition, I supplement Furukawa's perspectives with my archival analysis of National Park Service and U.S. military reports to further contextualize the

¹²³ William Bauer, Jr, "Oral History," in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, ed. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, (New York: Routledge, 2017), 160-13.

impacts of U.S. militarization and Chamorro resistance to ongoing histories of Chamorro dispossession.

While settler narratives attempt to erase Chamorro ties to place in Asan, I argue that Chamorro stories like “Dinague Laolao” and Furukawa’s family histories (re)map Asan as a place to uphold Chamorro ways of knowing and living. Following Mishuana Goeman’s call to frame “land as a storied site of human interaction,”¹²⁴ I also question Filipino settlers’ erasure of Chamorro stories about Asan that may have contributed to the 2014-2015 Mabini memorial debate. Finally, I conclude with the need to center Chamorro stories to restore *inafa’maolek* or mutual relations between Chamorros and Filipinos.

Chamorro Genealogical Ties to Asan

I am sitting in a coffee shop called Care Ture with Janice Furukawa, a member of *Nasion Chamoru* and a Marketing and Advertising Executive of the *Pacific Islands Times*. To our left lies the vast open ocean, while to our right is Marine Corps Drive, a road that the U.S. military created to transport military weapons across the island.¹²⁵ It is no coincidence that we are meeting here, as this site marks stories of Chamorro survival from wartime violence. According to “Dinague Laolao,” the proposed wall to keep out invaders would have reached this point in Hagåtña Bay, where Spanish invaders were supposed to land. Years later, in this busy coffee shop by the beach, Janice Furukawa told me one of these stories of invasion and violence:

I remember all my life that this was the time we go to mass and remember my mother’s siblings who died during the Japanese invasion. Right down the road, here.... People from Asan were fleeing to their ranches in Yigo [northernmost village in Guåhan] and the

¹²⁴ Mishuana Goeman, “Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment,” in *Native Studies Keywords*, ed. Stephanie Nohelani Teves, Andrea Smith, & Michelle Raheja. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2015), 72.

¹²⁵ Alfred P. Flores, “‘No Walk in the Park’: US Empire and the Racialization of Civilian Military Labor in Guam, 1944–1962,” *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (September 21, 2015): 814.

Japanese came ashore [in December 1941] and shot them dead. My grandmother ended up with eight bayonet wounds and lived. She lost her daughter and two sons, I think. I don't even know them cause that's pre-war.¹²⁶

Here, Janice Furukawa describes her family's experiences during Liberation Day, where a battle between the Japanese and U.S. militaries on Asan Beach in July 21, 1944 led to Asan's families fleeing to the northern village of Yigo. In her marking of Marine Drive as a site of military violence, Furukawa contests Marine Drive's memorialization of U.S. military superiority and violence and instead highlights Indigenous stories of survival and loss that connects to *gâpang*'s reflection of ongoing Chamorro resistance. Furthermore, by focusing on her grandmother's wounds, Furukawa also emphasizes her grandmother's persistence in the face of Japanese military violence. In this way, she also commemorates histories of settler violence against Chamorro bodies in Asan.

In this way, Janice Furukawa's stories reminded me that Chamorro genealogies are tied to the land. Similarly, Chamorro feminist historian Christine Taitano Delisle argues for a theory of Chamorro "placental politics" that entail an "...indigenous feminist practice of maintaining genealogical cordage to land and ancestry."¹²⁷ In fact, Furukawa describes the Chamorro clans of Asan as such:

Three Limtiaco siblings from Asan married three San Nicolas siblings. It's an old practice, I think perhaps, to keep the families and the land intact....One thing I made a note of before I came here to see you is that Asan has different parts. Asan has different parts. You know how like Yona has *Pulantat* and *Camp Witeke* and different parts? Asan has different parts.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 17, 2018.

¹²⁷ Christine Taitano DeLisle, "Destination Chamorro Culture: Notes on Realignment, Rebranding, and Post-9/11 Militourism in Guam," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 21, 2016): 569.

¹²⁸ Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 17, 2018.

Similarly, in an email correspondence clarifying Asan's districts, Janice Furukawa listed them as follows:

- 1) *Opop*, or *Opu'*, the hill(s) above Asan "proper"
- 2) *Chorito* (now Chorito Blvd., also "Dead Man's Curve," the dangerous curve between Adelup and Asan, part of Marine Corps Drive)
- 3) *Nedo' Taya*, in the hills of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park between Asan and Piti; nearby ancestral owners' acreage landlocked now!
- 4) *Kalakkak*, which is how I spell the area of Asan where I was born, and according to official orthography + my own interpretation of such.¹²⁹

Here, Janice Furukawa told me that most Asan residents come from the Limtiaco and San Nicolas families. In addition, she disclosed the Chamorro names of Asan's districts that prioritize Chamorro ways of relating and talking about the land and ocean. In Furukawa's descriptions of Asan's districts, she emphasizes Chamorro names for places in Asan, rather than the U.S. military's names and markers that are often used today. As Mishuana Goeman argues, Indigenous maps "...act as a mnemonic device in which a past story, memory or communal memories are recalled; and they are important as political processes."¹³⁰ Then, Janice Furukawa's (re)mapping of Asan through familial relations and Chamorro district names maintains Chamorro relationalities with land and sea and her own genealogical ties to *Kalakkak* and other parts of Asan.

Furthermore, Asan families related to the land and sea through their farming and fishing practices. In a 1980 National Park Service report commissioned by the Superintendent Dr. T. Stell Newman, Asan residents such as Jose Quintanilla and Domingo Materne reflected on what Asan was like before World War II. For example, the report said:

According to informant Mr. Jose Quintanilla, age seventy-eight, some of the villagers lived along the narrow foreshore on the north side of the roadway in houses with thatched roofs. He remembers the coastal zone between Asan and Adelup points as having many

¹²⁹ Janice Furukawa, email message to author, February 19, 2019.

¹³⁰ Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life: Unsettling the Logics of Containment," 75.

coconut trees, with sections of dense undergrowth in places more removed from housing locations...Extending several hundred yards from the beach to the hills and cliffs were the rice fields of Asan, interspersed with housing and bisected by the main road.¹³¹

Jose Quintanilla's recollections about Asan's environment revealed Asan families' connections with both the land and the sea. In addition, he emphasized families' connections with Asan's vitality and growth by pointing out where Asan families lived and related to the land and ocean. In fact, Asan residents like Mr. Quintanilla also took note of Asan River, a major fishing site that "...flowed through a deep, crooked channel to the reef edge and was navigable for small boats."¹³² Similarly, the National Park Service's interview with Domingo Materne, a descendant of an Asan family that owned parts of Asan Beach, also focused on Asan River and its surrounding vitality:

The western side of the point facing the Asan lagoon had, in addition to a few breadfruit trees, many productive coconut trees. The uses to which Mr. Materne's relatives put the coconut were typical of the rest of Guam's population: coconut meat, milk and sap were common ingredients in many traditional food preparations.¹³³

Here, Domingo Materne highlighted Asan's "productive coconut trees" that provided food for his family. In this way, Mr. Materne constructed pre-war Asan as a site of life, rather than one of war and incarceration. However, the U.S. military did not always engage Chamorro stories of Asan's vitality. For example, in the U.S. Army's 1980 survey report, the Army focused on Asan's destruction:

On July 21, 1944 American ships took up station off the coast of Guam and began softening Asan for invasion. What was not destroyed by the artillery and bombing was almost completely eliminated during the subsequent invasion. Guamanians present during and after the attack reported that smoking, red earth was all that remained in the village

¹³¹ Jane Jennison-Nolan, *MARC Working Papers#15: Land and Lagoon Use in Prewar Guam: Agat, Piti, and Asan*, (Agana: Micronesian Area Research Center, 1980), 34-36.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 32.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 38.

area. From its rubble the community of Asan was rebuilt according to its present plan in the remaining months of 1944.¹³⁴

While the War in the Pacific Park claims to “commemorate the bravery, courage, and sacrifice of those participating in the campaigns of the Pacific Theater of World War II,”¹³⁵ the U.S. military did not consider the relationship Chamorros had with the land in their supposed liberation of the island. By destroying a part of Asan so that “red earth was all that remained,”¹³⁶ the military broke *inafa’maolek*, or the mutual relations between land, water, and people that are central to Chamorro culture and society.¹³⁷ In addition, “softening” Asan for invasion implies a form of masculine domination over land that does not consider *inafa’maolek’s* emphasis on reciprocal relations between land and people.

At the same time, it is also important to unpack the effects of the post-World War II military build-up, which entailed land-takings of about two-thirds of Guåhan’s land to build more military bases in Guam.¹³⁸ Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori notes that “the military wanted bases in order to complete its war effort and land parcels were taken without regard for the Chamorro land tenure system”¹³⁹ that did not focus on extraction of resources and land in the ways the military practiced to create large bases. In addition, Asan also served as a base for the

¹³⁴ U.S. Army Engineer Division, *A Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of the Asan Flood Control Study Area*, Michael R. Thomas and Samuel T. Price, (Agana: Pacific Studies Institute, 1980), 5.

¹³⁵ “War in the Pacific National Historical Park.” National Parks Service. Accessed November, 12, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/wapa/index.htm>.

¹³⁶ U.S. Army Engineer Division, *A Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of the Asan Flood Control Study Area*, 5.

¹³⁷ Tiara R. Na’puti and Michael L. Bevacqua, “Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan: Protecting and Defending Pâgat,” *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (September 21, 2015): 847.

¹³⁸ Anne Perez Hattori, “Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Military Land Appropriation on Guam,” in *Farms, Firms, and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001), 189-190.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 189.

Seabees who worked on the military's post-WWII construction projects.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the National Park Service also noted in their 1980 Historical Summary report:

By mid-1945, Seabees and Army Engineers had changed Guam's surface. Marine Drive, a wide highway named in honor of the U.S. Marines who recaptured Guam, ran from the Naval Operating Base on Orote peninsula to the Army Air Force's main B-29 base in northern Guam (now Anderson Air Force Base). Navy planes crowded fields at Orote and Tiyan; the northern plateau had three B-29 fields. Advance headquarters of the Pacific fleet sat atop Libugon. Camps and supply installations were everywhere. Orote peninsula, Piti and Cabras island were a vast naval operating base.¹⁴¹

Through the National Park Service's glorification of heightened U.S. militarization on the island, it rationalizes the dispossession of Chamorros that occurred after Guam was re-occupied by the U.S. military. Thus, Asan Beach remained a crucial site for the re-occupation of the whole island, rather than just Asan itself, even after the July 21st battle had long passed. In this case, the War in the Pacific Park played a crucial role in maintaining histories of U.S. military destruction of Asan during World War II.

The Creation of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park

On June 4, 1965, Governor Manuel M.L. Guerrero asked representatives of the National Park Service to visit Guåhan to identify sites for a potential historical park.¹⁴² This visit resulted in the 1967 proposal for what was then called the National Seashore Park, which would be partially located on Asan Beach, which at the time was the Naval Hospital Annex.¹⁴³ However, it

¹⁴⁰ "Asan Beach Unit," *National Park Service: War in the Pacific Site*, Last modified April 18, 2013, <https://www.nps.gov/wapa/planyourvisit/asan-beach-unit.htm>.

¹⁴¹ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Guam: Two Invasions and three Military Occupations: A Historical Summary of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park*, Russell A. Apple, (Mangilao: University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, 1980), 61.

¹⁴² National Park Service, "War in the Pacific NHP: Administrative History (Chapter 5)," May 8, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/adhi/adhi5.htm.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

would take more than ten years for the renamed War in the Pacific National Historical Park to be officially created through the passing of Public Law 95-348 on August 18, 1978.¹⁴⁴ Notably, the park's process to determine the boundaries encompassed by the Government of Guam's land and privately owned land caused these delays. When the park's boundaries were finalized in 1978, about one-third of the park's boundaries included private land that still hadn't been purchased from Asan families.¹⁴⁵

As a result of a lack of government funds needed to buy the land, Asan families weren't able to sell their land. However, because their land was part of the National Park Service's park boundaries, they were also unable to sell their land to other potential buyers. Thus, in a March 22, 1979 meeting with about fifteen Asan residents, a landowner conveyed their frustration:

It took eleven years for this park to get this far. Assuming that there is further delay before the lands are purchased, can the property owner build a structure even though land is within park boundary? And, does residential use of land necessarily mean it is not suitable as part of the historic scene?¹⁴⁶

Here, an Asan resident questioned the National Park Service's exclusive claim to familial land. Furthermore, they pointed out the Park Service's prioritization of preserving memories of U.S. military reoccupation, rather than Chamorro ways of living in Asan. Similarly, in a follow-up meeting on June, 10, 1980, another Asan resident asked, "Would it be possible for a landowner who has a house on his property to be compensated by getting an exchange of land

¹⁴⁴ National Park Service, "War in the Pacific NHP: Administrative History (Chapter 7)," May 8, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/adhi/adhi7.htm.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Environment Assessment: Draft Management Plan, War in the Pacific National Historic Park Guam*, (Agana: National Park Service, 1981), 78.

equal to the value of his land and then to get cash for the value of the house rather than to get land for the value of the house and raw land he owns?”¹⁴⁷

In this way, Asan residents constantly contested forced land-takings within a framework of private property rights. At the same time, they also pointed out the importance of Chamorro relationalities by emphasizing the need to build homes in Asan and just compensation for having to sell their familial land. Thus, Asan residents strategically used the language of property rights to maintain Chamorro genealogical ties to Asan.

Consequently, the creation of the War in the Pacific Park in 1978 attempted to disrupt Chamorro genealogical ties to place. By employing carceral structures, the park transformed Asan Beach into a federal park. Similarly, the U.S. Army Engineers’ 1980 report claimed that:

Since 1944 Asan has grown and changed in some respects, but time has not yet removed the physical scars of the invasion. To commemorate the role the site played in the American reconquest of the Pacific, the National Park Service will be developing land on all sides of the village of Asan as a national historic park.¹⁴⁸

But rather than address how “the physical scars of invasion” affected Chamorros from Asan, the National Park Service (NPS) memorialized its own destruction of Asan Beach while simultaneously acknowledging their role in reshaping the land. In pointing out the need to surround the village of Asan, the War in the Pacific Park further consolidated the settler state’s desire to contain Chamorros. In this case, the park’s physical containment of Asan Beach reveals how the U.S. military and federal government attempted to control Chamorro people and their relationships with the land and ocean.

However, Asan’s Chamorro families contested the federal government’s attempts to disrupt Chamorro genealogical ties to place by highlighting the importance of community-based

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 98.

¹⁴⁸ U.S. Army Engineer Division, *A Cultural Resources Reconnaissance of the Asan Flood Control Study Area*, 6.

recreational activities during the 1979 meeting.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, they “also discussed traditional uses of the Asan annex and would like these to be given consideration in the park’s plan: Traditional uses by local residents include[ing] salt gathering, residential use, and some agriculture.”¹⁵⁰ Thus, Asan residents continued to defend Chamorro ways of knowing and living even as the National Park Service attempted to preserve its plans for Asan. In response to Asan residents’ concerns, in National Park Service’s updated 1981 Draft Management Plan, it claimed:

War in the Pacific National Historical Park is the first Federally managed park on Guam. As a result, there is limited local knowledge about national parks...The predominant park need expressed by many is for more picnic tables, baseball fields and similar urban recreation facilities. The Federal government is seen as a source of funds for such facilities. Preservation of ‘the historic scene’ or of large natural areas by a public agency is not a locally accepted concept of land management as it is in the continental United States. Local residents are, however, interested in and concerned about the historical park, its management, and its use.¹⁵¹

Here, the National Park Service reasserted settler patriarchal claims to place by claiming that its knowledge about land management surpassed that of Asan families that had lived on that land for generations. In this case, they prioritized the “historic preservation” of the U.S. militarization of Asan Beach over Chamorro genealogical ties to place. As Ojibwe historian Jean O’Brien suggests, settler commemorations create historical narratives and memorials that replace Indigenous existence and resilience.¹⁵² In addition, O’Brien identifies the archive that includes settler memorials as a source of settler colonial erasure and power. Following Wolfe’s reminder

¹⁴⁹ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Environment Assessment*, 79.

¹⁵⁰ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Environment Assessment: Draft Management Plan, War in the Pacific National Historic Park Guam*, (Agana: National Park Service, 1981), 79.

¹⁵¹ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Draft Management Plan: War in the Pacific National Historic Park Guam*, (Agana: National Park Service, 1981), 43.

¹⁵² Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xxii.

that settler colonialism is a structure that evolves over time,¹⁵³ I also argue that the War in the Pacific Park is a living settler archive that tries to erase Chamorro histories of place.

As a result, the War in the Pacific Park's history of Chamorro dispossession continues to affect Asan families today. Reflecting upon the War in the Pacific Park, Janice Furukawa noted:

The War in the Pacific National Park...aside from the park itself, they took more land inland from people. So people lost some of their land and other people became landlocked because some of the land they took. So it's a very major inconvenience to live here.... The other part is that it's nice, it's well-kept, a nice big open space with the water that you can swim in.¹⁵⁴

Thus, Janice Furukawa highlights the importance of Chamorro connections with both land and ocean. Furthermore, she pointed out the persisting implications of the National Park Service's land acquisitions, causing some Asan families to lose access to their land and some to be "landlocked." By blocking access to both land and sea at Asan Beach, the National Park Service prioritized preserving memories of U.S. military reoccupation, rather than Chamorros genealogical ties to place and cultural practices that predated Spanish and U.S. colonization.¹⁵⁵

The Redevelopment of the Village of Asan

However, the War in the Pacific Park wasn't the only political institution that threatened Chamorro genealogical ties to Asan. In fact, the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA) also "...acted as the Park Service's agent in acquiring park land" for the War in the

¹⁵³ Patrick Wolfe, "Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and The Question of Colonialism," in *Empire, Colony and Genocide: Conquest, Occupation, and Subaltern Resistance in World History*: 103.

¹⁵⁴ Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 17, 2018.

¹⁵⁵ "War in the Pacific NHP: Historic Resource Study (Asan Beach Unit, Asan Inland Unit and Fonte Plateau Unit)," *National Park Service: War in the Pacific Site*, last modified March 7, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/hrs/hrsb1a.htm.

Pacific Park.¹⁵⁶ After Guam suffered significant typhoon damages in the 1962, GHURA was created in December 1962 to “...carry out in Guam urban renewal projects (which include slum clearance and redevelopment and the prevention and elimination of slums and blight through rehabilitation and (conservation) to provide housing for persons of low income, and, during limited periods, for disaster victims and persons engaged in national defense activities...”¹⁵⁷ In August 1977, GHURA received a \$6.2 million Community Development Block Grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to transform Asan’s “slum and blight”¹⁵⁸ into a modernized urban village.¹⁵⁹ According to a commissioned 1981 U.S. Army Engineer report, the grant had the following goals:

This project will include construction of transportation, utility, solid waste, social/recreational and public facilities; construction and rehabilitation of residential, commercial and public buildings; acquisition and disposition of structures and properties; and relocation of residents in accordance with the redevelopment project’s master plan. The acquisition of approximately 115 acres of land is involved; 100 acres south of Marine Drive and 15 acres north of Marine Drive. The 15 acres will be dedicated to the U.S. Department of the Interior for the National Historical Park. Upon completion, the redeveloped village will contain approximately 300 residential, commercial and community structures.¹⁶⁰

As such, the Asan Redevelopment Project entailed significant structural changes to the village’s architecture, resident relocations, and land acquisitions. In addition, the U.S. Army Engineer’s 1977 report reveals the connections between GHURA and the National Park

¹⁵⁶ “Creating a Park Presence: The Newman Era, 1979-1982,” *National Park Service: War in the Pacific Site*, last modified May 8, 2005, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/wapa/adhi/adhi8.htm.

¹⁵⁷ PL06-135, Bill No. 409 2-S (Guam 1962).

¹⁵⁸ Paul M. Calvo, Governor of Guam, to Andrew I.T. Chang, January 14, 1981, Governor Paul M. Calvo Papers, University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam.

¹⁵⁹ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. *Detailed Project Report and Environmental Statement for Flood Control: Asan, Guam*. (Fort Shafter: U.S. Army Engineer District, 1981), 11.

¹⁶⁰ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. *Detailed Project Report and Environmental Statement for Flood Control*, 6.

Service's land-takings, which all occurred from the 1970-1980s. Therefore, the U.S. federal government worked with the Government of Guam to purchase Asan family lands and transform them into the National Historical Park and redeveloped village of Asan. As a result, the village's architecture completely changed to create forms of infrastructure like roads and streetlights that now line the National Historical Park.¹⁶¹

Although GHURA's project accomplished its goal of modernizing the village of Asan, Asan residents still do not have access to their family land.¹⁶² In response to being forced to sell family land to the government, Janice Furukawa said:

My family resides on family land that was passed on from their parents and their parents to their parents and their parents. Asan is an example because a lot of people were displaced by the GHURA forty-year project. GHURA bought properties so some of those families moved, to wait it out, or maybe took the money to buy land somewhere else.... Years later, the government and some officials determined that those of us by eminent domain had to acquire our land for less than market value so we could be first on the list to re-purchase the land at less than the value today. So I can buy my grandmother's land back and have it back in the family because they bought it from us forty years ago. That's family land.¹⁶³

In this quote, Janice Furukawa describes her frustrations with having to buy back family land that has been passed down through her family for generations. By forcing Chamorros to sell the land their family had lived in for generations, the government of Guam, and by extension the U.S. federal government, cut generations of genealogical ties to land in Asan through the forty-year urban redevelopment project and its connections with the National Park Service's own land acquisitions and transformations. In Furukawa's emphasis on family ties to land, she points out histories of injustice and land dispossession that are connected with familial networks in Asan.

¹⁶¹ Leo Babauta, "Asan-Maina (Assan-Ma'ina)," last modified January 3, 2017, <http://www.guampedia.com/asan-maina-assan-ma%e2%80%99ina/>.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 17, 2018.

As Seneca scholar Mishuana Goeman suggests, property rights contain Indigenous people and their ways of knowing and living within settler colonial society by restricting Indigenous relationalities with land and oceans.¹⁶⁴ By emphasizing the need to purchase seized family land, the federal government imposed its definitions of individual rights to private property over Chamorro genealogical ties to place. Furthermore, Anne Perez Hattori argues that Chamorros only began to assimilate into the private property system after the U.S. military took advantage of World War II's destruction of Guåhan to consolidate massive land-takings and militarization.¹⁶⁵ In the case of Asan, *gápang*'s prediction of unfinished labor rings true in the form of forced displacement and incorporation into the U.S. settler state's political frameworks.

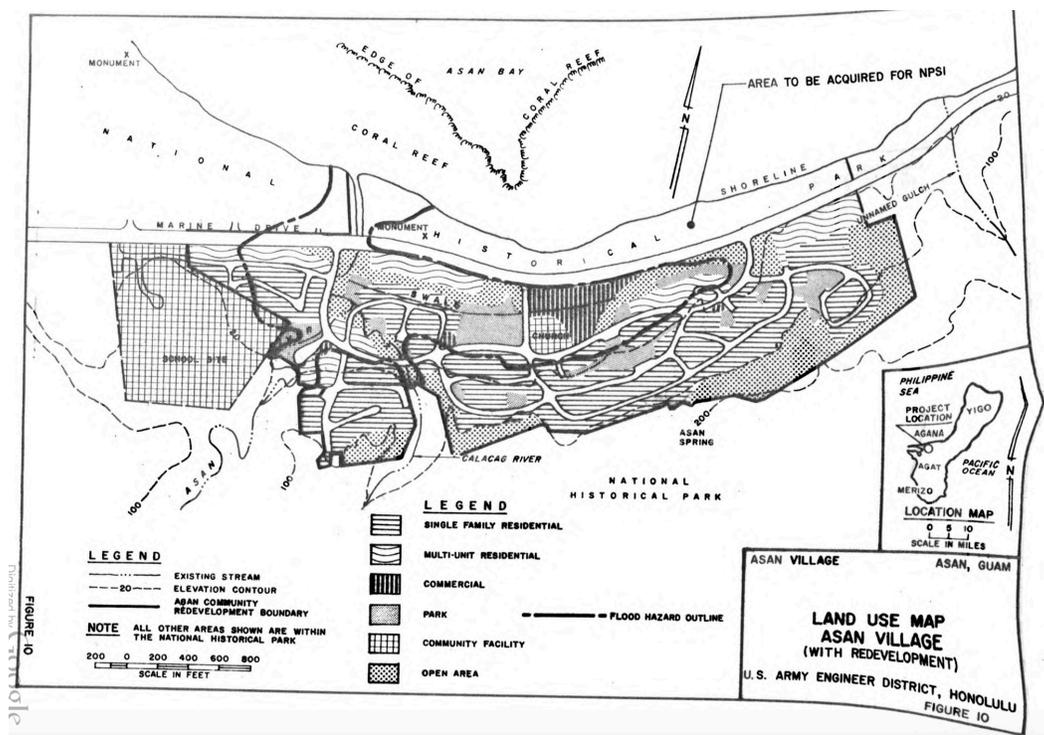


Figure 5: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. *Detailed Project Report and Environmental Statement for Flood Control: Asan, Guam*, (Fort Shafter: U.S. Army Engineer District, 1981), Figure 10.

¹⁶⁴ Mishuana Goeman, "Land as Life," 72.

¹⁶⁵ Anne Perez Hattori, "Guardians of Our Soil," 189.

As the map above depicts, the War in the Pacific National Historical Park and GHURA Asan Redevelopment Project worked together to purchase family land and transform it into the federal government's visions of a modernized village and National Historical Park. At the same time, Asan families' resistance to GHURA and the NPS' land-takings emphasized Indigenous Chamorro relationalities with place. In this way, they countered settler containment of Chamorro genealogies ties to place.

Chamorro Commemorations as Resistance to Settler Colonial Erasure

For this reason, I now turn to highlighting Asan families' commemorations. Here, I focus on an annual memorial Asan mass that was cited in Asan residents' 1979 meeting with National Park Service officials. In this meeting, Asan residents said:

It was suggested [to the NPS] that there be a memorial at Asan dedicated to the military men and civilians who died there. In addition, there was a special Mass said at Asan on an annual basis. It might be desirable to permit and provide for this type of traditional use.¹⁶⁶

By asking for a memorial mass, Asan residents focused their resistance on honoring Chamorros from Asan who died when the U.S. military came to take back Guåhan. Because the War in the Pacific Park mainly upheld narratives of U.S. military superiority, I read Asan residents' suggestion of holding a memorial mass as a political act of remembrance that reveals the potential for Indigenous resurgence.¹⁶⁷ Thus, it is also important to center Chamorro ideas of resistance when analyzing their commemorations. In Keith L. Camacho's book, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, History, and Memory in the Mariana Islands*, he argues

¹⁶⁶ U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *Environment Assessment*, 80.

¹⁶⁷ Jeff Corntassel, "Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-Determination," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 91.

that "...the politics of institutional and personal memories of war enables one to better understand the competing histories on which public memories are built."¹⁶⁸ Then, Camacho also unpacks Chamorro commemorations of Liberation Day as complex forms of resilience that ingrain Chamorro survival within narratives of loyalty to fulfill a "collective sense of obligation to the United States, thus strengthening the bonds of reciprocity between Chamorros and Americans."¹⁶⁹ In the case of the Asan memorial mass, I argue that honoring Chamorro and U.S. military men's passing together reveals complex forms of Chamorro resistance to settler colonialism's attempts to erase and replace them.

Similarly, Asan-Maina Mayor Frankie A. Salas told me that the Asan memorial mass happens every July 14th to commemorate the Marines' landing in Asan.¹⁷⁰ In our interview, he pointed out that the Asan memorial mass happens a week before Liberation Day to focus on Asan being the initial site of the U.S. military's return to Guåhan. In addition, he suggested that Asan's memorial mass is a different commemoration from Liberation Day, as the War in the Pacific National Historical Park was considered to be a different place from the rest of Asan.¹⁷¹ In this way, Mayor Salas pointed out temporal and spatial differences in the way Asan families commemorate their memories of Guåhan's liberation from Japanese occupation. Furthermore, Mayor Salas' suggestion that the War in the Pacific Park wasn't necessarily like other parts of Asan shows how the National Park Service's containment of Asan Beach had persisting implications for the way Asan's Chamorro families may now perceive it. Thus, Mayor Salas

¹⁶⁸ Keith L. Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 63.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁷⁰ Frankie A. Salas (Asan-Maina Mayor), interviewed by author, Asan. July 2, 2018.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

strongly suggested that I attend the memorial mass to understand more about the history of Chamorro commemorations in Asan.

In fact, I first met Janice Furukawa at the 2018 memorial mass in Asan. Through this religious commemoration and my brief conversations with Ms. Furukawa and her family, I learned about the deep losses and traumas of World War II that persist in Asan. Standing outside Asan's Niño Perdido Catholic Church with the *manâmkô* (elders), U.S. military officers, and Chamorro political leaders such as Mayor Salas and Governor Eddie Calvo, she also expressed her frustrations with the priest's discussion of American liberation and military superiority. At the same time, she also reminded me about the importance of honoring those who passed away. A week later, Ms. Furukawa and I met again to discuss the history of memorialization in Asan. In response to my asking about the large presence of U.S. military memorials in the nearby War in the Pacific Park, she said:

One thing I did notice is that every Memorial Day, they used to put flags on the ground. Hundreds and hundreds, rows and rows and rows of American flags. But now, this year, they put American flags and Guam flags. I made a note of that. This year. That means somebody's becoming more awake, more aware, more sympathetic. Or at least appearing to be more sympathetic. But it must be the higher brass because who's gonna make that type of decision, right?¹⁷²

Like the Asan residents who pushed back against the War in the Pacific Park's initial creation in 1978-1980, Janice Furukawa urged me to emphasize Chamorro survival in the face of military occupation. By centering stories like "Dinague Laolao" and Chamorro family histories like Janice Furukawa's, Chamorro relationships with land are renewed in these daily acts of

¹⁷² Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 17, 2018.

remembrance. Thus, it is also important to note Furukawa's perspectives about *Nasion Chamoru*, a political organization that tried to reassert Chamorro ways of knowing and living:¹⁷³

I don't think *Nasion Chamoru* was the original organization or original founder of all resistance. No, resistance has been here for the whole time we've been colonized. Maybe under our breaths or beneath our *ginen i mas takhilo* ' [from the highest], *ginen i mas sotta* [from the highest release] but deep and layered through hundreds of years.¹⁷⁴

As a member of *Nasion Chamoru*, Ms. Furukawa emphasized daily resistance to settler colonialism's attempts to erase and replace Indigenous people that predate the creation of a specific political group, even if it intended to create a Chamorro nation. Similarly, Jeff Corntassel argues that everyday acts that restore Indigenous cultural practices, ceremonies, and sacred living histories foreground Indigenous relationalities with the land and sea.¹⁷⁵ As "Dinague Laolao" suggests through its constant retelling of *gãpang* as unfinished labor, Chamorro resistance to settler colonialism has been ongoing ever since colonization first began. For this reason, daily acts of resistance that are "deep and layered through hundreds of years" reveal Indigenous resistance to settler colonialism's constant and evolving desire to erase and replace Indigenous people.¹⁷⁶ Within a context of U.S. militarization and settler occupation of Guåhan, I argue that Chamorro daily survival and resistance is a political struggle that settlers try to erase through settler histories and narratives about place. Therefore, the story and land of *gãpang* and Asan families' acts of resistance reveal how Chamorros continue to reaffirm their ties to land.

¹⁷³ Michael L. Bevacqua, "Nasion Chamoru," last modified June 28, 2018, <https://www.guampedia.com/nasion-chamoru/>.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Jeff Corntassel, "Re-envisioning Resurgence," 89.

¹⁷⁶ Patrick Wolfe, "Structure and Event," 103.

Filipino Settler Memorialization and the Need to Center Chamorro Stories of Place

Given that Chamorros continue to reaffirm their genealogical ties to Asan, how do we consider Asan-based Chamorro perspectives of Mabini? In my previous chapter, I described Mabini's perspectives of Asan Beach being based on the U.S. Navy's construction of it as a prison. Then, contemporary tensions around Mabini's memorialization in Asan reveal the persisting implications of Filipino settler narratives about land that contradict Chamorro genealogical ties to place.

Consequently, Chamorro families' perspectives about Mabini's memorialization should also be highlighted. Although the first Mabini Historical Marker was erected on Asan Beach in 1961, Consul General De Borja attempted to erect an additional memorial within the village of Asan in 2014. However, instead of consulting with Asan families, Consul General De Borja only contacted Asan Mayor Joana Blas.¹⁷⁷ As a result, 56 year-old war veteran Joseph Shimizu Jesus used a sledgehammer to destroy the latest Mabini memorial on April 7, 2015.¹⁷⁸ After being interviewed by the local newspaper *Pacific Daily News*, Jesus pointed out that "damaging the statue was also a statement to show that he and others don't want the statue in his village."¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, Jesus questioned Mabini's commitments and contributions to Asan,¹⁸⁰ thus revealing the importance of familial and personal connections to Chamorro clans and villages.

Less than two weeks later, twenty other Asan residents who were comprised mainly of *manâmkô* and war survivors gathered in Leslie San Nicolas' home to advocate for the Mabini

¹⁷⁷ Jerick Sablan, "Asan Man Talks about Attacking Statue," *Pacific Daily News*, published April 14, 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

statue's removal.¹⁸¹ While not all the residents agreed with Jesus' methods, they questioned Mabini's ties to the village of Asan. In fact, most residents emphasized their lack of knowledge about Mabini. For example, the *manãmko* like Cynthia Terlaje stated: "I'm not prejudiced or anything, but who is he? We don't know."¹⁸² Thus, historically constructed divisions between Chamorros and Filipinos¹⁸³ could have resulted in Chamorros and Filipinos not knowing about each other's anti-colonial struggles. At the same time, the *manãmko* seemed to be aware of Filipinos' desire to honor an important Filipino historical figure, as war survivor Maria Fejeran pointed out that "We aren't against what the Filipinos want to do to honor whoever they want to, but put it in the proper place or community where he can be honored."¹⁸⁴ Here, Maria Fejeran points out both contemporary Filipino political leaders' and Mabini's own lack of community connections with Asan's Chamorro families. In this way, the *manãmko* like Maria Fejeran and Cynthia Terlaje stressed the importance of respecting Chamorro memories and ties to place that Filipino settlers had sometimes invalidated when memorializing Mabini.

For this reason, I argue that when Filipino settlers did not consult with Asan's Chamorro residents about Mabini's memorial in the village of Asan, they did not abide by the mutual relations between different communities and land that *inafa'maolek* entails. In this way, Janice Furukawa also revealed the Filipino betrayal of *inafa'maolek* in her conversation with me about the 2014-2015 Mabini memorial debate:

¹⁸¹ Betsy Brown, "Asan Statue-PNC News." Filmed [April 17, 2015], Youtube video, 2:21, published April 19, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqaRqjywNNw&t=76s>.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Keith L. Camacho. "Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and the American Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of Asian American History*, ed. David K. Yoo and Eiichiro Azuma. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 26.

¹⁸⁴ Betsy Brown, "Asan Statue-PNC News." Filmed [April 17, 2015], Youtube video, 2:21, published April 19, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqaRqjywNNw&t=76s>.

I would've been okay with a Mabini memorial in the village.... but my cousins and everybody else in Asan, they're very pro-Chamorro. Mind you, there are a lot of Filipinos accepted in the community in Asan. They're very respectful. We're all one community.... [we] have ancestors who are noteworthy. Why do we want a second Mabini memorial in Asan, rather than [Angel] Santos or Tony Palomo? Or Baltazar Bordallo?¹⁸⁵

Here, Ms. Furukawa calls attention to Chamorro notions of mutual respect for each other's histories and relationships with the land. By naming Chamorro community leaders such as Baltazar Bordallo and Angel Santos who advocated for Native Chamorro rights, she also honored Chamorro political resistance instead of prioritizing settlers' memorialization. Following Glenn Coulthard's argument that "place is a way of knowing, experiencing, and relating with the world and these ways of knowing often guide forms of resistance to power relations that threaten to erase or destroy our senses of place,"¹⁸⁶ I suggest that Filipino memorialization's attempted erasure of Chamorro ties to Asan is an act of settler colonial violence. In the act of memorializing Mabini without first consulting with Asan families, Filipino settlers prioritize settler narratives of place and thus further consolidate histories of dispossession and invasion in Asan, as with the making of the War in the Pacific Park. Consequently, Filipino settlers chose to assimilate into the settler society and seek their own upward mobility while disavowing Chamorro genealogical ties to place.¹⁸⁷

Conclusion: The Need to Restore *Inafa'maolek* between Chamorros and Filipinos

¹⁸⁵ Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 17, 2018.

¹⁸⁶ Glen Coulthard, "Places against Empire: Understanding Indigenous Anti-Colonialism," *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 4, no.2 (2010): 79.

¹⁸⁷ Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Colonial Amnesia: Rethinking Filipino 'American' Settler Empowerment in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 257-258.

During our interview, Janice Furukawa revealed that her cousin was the man who damaged the 2014-2015 Mabini memorial debate. She also mentioned that “he is a veteran. He probably has PTSD [post-traumatic stress disorder]. I understand the rage, but I admire myself Mabini and happen to know that there is a prior memorial to Mabini in the park.”¹⁸⁸ Upon my asking why Ms. Furukawa admired Mabini, she told me that her respect came from her knowledge of how “...he was involved in the Filipino Revolution and led his people to gain independence.”¹⁸⁹ Then, her respect for Mabini is based on his struggle against the Spanish and U.S. empires that had also colonized Guåhan. Furthermore, as a Chamorro activist, Janice Furukawa recognized the importance of Mabini’s struggles for independence from the U.S. colonization of the Philippines. In this way, she contests the historical divide between Filipinos and Chamorros that Keith Camacho argues was partly created by academics to disguise their similar ancestries and colonizers.¹⁹⁰

As “Dinague Laolao” reveals, Chamorros continue to resist settler colonial erasure of their genealogical ties to land and ongoing histories of Indigenous dispossession. In addition, I have argued that government projects like the War in the Pacific Park and GHURA Redevelopment Project purchased and transformed Chamorro familial land in Asan. In the next chapter, I question how Mabini also became a living settler archive to consolidate Filipino historical claims to Asan. I also unpack how Filipino community leaders were taught to ignore Chamorro histories about place through what Dean Saranillio calls “colonial miseducation.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Keith L. Camacho, “Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and the American Empire,” 26.

¹⁹¹ Dean Itsuji Saranillio, “Colonial Amnesia,” 257-258.

Introduction



Figure 6: *Guam Daily News*, “Mabini Marker Unveiled at Asan,” July 5, 1961 from University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam and Micronesia Collection.

On July 4, 1961, the anniversary of both American and Philippine independence, members of the Philippine-American Council stood together with the Philippine Consulate, Chamorro political leaders, and the U.S. Navy to officially reveal the Mabini Historical Marker to the public. Organized by Philippine Consul General Rizal G. Adorable, the ceremony drew a crowd of 200 community members and Naval officers, including 84 year-old Maximo Tolentino, the last surviving Filipino exile.¹⁹² At the time, the Marker stood on the grounds of the Asan

¹⁹² *Guam Daily News*, “Mabini Marker at Asan Pt. Dedicated In ‘4th Ceremony,” July 5, 1961, from University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam and Micronesia Collection.

Tony Palomo, *Territorial Sun*, “Deported to Guam: Among the Exiles, a Sublime Paralytic,” May 7, 1961, from University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam and Micronesia Collection.

Civil Service Community, a Naval camp located at Asan Beach. Just twenty years later, the Marker would later become surrounded by the U.S. War in the Pacific National Historical Park's various memorials that commemorate the U.S. military's re-occupation of Guåhan in 1944.

As the War in the Pacific National Historical Park was being created in the 1970s, Filipino community organizations like the Batangas and Southern Tagalog Association continued to maintain and even added an additional marker to the first Mabini Historical Marker at Asan Beach. Their efforts to remember Mabini's presence in Guam also did not go unrecognized by the Chamorro political leaders who negotiated with the federal government to create the War in the Pacific Park. On March 29, 1974, when the War in the Pacific Park was still being planned, Governor Carlos G. Camacho sent a letter to the Secretary of Interior Rogers P. Norton that listed the lands to be transferred to the Government of Guam for "park and recreation purposes."¹⁹³ One of these areas included Asan Beach which, at the time, was the U.S. Naval Hospital Annex. In Governor Camacho's letter, he cited the Government of Guam's aim to create recreation facilities, preserve World War II relics, maintain both Mabini Historical Markers, and develop "interpretative facilities for the Mabini Historical Markers and liberation of Guam during World War II."¹⁹⁴ Governor Camacho's recognition of the Mabini Markers acknowledged Filipino community organizations' memorialization of the local landscape. As a result, both the Government of Guam and the federal U.S. government set out to recognize Filipino settler memories of Mabini's exiled presence in 1901 while also preserving public memories about the U.S. military's landing at Asan Beach in 1944.

¹⁹³Camacho, Carlos G, Governor of Guam, to Rogers P. Norton, March 29, 1974, A.B. Won Pat Collection, University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.



Figure 7: Mabini Historical Markers, January 6, 2019.

Today, the Mabini Historical Markers are surrounded by the coconut trees, military memorials, and concrete paths that the National Park Service (NPS) planted alongside Asan Beach's shoreline. In addition, picnic tables that represent the Asan families' desire to center community-oriented activities also lie close to the memorial. Clearly, the memorials' environment physically manifests the National Park Service, Filipino settlerism, and Chamorro genealogies of Asan Beach and the wider village. As a result, I argue that the Mabini Marker and its environment symbolize the complex interrelated interests among Chamorros, Filipinos, and the U.S. military in Guåhan.

Thus, it is important to unpack how Filipino settler memorialization relates to histories of U.S. militarization, Indigenous dispossession, and Chamorro memories of place. In this chapter, I interrogate the history of Filipino memorialization of Mabini's exile in Guåhan as a possible form of containment of Chamorro-Filipino mutual relations. First, I briefly contextualize the history of post-World War II (WWII) Filipino labor migrations to Guåhan. Using Asian settler colonialism and the politics of settler memorialization as frameworks, I analyze the narratives

found in archival material of the 1961 Mabini Marker ceremony, which officially opened the 1961 Historical Marker to public access. By highlighting oral history interviews conducted with Filipino community leaders and the current Consul General Marciano R. De Borja, I evaluate memorialization as a quest for Filipino belonging within U.S. military occupation that then consolidates militarized borders between Chamorros and Filipinos. In this way, I question what it means for Mabini to have become a living settler colonial archive in which Filipino settlers can assert their claims to Chamorro places. At the same time, I also show how the restoration of *inafa' maolek* between Chamorros and Filipinos could foster mutual relations between them, counter U.S. military containment of their lives, and foreground their cultural connections and common colonial histories.

Post-WWII Filipino Labor Migrations to Guåhan

Although Mabini's incarceration in 1901 continued a pattern of Filipino incarceration in the Marianas, World War II disrupted this pattern of exile and political imprisonment. In fact, Chamorro historian Alfred Flores argues that Filipino migration became characterized by labor after World War II.¹⁹⁵ As a result of the war's devastation of the Philippines, the country struggled to transition into a state that was politically and economically independent from the United States.¹⁹⁶ Because U.S. colonial education and economic interventions had also taught Filipinos to place their economic and political security in the hands of the United States, many

¹⁹⁵ Alfred Peredo Flores, "No Walk in the Park': US Empire and the Racialization of Civilian Military Labor in Guam, 1944–1962," in *American Quarterly* 67 no. 3 (2015), 813.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 820

Filipinos sought to leave for America.¹⁹⁷ For this reason, the U.S. military recruited around 28,000 Filipinos to help rebuild the U.S. military's bases in Guåhan.¹⁹⁸

Once Filipino migrants came to Guåhan, Filipino men were given low-paying and dangerous jobs in the construction industry, only a small number of Pinays were given skilled work.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, most of the Filipino laborers lived in the unsanitary and cramped labor camps of Camp Asan, which was located near Asan Beach, and Camp Roxas, which was established in the village of Agat.²⁰⁰ Filipino laborers endured these difficult working conditions until the Philippine Consulate was established in 1952 to help advocate for Filipinos workers' rights.²⁰¹ In addition, the consulate later partnered with a Filipino community organization, the Philippine-American Council, to sponsor the Mabini Historical Marker in 1961.

When the military build-up ended in 1972, many Filipinos chose to make Guåhan their home partially because they could gain residency and live in a part of the United States if they stayed in Guåhan.²⁰² Thereafter, the predominantly Filipino village of Dededo and organizations like the Filipino Community of Guam²⁰³ have become spaces for the Filipino community to come together in Guåhan. By choosing to invest in and, in fact, benefit from the United States' occupation of Guåhan, Filipinos became a part of the system of Asian settler colonialism where

¹⁹⁷ Yen Le Espiritu, "Gender, Migration, and Work: Filipina Health Care Professionals in the United States," in *Contemporary Asian America (second edition): A Multidisciplinary Reader*, ed. Min Zhou and Anthony C. Ocampo, (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 261.

¹⁹⁸ Alfred Peredo Flores, "No Walk in the Park," 813-815.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 822-824.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 826.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 830.

²⁰² Alfred Peredo Flores, "No Walk in the Park," 831.

²⁰³ The Filipino Community of Guam is the title of the organization, but I otherwise call Guam "Guåhan" to respect Chamorro names for places.

Asian settlers' migration into Native land causes them to be complicit in settler colonialism's attempts to erase and replace Indigenous people.²⁰⁴ In Dean Saranillio's article "Colonial Amnesia: Rethinking Filipino 'American' Settler Empowerment in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," he argues that colonial miseducation in the Philippines constructed the United States as morally superior and a land of opportunity, which then funneled Filipino settlers' investment to the settler state for their own sense of empowerment.²⁰⁵ As a result, the Filipino memorialization of Mabini replicated settler claims to place in Guåhan, especially when the idea for the 1961 Mabini Historical Marker was created by the Philippine nation-state.

The Creation of the 1961 Mabini Historical Marker

On January 30, 1961, Philippine Consul General Rizal G. Adorable submitted a request to Rear Admiral W.F.A. Wendt to memorialize Mabini in the Asan Civil Service Community. In Adorable's letter to Admiral Wendt, he described the value the marker would add to Asan:

For historical as well as cultural purposes, it is planned that the site where the above-named priorities lived in Asan be marked with a historical marker.... It is near the shore beyond the curb and will not in any way obstruct or be a hazard to traffic. On the contrary it is our opinion that the marker will enhance the aesthetic view of the shoreline....As the Asan Civil Service Community is under your jurisdiction, I have the honor, on behalf of my Government to request authority to build such a marker on the site mentioned.²⁰⁶

By focusing on the aesthetic value a Mabini memorial would add to Asan Beach, Adorable suggested that the preservation of settler memories about Indigenous places would beautify Guåhan's landscape. In the process, Adorable deemphasized Indigenous ways of living

²⁰⁴ Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Colonial Amnesia: Rethinking Filipino 'American' Settler Empowerment in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 257-258.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 259-261.

²⁰⁶ Adorable, Rizal G, Philippine Consul General, to W.F.A. Wendt, January 30, 1961, Guam and Micronesia Collection, University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam.

and relating to place that may not rely on physical structures like monuments to see the beauty of Asan's shoreline. As my previous chapter suggests, Asan families instead focused on Asan Beach as a part of their village where people fished and played. As such, Adorable did not mention the importance of Chamorro historical and cultural practices and instead highlighted the Philippine nation-state's limited knowledge about Asan Beach. In this way, Adorable reasserted what Ojibwe historian Jean O'Brien calls a replacement narrative that invisibilizes Indigenous historical ties to place.²⁰⁷

On the other hand, the Consulate's partnership with the newly established Philippine-American Council, a conglomerate Filipino community organization, also suggests a larger Filipino community investment in Mabini's memorialization. On April 2, 1961, the Philippine-American Council elected its Board of Directors, which included Consul Rizal G. Adorable as a member ex-officio, and "...approved a resolution to sponsor the erection of the historical marker for Mabini and other Filipino patriots at Asan point (the Asan Civil Service Community), the target date for its unveiling having been set on July 4, 1961."²⁰⁸ Here, the Consulate conjoined its memorialization of Mabini with its protection of Filipino labor rights. While Alfred Flores has argued that the Consulate only protected Filipino worker rights because of their remittances to the Philippine economy,²⁰⁹ the Consulate and Philippine-American Council's partnership can also be read as a strategic collaboration to maintain the Filipino labor presence in Guåhan.

In this way, the 1961 Mabini Historical Marker ceremony represented the ties between U.S. militarization, the Philippine nation-state, and Filipino workers themselves. For example,

²⁰⁷ Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 55.

²⁰⁸ *Mabini and other Filipino Patriots Historical Marker Souvenir Program*, Asan, Guam: Philippine-American Council of Guam, 1961.

²⁰⁹ Alfred Peredo Flores, "No Walk in the Park," 829-830.

during the ceremony, Rear Admiral Wendt gave a speech that announced the importance of Filipino-U.S. relations:

In the succeeding years [since 1898] the trails of adjustment of East to West and West to East constantly forged an ever stronger bond of friendship and understanding between the peoples of the United States and the Philippines. During these years many Filipinos served long and honorably in ships of the United States Navy. We were no longer strangers to the Filipinos nor they to us.²¹⁰

As a Rear Admiral of the U.S. Navy, Wendt based his ideas of a friendship between the United States and the newly independent Philippines on ties that were forcibly established when the U.S. military first attacked and colonized the Philippines in 1898. Here, Wendt conveniently ignored the fact that Mabini was exiled to Guåhan because of his resistance to U.S. colonization. In emphasizing narratives of a brotherly friendship between the Philippines and the United States, Wendt omitted the U.S. political and economic domination of the Philippines that Mabini strongly contested.

Furthermore, Wendt suggested that Filipino enlistment in the U.S. Navy during World War II helped the newly independent Philippine state prove its worth to the United States.²¹¹ In Filipino critical theorist Neferti Tadiar's book, *Fantasy Production*, Tadiar argues that the feminization of the Philippines as economically and politically dependent on the United States continues by way of the U.S. extraction of Filipino labor and resources.²¹² As a result, Tadiar states that U.S. colonization of the Philippines was a gendered, economic process.²¹³ For this

²¹⁰ *Guam Daily News*, "Mabini Marker at Asan Pt. Dedicated In '4th Ceremony," July 5, 1961, from University of Guam Micronesia Area Research Center, Guam and Micronesia Collection.

²¹¹ Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Migration and Empire in Filipino America, 1898-1946*, (New York City: New York University Press, 2011), 195.

²¹² Neferti Tadiar, *Fantasy Production: Sexual Economies and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 43.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 44.

reason, Filipino service in the U.S. Navy can be read as a form of labor extraction to further U.S. military goals in Asia and the Pacific Islands, for which Guåhan served as a major base of operations after World War II.²¹⁴ However, the Filipino memorialization of Mabini, U.S. military recognition of the Philippines, and the joint U.S. and Philippine celebration of Filipino labor signaled a transition from gendered ideas of Filipino inferiority to a greater sense of familiarity and companionship between the two countries. Consequently, restoration of Filipino masculinity relied on Filipino assimilation into the U.S. military's masculine extraction of Indigenous lands. Thus, the Consulate produced and transformed Filipino notions of manhood and nationhood in its efforts to work with the Navy to create the Mabini Historical Marker.

In a similar way, Governor Bill Daniel of Agaña also noted in his message to the Philippine-American Council of Guam:

On this day each year your country and mine commemorate their birth as free and independent nations. The Fourth of July marks a time of celebration and a time of rededication to the principles of freedom which serve as the foundation of our national existence. It is appropriate, therefore, that the Philippine-American Council of Guam has chosen this occasion to do honor to the memory of Apolinario Mabini, who devoted his life to the cause of freedom.²¹⁵

As this passage illustrates, Governor Daniel recognized the Philippines and United States' similar date of independence while also withholding Chamorro self-governance through his federally appointed governorship of Guåhan. In emphasizing American and Philippine freedom, Daniel invalidated the importance of Chamorro independence from U.S. military occupation. Following Jean O'Brien's idea of commemorations as "...particular local and

²¹⁴ Tiara R. Na'puti, and Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan: Protecting and Defending Pãgat," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (September 21, 2015): 843.

²¹⁵ *Mabini and other Filipino Patriots Historical Marker Souvenir Program*, (Asan, Guam: Philippine-American Council of Guam, 1961), 9.

regional assertions about the construction of the nation and the content of national identity,”²¹⁶ I argue that the celebration of Mabini on July 4, 1961 rationalized settler freedom and independence as much as it disavowed Chamorro histories of dispossession. By taking into account future commemorations, Filipino and U.S. settler claims to place would constantly evolve and be maintained in a way that restricts Chamorro struggles for self-determination.²¹⁷ Even in death, Mabini became a living settler archive that constantly erased Chamorro ties to place and repeatedly consolidated Filipino and U.S. settler belonging in Guåhan.

The 1961 Mabini Historical Marker and the Possibilities for Solidarity

On the other hand, the re-centering of Filipino perspectives about Mabini can also reveal potential solidarities between Chamorros and Filipinos. For example, in Philippine President Carlos P. Garcia’s message to the participants of the June 6, 1961 Mabini Historical Marker ceremony, Garcia proclaimed:

The story of Apolinario Mabini’s heroic life, dedicated to the making of a better Philippines, is not complete today without an account of his sojourn in Guam. On that island, an exile from his homeland, he lived with a congenial people, whose peaceful and hospitable nature helped enrich his sense of mission, calmed his mind from the turmoil of his time, and aimed him to fashion the image of enlightenment and freedom that was his legacy to his people.²¹⁸

In his statement, Garcia pointed out how Chamorro hospitality to Mabini enabled Mabini’s own intellectual struggle against U.S. colonization. After all, Mabini wrote his reflections on the Philippine Revolution’s successes and failures while he was incarcerated in

²¹⁶ Jean O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 73.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 74-75.

²¹⁸ *Mabini and other Filipino Patriots Historical Marker Souvenir Program*, 7.

Guam.²¹⁹ As Chamorro feminist and historian Christine Taitano DeLisle suggests, Chamorro hospitality is a crucial part of *inafa' maolek*, which entails the making of mutual relations between people and the environment.²²⁰ This ethos counters masculine narratives of the U.S. military and its destruction of lands and oceans. Garcia then highlighted Chamorro-Filipino relations in a way that the Consul General and Rear Admiral Wendt did not, as they were more focused on cementing U.S.-Philippine relations. At the same time, Garcia portrayed Chamorros as a “congenial people” who assisted Mabini, thereby reinforcing gendered and colonial ideas about Indigenous people as servicing settlers or exiles like Mabini. Because he did not consider Chamorro perspectives about Mabini or their own historical ties to Asan, Garcia’s recognition of Chamorro hospitality opened up the conversation for the restoration of *inafa' maolek* between Chamorros and Filipinos, but did not completely fulfill it. At the same time, Garcia’s role as the president of the Philippines also suggested that his ties to the Filipino community in Guam were mainly based on Filipino laborers’ potential remittances, which were the backbone of the Philippines’ economy.²²¹

It is important to highlight the perspectives of Filipino community members who established closer relationships with Chamorros. In the process of commemorating Mabini’s exile in Guam, a local newspaper *Territorial Sun* interviewed Maximo Lorenzo Tolentino of the village of Santa Rita. He was a Filipino cook who was asked to join the exiles in 1901.²²² Unlike most of the exiles, though, Tolentino chose to stay in Guåhan and later married into a Chamorro

²¹⁹ Apolinario Mabini, *Philippine Revolution*, 232.

²²⁰ Christine Taitano DeLisle, “Destination Chamorro Culture,” 565.

²²¹ Alfred Peredo Flores, “No Walk in the Park,” 829-830.

²²² Tony Palomo, “Deported to Guam: Among the Exiles, a Sublime Paralytic.”

family from the Julale district in the capital of Agaña.²²³ Consequently, when news of the first Mabini Historical Marker spread to the public, Tolentino was interviewed to present his perspectives about Mabini. In this interview, Tolentino described his close relationship with Mabini. He even shared a poem Mabini had given him as a parting gift:

Adieu, Asan! Adieu, Agana!
We bid thee adieu
We, the unfortunate
Victims of the love
For a sacred ideal;
We vow thee our loyalty.
For thy humanitarian
Hospitality.²²⁴

In this part of the poem, Mabini showed his gratitude for the hospitality of Asan and Agana's residents, but he did not specify whether or not he meant Americans, Chamorros, or both who interacted with him and helped him to move around the island.²²⁵ In addition, Mabini's poem revealed that despite his gratitude towards the people of Asan and Agana, he still recognized that he was incarcerated because of his advocacy for Philippine independence. However, unlike Mabini's memoirs of Guam, his farewell poem represented his complex personal connections to people and place. For example, while Mabini's Guam memoirs focus on Asan's emptiness, his poem proclaimed:

Adieu, Asan!
Our favorite village –
On whose sands
Our pains have been
Sprinkled and our
Tears spared;
Your name, I shall

²²³ According to Tony Palomo's article "Deported to Guam," Pancracio Palting and Leon Flores also stayed in Guåhan, while the other 49 Filipino prisoners left the island in 1902 and 1903.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Ibid.

Never forget.²²⁶

Here, Mabini portrayed Asan as site of pain and tears while also recognizing it as “our favorite village.” By emphasizing Mabini’s unforgettable memories about and physical connection to Asan’s sands and people, Mabini connected his struggle for Philippine independence to Chamorros and the land and ocean they call home. Tolentino’s personal connection with Mabini and his decision to stay in Guam enabled him to share more nuanced perspectives of Mabini’s relationship with Chamorros and Guam two months before the memorial was even revealed to the public. In addition, Tolentino also reflected that “...us Filipinos who had adopted Guam as our new home... were contented and happy with our families.”²²⁷ This sentiment reveals how emphasizing stories of Filipino exiles’ acceptance in Chamorro society can provide counter-narratives to the constructed separation of Chamorro and Filipino struggles for self-determination in Guam.

Filipino Migration and the Memorialization of Mabini in the Post-WWII Era

Fifty years after the first Mabini Historical Marker was revealed to the public in 1961, Filipino community organizations have continued to visit and maintain the Mabini Historical Markers. However, as I discussed in the previous chapter, the unsuccessful attempt to erect a third marker within the village of Asan in 2014-2015 suggests that Chamorro histories of dispossession in Asan have not been fully recognized by Filipino community leaders. Thus, it is important to evaluate how Filipino settler claims to place embodied in Mabini’s memorialization have evolved after time. To further reveal the importance of the Filipino community’s memories

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

about Mabini's memorialization, I conducted oral history interviews with the current Consul General Marciano R. De Borja, Filipino Community of Guam President Norman Analista, and the Camp Roxas Film Project's Producer Bernie Schumann. In interviewing Filipino political and community leaders in Guåhan, I highlight a range of perspectives and subject positions about Chamorro-Filipino historical relations and Mabini's memorialization.

Unlike President Garcia and Consul General Adorable, Norman Analista and Bernie Schumann grew up in Guåhan. In addition, both are second-generation Filipinos who did not migrate to Guåhan themselves unlike the members of the Philippine-American Council or even most members of the Filipino Community of Guam. Notably, Norman Analista is also the first Guåhan-born president of the Filipino Community of Guam, an umbrella organization for province-based Filipino community organizations and the main organizer of the annual Philippine Independence Ball. As such, Analista's reflections about his family's migrations to Guåhan focused on his parents' perspectives. He said:

My father came to Guam on a ship. He was recruited by a Navy company or a contractor of the Navy to bring skilled laborers to Guam to rebuild after World War II. So my dad came here in 1953. He petitioned for my mom to come a few years later, so my family has been in Guam since the 1950s.²²⁸

Like many Filipinos that came to Guåhan, Norman Analista's father was first recruited by the military to help rebuild Guåhan after World War II. In fact, Alfred Flores suggests that the Immigration Act of 1965's emphasis on skilled labor and family reunification enabled Filipinos to petition for their family members from the Philippines to reside in the United States.²²⁹ By establishing migration channels through the U.S. military, Filipinos actively participated in and contributed to the island's massive military build-up that dispossessed Chamorros during the

²²⁸ Norman Analista (Filipino Community of Guam President), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 2, 2018.

²²⁹ Alfred Peredo Flores, "No Walk in the Park," 831.

1940s-1950s. Furthermore, Chamorro historian Anne Perez Hattori argues that legislation such as the Organic Act of 1950 that ended the U.S. military's authoritarian rule over Guåhan and gave its residents the right to U.S. citizenship actually facilitated the takeover of about 36% of Chamorro family lands to build military bases.²³⁰ In this way, Filipino laborers in Guåhan focused on the recovery of U.S. military control after World War II, rather than restoring *inafa'maolek* or Chamorro ties to place. On the other hand, Analista also marks World War II as a major period for both the Philippines and Guåhan, which served as interconnected battlefields on the war's Pacific Front. Thus, the World War II destruction of the Philippines pushed Filipinos to seek better economic opportunities in parts of the United States, as with Camp Roxas in Guåhan.

As the producer of the Camp Roxas Film Project and the daughter of one of the Camp Roxas workers, Bernie Schumann has dedicated herself to telling the stories of Camp Roxas migrants and their descendants. In our conversation about the history of Filipino labor migrations to Guåhan, Schumann also noted the importance of Filipino recruitment to come to Guåhan after World War II. In fact, Schumann's detailed research into the lives of Camp Roxas migrants for the documentary enabled her to share with me the following insights:

At that time, it was World War II. Everybody was recovering so it's just whether or not they were still I think a lot of them didn't think they were going to stay here. I think a lot felt that if they were just probably going to be here, everybody would eventually return to the homeland. You know, my parents were from a town in Iloilo [that] was burnt by the Japanese, so everybody was struggling to... figure out what to do. So when you see a ship, say[ing]...we're gonna to Guam and earn U.S. dollars., why wouldn't you want to jump on the ship?²³¹

²³⁰ Anne Perez Hattori, "Guardians of Our Soil: Indigenous Responses to Post-World War II Military Land Appropriation on Guam," in *Farms, Firms, and Runways: Perspectives on U.S. Military Bases in the Western Pacific*, ed. L. Eve Armentrout Ma, (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 2001), 198.

²³¹ Bernie Schumann (Camp Roxas Film Project Producer), interviewed by author, Tamuning, July 23, 2018.

Here, Schumann reflected on the devastating impacts of Japanese occupation where her family's whole town was destroyed. Considering the Philippines' status as a newly independent nation that had just been occupied by the Japanese military, Schumann reasons that many Camp Roxas migrants chose to come to Guåhan because of the difficult post-war recovery process. Furthermore, she also points out how many migrants focused on the promise of U.S. economic security and safety. In this case, Filipinos saw Guåhan as part of the United States, thus recognizing the settler state over Chamorro understandings and ties to place.²³²

It is also important to point out that Analista and Schumann's common emphasis on the impacts of World War II connects Guåhan and the Philippines together through what Japanese feminist scholar Setsu Shigematsu and Chamorro historian Keith L. Camacho have called "militarized currents."²³³ That is to say, war has largely shaped Filipino migration patterns and Chamorro-Filipino relations in ways that center the U.S. militarization of Oceania. At the same time, Keith L. Camacho's theorization of commemorations can also signal pathways for recognizing common histories of resistance to Spanish, Japanese, and even U.S. occupation.²³⁴ Given that commemorations can likewise reveal public identities and shared memories in Guåhan,²³⁵ then it is also possible to recover histories of Chamorro and Filipino solidarities.

Mabini's Memorialization as a Militarized Border Between Chamorros and Filipinos

²³² Tiara R. Na'puti and Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan," 839.

²³³ Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho, eds., *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xv.

²³⁴ Keith L. Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 9.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

However, some Filipinos' desire to secure their belonging within settler society in Guåhan can sometimes interfere with these pathways to solidarity, as evidenced by the Filipino community's erasure of Chamorro histories of dispossession in Asan. Since the first Mabini Historical Marker was first created in 1961, Filipino community organizations have often played an active role in commemorating Mabini's presence in Asan. Community organizations like the Filipino Community of Guam and its predecessor the Philippine-American Council of Guam were formed after the post-WWII labor migrations of the 1950s-1960s and remain an integral part of the Filipino community in Guåhan today. Pointing out the importance of Filipino organizational partnership with the Philippine Consulate today, Consul General De Borja remarked:

We have this Batangas and Southern Tagalog Association...they're the ones who are actually active in in promoting...this event honoring Mabini and also the cleanup of the markers in Asan.... every year when I invite their leaders or their members to join in our events, they normally come and then they spearhead the cleaning of the Mabini marker. Normally during June when we celebrate Philippine Independence month, because we have a series of events, most of them initiated by the Philippine associations.²³⁶

Because Mabini was born and raised in Batangas, the Batangas and Southern Tagalog Association often promoted and maintained the Mabini markers in a manner that redirects Filipinos' familial ties to place from Batangas to the village of Asan. Consul General De Borja's perspectives also reveals that Filipino community organizations now partly consolidate their presence in Guåhan by way of Mabini. In this case, the Mabini Historical Markers represent the interests of the labor-oriented Philippine nation-state and the evolving desires of some Filipino community leaders in Guåhan.

The organizational focus on visiting the Mabini Historical Marker and only during Philippine Independence month also ties Filipino community formation to settler temporalities

²³⁶ Marciano De Borja (Philippine Consul General), interviewed by author, Tamuning, August 14, 2018.

and conceptions of space. As Filipino scholar-activist Dean Saranillio argues, "...settler-colonial theft can be achieved through temporal and spatial tactics"²³⁷ that can erase and replace Indigenous ties to place. Similarly, Jean O'Brien also suggests that monuments "...need to be embedded in social networks...[to] engage both the past and the present to make claims about the future."²³⁸ Consequently, I argue that the exclusivity of some Filipino commemorations reveals their investment in their assimilation into and upholding of settler society.

Take, for instance, the matter of Catholic masses in Asan. Just as Chamorro families from Asan commemorate their survival from Japanese occupation every year in the Nino Perdido Catholic Church, Filipinos also hold mass before journeying to Asan together. For example, Consul General De Borja said:

After June 12, [we have] normally what we call Philippine Independence mass.... After the mass, we all troop to Asan Beach and there's....flowers we offer to put there in honor of Mabini. There are some brief speeches about why we are commemorating the event and why we're honoring Mabini. So it's one way of course reminding the Filipinos here that it's important to remember.²³⁹

However, because the Philippine Independence mass happens before and is separate from the Asan memorial mass, Chamorros with familial ties to Asan and Filipino community members who memorialize Mabini in Asan Beach rarely meet. Following Keith L. Camacho's theorization of Catholic masses as a way to highlight Chamorro perspectives of war,²⁴⁰ I read these temporally and spatially parallel rituals as a physical manifestation of the constructed divide between Chamorros and Filipinos.

²³⁷ Dean I. Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood*, (Durham, Duke University Press), 11.

²³⁸ Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 59.

²³⁹ Marciano De Borja (Philippine Consul General), interviewed by author, Tamuning, August 14, 2018.

²⁴⁰ Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*, 89.

Consequently, the annual repetition of these parallel rituals could further enforce historical borders between Chamorro and Filipino communities. As such, even Consul General De Borja identified commemorations of Mabini as an important ritual for the Consulate:

Of course it's like a ritual but for the Consulate, it's part of our activities to support. These are the things that we have to [do] because whether we like it or not, they were exiled here, and if you remember them, at least we remember that part of our history, when one of our heroes was exiled here and why. And then people start asking why was he exiled in the first place? They eventually then find out that he was exiled by the Americans because he was fighting for Philippine independence.²⁴¹

By emphasizing the Consulate's ritual commemorations of Mabini and his struggle for Philippine Independence, the Consulate and the Batangas and Southern Tagalog Association consolidate settler futures that invalidate Chamorro struggles for independence. Similarly, Jean O'Brien argues that the scheduled repetition of commemorations that enforce local narratives of place normalize and make certain their claims to place.²⁴² As a living settler archive, Mabini's memorialization enables some Filipino settlers to continue to claim belonging within Guåhan's settler society. In this way, the Consul General's decision to erect an additional Mabini memorial in the center of the village of Asan exposed the Philippine state's settler colonial claims to place. For example, after reflecting on the importance of remembering Mabini's crucial role in the revolution, Consul General De Borja said:

I will still say that people need more education....because I think if Chamorros know Mabini and they know the circumstances why he was exiled to Guam and why they're markers there why I attempted to put yeah life-size statue in Asan. It was a donation actually of a school in Tanauan, his hometown, to commemorate his 150th anniversary. And that's the reason I received that donation because when I was appointed Consul General, I thought you know [that] this is a good project to commemorate Mabini.²⁴³

²⁴¹ Marciano De Borja (Philippine Consul General), interviewed by author, Tamuning, August 14, 2018.

²⁴² Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 74.

²⁴³ Marciano De Borja (Philippine Consul General), interviewed by author, Tamuning, August 14, 2018.

By arguing that Chamorros needed more education to understand why Consul General De Borja placed a life-sized statue in the center of Asan, De Borja reinforced patriarchal claims to place by invalidating Chamorro families' knowledge about and ties to the land and oceans they have long called home.²⁴⁴ The Consulate's lack of consultation with Asan's Chamorro families also invisibilizes Indigenous histories to reassert Filipino settler historical ties to place.

How, then, do we consider Asan-based Chamorro perspectives of Mabini? Here, I return to the Mabini Historical Marker debate that began in December 2015. On April 7, 2015, 56 year-old war veteran Joseph Shimizu Jesus used a sledgehammer to destroy the latest Mabini memorial and attacked Asan Mayor Joana Blas's office, as she was also working with Consul General De Borja to erect the memorial.²⁴⁵ After being interviewed by the local newspaper *Pacific Daily News*, Jesus pointed out that Mabini "didn't do anything for our community" and that war veterans from Asan should be honored instead.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, Jesus said that he felt disrespected by the mayor's lack of community consultation, so he took a sledgehammer to the memorial to prove that Asan families did not want a memorial of Mabini in their village.

Twelve days after Jesus' act of resistance, twenty other Asan residents gathered in Leslie San Nicolas' home to advocate for the Mabini statue's removal.²⁴⁷ While they did not all agree with Jesus vandalizing the Mabini memorial, they expressed similar sentiments towards the statue. Comprised mainly of *manâmkô* or Chamorro elders, residents questioned Consul General De Borja's and Asan Mayor Joana Blas's lack of community consultation as well as Mabini's

²⁴⁴ Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting*, 71.

²⁴⁵ Jerick Sablan, "Asan Man Talks about Attacking Statue," *Pacific Daily News*, published April 14, 2015.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Betsy Brown, "Asan Statue-PNC News." Filmed [April 17, 2015], Youtube video, 2:21, published April 19, 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PqaRqjywNNw&t=76s>.

lack of contributions to the village of Asan. As Irene Bustos-Sallinger proclaimed, “Mabini didn’t do anything for Guam or the village of Asan, so why are we going to put him up on a pedestal?”²⁴⁸

However, not all Asan residents expressed complete disapproval of the Mabini statue. As I described in my previous chapter, Chamorro activist Janice Furukawa expressed approval of Mabini’s struggle against U.S. colonization but warned me that most Asan families were unaware or even wary of Mabini’s history.²⁴⁹ In addition, she also reminded me that her cousin Joseph Shimizu Jesus was a military veteran who did not agree with Mabini’s emphasis on independence or his lack of direct contributions to Asan’s wellbeing and improvement.²⁵⁰

In direct response to some Chamorro families’ discomfort with Mabini’s struggle for independence, the Consul General De Borja said:

Of course some people misunderstood it as something like I'm promoting Guam independence. And I said, why would I even think about it? It's not for us to determine whether the people here want independence or not. We're simply honoring a man who's considered [to be] one of our heroes and he happened to be exiled here.²⁵¹

Despite Consul General De Borja’s consistent focus on Mabini’s struggle for independence as evidenced in the quotes selected above, he purposefully did not connect Mabini’s statue to Chamorro struggles for independence. While the Consul General displayed an awareness of the Chamorros’ right to determine their own political status, he did not problematize his own lack of consultation with Chamorro families from Asan until they publicly

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Janice Furukawa (Marketing and Advertising Executive at Pacific Islands Times), interviewed by author, Hagåtña, July 17, 2018.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Marciano De Borja (Philippine Consul General), interviewed by author, Tamuning, August 14, 2018.

protested the statue.²⁵² Instead, Consul General De Borja worked mainly with Mayor Blas, who Leslie San Nicolas claimed lied about asking Asan families for permission to erect the memorial.²⁵³ Furthermore, Consul General De Borja's emphasis on "simply honoring a man who's considered [to be] one of our heroes"²⁵⁴ constructs Mabini as a masculine historical figure that can be used to enact settler patriarchal claims to place. By choosing to emphasize Philippine independence while denying Chamorro families from Asan the right to practice their historical ties to their own land and oceans, the Consul General did not abide by *inafa'maolek's* emphasis on mutual relations between Chamorros, non-Indigenous communities, and their surrounding environment.²⁵⁵

While the Consul General did not seem to fully understand the importance of asking permission from Chamorro families in Asan, Filipino community leaders like Norman Analista and Bernie Schumann emphasized the need to both consult with Chamorro families and recognize Filipino history in Asan. For example, Norman Analista observed:

I believe that it boiled down to the way in which it was handled, where a lot of the residents were taken aback and surprised as to why this monument had to be there even though there were public hearings, even though there was public knowledge that it was going to be taking place. I believe that sometimes extra sensitive care needs to be involved when we're doing projects that seem to favor one particular group over the other. I don't necessarily think that it was because it was a Filipino project. I just think that it was because it was a project that didn't have the complete buy-in of the village.²⁵⁶

²⁵² Jasmin Stole, "Asan, Guam Presidents Say No to Statue of Philippine Hero," *Marianas Variety*, Published December 11, 2014, <http://www.mvariety.com/cnmi/cnmi-news/local/71970-asan-guam-residents-say-no-to-statue-of-philippine-hero>.

²⁵³ Shawn Raymundo, "Mabini Statue Stood in Way of Asan Mayor's Re-election," *Pacific Daily News*, Published September 5, 2016, <https://www.guampdn.com/story/news/2016/09/05/mabini-statue-stood-way-asan-mayors-re-election/89573954/>.

²⁵⁴ Marciano De Borja (Philippine Consul General), interviewed by author, Tamuning, August 14, 2018.

²⁵⁵ Tiara R. Na'puti and Michael Lujan Bevacqua, "Militarization and Resistance from Guåhan," 847.

²⁵⁶ Norman Analista (Filipino Community of Guam President), interviewed by author, Hagåtña. July 2, 2018.

Here, Analista emphasized the importance of in-depth community consultation when it came to erecting a memorial of a Filipino historical figure. He also points out that although Asan families knew about the making of the memorial beforehand, the actual marker did not cause pushback until Joseph Shimizu Jesus physically destroyed it. Because he grew up in Guåhan and had interacted with Chamorros his whole life, Norman Analista might have been more aware of the need for Filipinos to respect Chamorro ties to place. Similarly, Bernie Schumann also reflected:

I think the [Asan residents] took it wrong, but I think [the Philippine Consulate] should have been very careful about it. Because you still see Chamorros against Filipinos here because [Filipinos] are almost 50% of population. So I think it wasn't bad that they tried to memorialize this is a very famous person that came here, but in the end, what did he really contribute?²⁵⁷

Indeed, Schumann and Analista desired to maintain Filipino historical claims to Asan while also being mindful of Chamorro concerns about Mabini. Saranillio's theorization of memorialization as a way to ease settler anxieties by physically marking and claiming place also relates to Filipino settler investment in finding belonging within settler society in Guåhan.²⁵⁸ By claiming that Chamorros "took it wrong" and are "extra sensitive" but still need to be completely consulted, Analista and Schumann display their anxieties over acknowledging both Filipino claims to Asan and Chamorro historical ties to place that are grounded in both histories of dispossession and resistance to military occupation. As a result, Analista and Schumann express rhetorical gestures that rupture the Consulate's patriarchal claims to Asan, but do not completely break its erasure of Chamorro stories of place.

²⁵⁷ Bernie Schumann (Camp Roxas Film Project Producer), interviewed by author, Tamuning, July 23, 2018.

²⁵⁸ Dean I. Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire*, 179.

In fact, none of the Filipino leaders mentioned “Dinague Laolao,” Limtiaco and San Nicolas family stories, or even the Chamorro traditions of fishing on Asan Beach. Therefore, they treated Chamorro histories like discredited archives to resolve their anxieties over Filipino settler belonging that stemmed from their labor struggles in Guåhan.²⁵⁹ As a result, Mabini’s incarceration has at times maintained what Keith L. Camacho has previously called “militarized borders” that separate Chamorro and Filipino struggles from their different but interconnected histories of dispossession.²⁶⁰ At the same time, Chamorro and Filipino colonial struggles and ancestries can still open up the possibilities for restoring *inafa’maolek* in ways that Mabini’s memorialization currently prevents.

Mabini’s Memorialization as a Pathway to Solidarity

To identify common struggles and colonial histories, it is important to first unpack the cause of Filipino labor migrations to Guåhan. As community leaders who represent the Filipino Community of Guam and Camp Roxas Film Project, Norman Analista and Bernie Schumann are aware of the labor struggles Filipinos have faced and continue to endure in Guåhan. Today, Filipinos continue to hold low-paying jobs in the construction and tourism industries. As a result, Filipinos are often racialized as a source of cheap labor in Guåhan, leading to a persisting narrative of collective shame that even I, a class-privileged Chinese-Filipina, have constantly experienced. Thus, Bernie Schumann’s dedication to telling the stories of Camp Roxas migrants and Norman Analista’s persistence in supporting Filipino performances and fundraising work

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 193.

²⁶⁰ Keith Camacho, “After 9/11,” 686.

both show the importance of telling Filipinos' stories in Guåhan. For example, in reflecting about the future of the Filipino community in Guåhan, Bernie Schumann shared that:

I think building that Chamorro-Filipino friendship is going to be very important. Especially for now, the young generation so that they really understand what it really means to be to have that identity for themselves for the future. Not to be ashamed of being Filipino because, in the end, I think we have to form and nurture that identity so that it can be preserved for generations and actually be shared.²⁶¹

Schumann's insights into Filipino identity formation in Guåhan reveals an enduring shame that persists within the Filipino community for being racialized as working-class laborers for the construction and tourism industries in Guåhan. In fact, the racialization of Filipinos as a cheap source of labor continues with recent op-eds about the ban of H-2B visas for the Philippines. In these op-eds, Guåhan's business and political leaders focus on the current military build-up's need for Filipino labor.²⁶² In this way, Filipino belonging in Guåhan is based on their contributions to U.S. militarization. At the same time, Filipino commemorations of Mabini reveal that Filipino desires to belong in Guåhan have often been directed at working within the structures of U.S. military occupation to resolve their history of labor oppression and displacement, rather than respecting Chamorro cultural practices and stories of place. Therefore, Schumann's emphasis on building more understanding between Chamorros and Filipinos is crucial for unpacking both Chamorro histories of dispossession and ongoing labor struggles within the Filipino community.

In fact, Filipino Community of Guam President Norman Analista also recognized Chamorros' ongoing struggles as the Indigenous people of Guåhan:

²⁶¹ Bernie Schumann (Camp Roxas Film Project Producer), interviewed by author, Tamuning, July 23, 2018.

²⁶² "Our View: Enforce Immigration Law Instead of Banning Philippine Workers," Pacific Daily News, accessed January 28, 2019, <https://www.guampdn.com/story/opinion/editorials/2019/01/22/enforce-immigration-law-dont-ban-philippine-h-2-b-workers-our-view/2641870002/>.

There's a part of me that understands the importance of the Chamorro people in having a voice in determining their right to self-determination and it makes me think back to the fact that we migrated to Guam, we're not the original inhabitants. So I respect the rights of the Chamorro people to determine what course of action they feel the island should take that. But having said that, because Guam is my only home, and I don't recognize the Philippines as my home actually, it makes me a little uncomfortable to not have a voice in the ultimate decision. And that makes me very uncomfortable because just not being able to have an opinion or have your opinion matter is something that will have great consequences for you and your family is very unsettling.

Comparably, Analista references the upcoming plebiscite to decide Guåhan's political status, which was previously restricted to the federal government's definition of native inhabitants.²⁶³ Although Analista recognizes the Chamorros right to self-determination, his discomfort with Filipinos' lack of participation in decolonization debates reveals ongoing tensions between Indigenous rights and labor rights in the Marianas.²⁶⁴ On the other hand, Pinay historian and Camp Roxas descendant Kristin Oberiano has previously argued that her decision to identify as a settler not only respects "...the amount of suffering, injustice and indignity CHamoru people have experienced on their own land when under the sovereignty of foreign powers," but also recognizes her family's "...vision was to build a better life for their children and their children's children so they can grow up to become successful, respectful and empathetic people."²⁶⁵ In this way, Oberiano connects Chamorro and Filipino histories of dispossession to each other while emphasizing Chamorro ties to place. Similarly, Bernie

²⁶³ Kevin Kerrigan and Gaynor D. Daleno, "GovGuam Hopes for Favorable Decision on Plebiscite," *The Guam Daily Post*, October 13, 2018, https://www.postguam.com/news/local/govguam-hopes-for-favorable-decision-on-plebiscite/article_36253956-cdf8-11e8-9666-0fe8bba7fddd.html.

²⁶⁴ Keith Camacho, "After 9/11: Militarized Borders and Social Movements in the Mariana Islands," *American Quarterly* 64 no.4 (2012): 706-707.

²⁶⁵ Kristin Oberiano, "What It Means to Identify as a Settler," *The Guam Daily Post*, accessed January 28, 2019, https://www.postguam.com/forum/letter_to_the_editor/what-it-means-to-identify-as-a-settler/article_0bc225e6-a998-11e7-aacf-e7bc0e57e7cc.html.

Schumann also reflected on the connections between the creation of Camp Roxas and Chamorro land dispossession:

That was all Bordallo property. So the Bordallos were farmers and the Navy condemned it [their land] because they need to rebuild the island after the World War II. So most of the men that came from Iloilo settled in the Camp. So, most of the land that was taken by the Federal Government were lands from Apra Harbor and Sumay...The ships came in there, so they set up camp in Agat....They...put Filipinos there....I think the Chamorro people were never given fair share or fair right, rightfully what is theirs, they never had an opportunity to say no, you can't take that part. And you can't take that part of the island. To understand how large the parcel of lands were, think about how the bases occupy both the North and South. To get their number, they took the North and the South and family owned land. We don't have a lot of land in Guam, so it's very dear to me knowing all those years that they took the families' land so that they could control the air and control, the waters.²⁶⁶

By respecting Chamorro familial ties to place, Schumann conveyed an understanding of Chamorro ancestral connections to Guåhan. She also connects the creation of Camp Roxas and Filipino labor migrations to Guåhan to the U.S. military's dispossession of land from the Chamorros. While memories of Mabini's incarceration lead to a consolidation of boundaries between Chamorro and Filipino struggles against U.S. colonization, unpacking the roots of Filipino labor struggles after World War II enabled Schumann to connect their histories of oppression in a more nuanced way. For example, Schumann also reflected:

So the stories from the Chamorros here? You kind of feel like that because our parents lived through the same thing. I'm glad they're alive, but you know I don't think they lived as much as the Chamorro massacres here. Of course there were massacres, but they hid and they were able to survive. A lot to the mountains with their families. So I was able to go back to Iloilo too.

Here, Schumann pointed out how Chamorros and Filipinos both faced the brutalities of Japanese occupation. As Keith L. Camacho argues, commemorations' use of the discourse of war can be a way to way to remember or forget Indigenous pasts and presents.²⁶⁷ As Schumann's

²⁶⁶ Bernie Schumann (Camp Roxas Film Project Producer), interviewed by author, Tamuning, July 23, 2018.

²⁶⁷ Keith Camacho, *Cultures of Commemoration*, 9.

reflection suggests, World War II narratives can be a strategic way to recall the similarities between Chamorro and Filipino struggles against Japanese and U.S. military occupation.

Conclusion: Breaking Militarized Borders Through a Restoration of *Inafa'maolek*

In this chapter, I have traced how Mabini's incarceration influences contemporary Chamorro-Filipino relations. By unpacking how Mabini's memorialization has sometimes been used to exert Filipino belonging, masculinity, and patriarchy in Guåhan, I have shown how U.S. colonial structures have imposed militarized borders that contain the possibility of *inafa'maolek* between Chamorros and Filipinos. In addition, I have also conveyed the importance for Filipinos to respect Chamorro familial and Indigenous ties to place. At the same time, I have also identified pathways to solidarity by showing their common stories of survival and recovery before and after the Japanese and U.S. militarization of Guåhan and the Philippines. By respecting each other's colonial histories and returning to previous cultural connections that instead focus on Oceanic relationalities, I have also argued that Chamorros and Filipinos can restore *inafa'maolek* between each other.²⁶⁸ Thus, the Filipino quest for belonging that manifests in their commemorations of Mabini's incarceration can still be funneled into a restoration of mutual relations if they counter the U.S. militarization of Guåhan.

²⁶⁸ Vicente M. Diaz, "Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery: Austronesian Seafaring, Archipelagic Rethinking, and the Re-mapping of Indigeneity," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (2011): 21.

Conclusion: The Political Importance of Pinay Solidarities

From Mabini's incarceration in 1901-1903 to the containment of Chamorro ways of knowing and living and to the Filipino liberation from labor oppression, U.S. military occupation has evolved to constrain Chamorro-Filipino solidarity throughout this past century. As a result, Mabini's memorialization continues to divide Chamorros and Filipinos, leading to the 2014-2015 Mabini memorial debate. Through colonial miseducation, Filipinos adopted historical claims to place without respecting Chamorro genealogical ties to Guåhan. Thus, I argue that the Filipino restoration of *inafa' maolek* requires a (re)mapping of the mutual relations between Filipinos and Chamorros that predated colonization. Such a task would compel Filipinos to learn and appreciate Chamorro stories about place, such as with "Dinague Laolao" in Asan.²⁶⁹

Similarly, Filipino-Pohnpeian scholar Vicente M. Diaz has previously argued that it is important for Chamorros and Filipinos to acknowledge their interconnected ancestries, analyze their colonial histories, and seize their opportunities to work in solidarity with one another.²⁷⁰ In this way, Chamorros and Filipinos are connected not only by militarized currents that dispossessed them both, but also through cultural connections that predated colonization.²⁷¹ Then, it is possible to recover mutual relations between Chamorros and Filipinos if both communities recognize their colonial histories and highlight their cultural connections that militarized borders have tried to sever.

Today, Chamorro community organizations like Prutehi Litekyan and Independent Guåhan continue to advocate for Chamorros' right to self-determination and respect for

²⁶⁹ Vicente M. Diaz, "Bye Bye Ms. American Pie," 149, 158.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 156.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 150.

Chamorro lands. To support Chamorro activists in their struggles against attempts to erase Chamorro claims to Guåhan, various Pinay activists have spoken out against U.S. militarization and settler occupation of Guåhan. These efforts include a recent Independent Guåhan podcast that brought together young Chamorro and Filipino activists to talk about how Chamorro and Filipino struggles are connected.²⁷²

As part of these solidarity efforts, I argue that Pinay-led solidarity work reveals the importance of centering Native feminist theories that (re)map space. Similarly, Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck and Angie Morrill point out in their article “Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections Between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy” that Native feminist theories can create pathways to imagine alternative futures that resist conceptualizing land as something to be conquered and owned.²⁷³ Therefore, the Filipino settler memorialization of Mabini can be read as a commodification of land into social and political capital, rather than a place to which Chamorros are genealogically tied, as Christine Taitano DeLisle argues through her theorization of placental politics.²⁷⁴ By redirecting stories about Filipino revolutionary history and struggle into support for Chamorro sovereignty, our solidarity work represents a departure from the Filipino settler memorialization of Mabini that sought to replace Chamorro genealogical ties to ease Filipino settler anxieties. Instead, recent Pinay-led solidarity efforts chart a renewed pathway to solidarity between Chamorros and Filipinos that addresses our interconnected histories of dispossession.

²⁷² “Decolonization Conversation with Chamorro and Filipino Youth from Our Community,” *Independent Guåhan* video, 1:39:37, July 19, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/independentgu/videos/2220341414861208>.

²⁷³ Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, “Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy,” *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (April 13, 2013): 9, 21.

²⁷⁴ Christine Taitano DeLisle, “Destination Chamorro Culture: Notes on Realignment, Rebranding, and Post-9/11 Militourism in Guam,” *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (September 21, 2016): 569.

In concluding with present-day Pinay solidarity work, I hope to point out pathways that are being built to escape the U.S. military occupation's carceral logics. Thus, I argue for a new theory of Pinay solidarities that counters the U.S. military's constructed historical divide between Chamorro and Filipino struggles and its reinforcement of settler heteropatriarchal claims to Guåhan. By emphasizing Chamorro genealogical ties to place and Filipino histories of oppression, Pinay solidarity work aims to restore *inafa'maolek*. In this way, Pinay solidarities deconstruct militarized borders in an effort to (re)build mutual relations and cultural connections between Chamorros and Filipinos.

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