

Cultural Integration and Separation: The Pre-historical and Historical Links between Guam and the Philippines, or Where Did All the Filipinos Go?

Ann M. Pobutsky and Enrico I. Neri

ABSTRACT

This article examines available pre-historical, historical, demographic, linguistic, and ethnobotanical evidences of the connections and exchanges between the people of the Philippines and Guam and the Mariana Islands, and illustrates how Filipinos (1) were an integral part of Chamorro pre-history and (2) became more amalgamated with Chamorros during the Spanish colonial era. We argue that the 'invisibility' of Filipinos in Guam's historical record is mainly the result of Spanish colonial practices, which resulted in Filipino conscripts, laborers, and migrants becoming integrated with Chamorro

Ann Pobutsky, PhD is a sociologist/demographer who is interested in occupational and social stratification, as well as the uses of plants for medicine. She is currently a Research Analyst with the State of Hawaii, Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs, Division of Consumer Advocacy and Affiliate Graduate Faculty in Sociology at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Enrico Neri, PhD is rural sociologist and plant pathologist, originally from Cagayan De Oro City, Mindanao, Philippines. He is a retired professor from Xavier University in the Philippines, and retired from the Research Corporation of the University of Hawaii's Oahu Army Natural Resources Project.

will be pointed out, for Chamorros and their descendants throughout the Spanish colonial period, maintaining their own language ensured their own cultural survival after contact with Europeans and intermingling with other ethnic groups (including Europeans). And, for Filipino migrants, it was economically advantageous for them to marry Chamorro women in a matrilineal society, with the result that their children would become ethnically and linguistically Chamorro, to take advantage of the Spanish colonial system's tax laws.

Under U.S. military colonialism during the early part of this century, similar patterns of Americanization through education and emphasis on English were established both in Guam and in the Philippines (Karnow 1989). Yet, in Guam Filipinos only became more visible or "re-visible" as a distinct ethnic group after World War II, when large numbers of skilled laborers were brought in to rebuild the island. Filipinos in Guam continue to have a niche as skilled laborers and professionals in the economy now, as a separate ethnic group reflecting different regions and linguistic areas of the Philippine Islands, as well as both an invisible and visible part of Chamorro culture.

Pre-historical Connections

The island of Guam is the largest and southernmost island of the Marianas archipelago in the Western Pacific. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Mariana Islands were populated since at least 1500 BC by migrants from Southeast Asia, via the Philippines and or possibly the Western Caroline Islands (Thompson 1947: 30). Guam and the Mariana Islands are the only Pacific Islands with archaeological evidence that rice was available prior to contact with Europeans; it is thought that rice was brought with the original migrants from the Philippines (Hunter-Anderson et al. 1995: 82), as was the practice of making *tuba* (fermented coconut-bud sap) (Thompson 1947: 26-27).

Linguistic evidence suggests that the central or northern Philippines, possibly north of Mindanao (the typhoon zone), was the most likely source region for migrants who originally settled the Marianas (Blust 2002: 83-

Figure 1. Examples of Chamorro and Filipino words for common regional plants used for food and/or traditional medicine

Scientific name (and distribution/ origin of plant)	Chamorro name	Filipino (Tagalog or Visayan) name	English name
<i>Areca catechu</i> (native to Old World tropics and Indo- Malaysia)	pugua'	bunga	betel nut
<i>Artocarpus altilis</i> (probably native to Malaysia and the Pacific; there is also a seeded variety called <i>chukduk</i> in Chamorro and <i>kamansi</i> in Tagalog)	lemmai	rimes	breadfruit
<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> (native to East Africa, throughout tropical Asia and the Pacific, but not as far as Hawaii)	puting	botong	fish-kill tree
<i>Blumea balsamifera</i> (native to India, China, Indo-Malaysia)	sambong	sambong	---
<i>Cananga odorata</i> (native to tropical Asia to Australia)	alangilang	ilang-ilang	ylang-ylang
<i>Citrus sinensis</i> (native to Old World tropics; pan-tropical)	kâhet	kahel	orange/citrus
<i>Cocos nucifera</i> (pan-tropical and subtropical distribution worldwide, origins unknown)	niyok	niyog	coconut
<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> (pan-tropical, possibly native to India)	golundrina	golandrina	asthma plant
<i>Gendarussa vulgaris</i> (native to India to Malaysia)	kampanitulot	kapanitulot	---
<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> (pan-tropical)	pago	malobago	mallow family
<i>Lagerstroemia speciosa</i> (native to India, China, Indo-Malaysia to Australia)	banâba	banaba	---
<i>Mangifera indica</i> (Native to Indo- Malaysia; pan-tropical)	mângga	mangga	mango

priests and administrators, along with the “constant irritant” of unruly soldiers and corruption by government officials.

Filipinos were participants in the Spanish-Chamorro wars in the Mariana Islands from 1668-1695, both as assistants to the missionary priests and as soldiers (Carano and Sanchez 1964: 64; De Viana 2004, 2005). De Saavedra (1852) notes that “...victims sacrificed by the natives of the Mariana Islands as a result of the propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith in those islands” included: 1 Spanish Lt. Governor, 10 Mexican soldiers, 49 Spanish soldiers, 5 Filipino soldiers, one Filipino “adventurer”, a Filipino servant to Father San Vitores¹ (as well as 7 other Spaniards, 1 Filipino priest, and 3 other European Jesuit priests), along with a “Malabar from India” (cited in Driver and Brunal-Perry 1996: 136).

Introduced diseases reduced the Marianas population, with the most pronounced reduction due to epidemics after 1668, so that by 1699 the population of the Marianas had been reduced to an estimated 6,770 people (Shell 1999: 295). Hundreds of Chamorro men were estimated to have been killed during the Spanish-Chamorro wars, which lasted for 25 years, and which were probably characterized by skirmishes common throughout Micronesia rather than large-scale warfare (Hezel 1982).

After this, Chamorro women intermarried with Spaniards and Filipinos (and later, Mexicans) who were brought to labor in, and repopulate, the islands. In 1710, the first recorded census of the Marianas (the islands of Guam and Rota) cites the number of Chamorros at 3,539 (Thompson 1947: 34). It is important to highlight that it is because of Chamorro women that the Chamorro language has survived, although with modifications and losses, as well as the introduction of Spanish and Filipino words. Chamorro women not only married Spaniards, but also especially Filipinos, who were brought in as laborers and convicts, including deported political agitators beginning in the 18th century, with the eventual result of the population of “...Filipino-Chamorros increasing faster than the Spanish-Chamorros” (Thompson 1947: 35). Souder (1992: 147) also points out

¹ Pedro Calungsod, a Visayan assistant to Father San Vitores, recently beatified. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pedro_Calungsod

loan words expanded the Chamorro language and culture, along with ethnobotanical and culinary introductions, which all point to ongoing connections between the Marianas and the Philippine Islands. Throughout the Spanish colonial era, the role of Filipinos in the colonization of Guam and the Marianas is apparent, even though Filipinos are listed separately in Spanish documents and accounts. Of interest is how Spanish colonialism resulted in Filipinos (and others) and their Chamorro offspring becoming Chamorro as a direct result of Spanish colonial government tax policy. Since the Spanish colonial government was administered from the Philippines, it is likely that Chamorros and Filipinos were considered together by the Spanish. Chamorros and Filipinos, in order to survive, took advantage of the Spanish colonial policy to ensure that their children became "Native", and hence, by 1901 and the first U.S. Census, 90% of the population of Guam was "Native" and subsequently, Chamorro.

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