

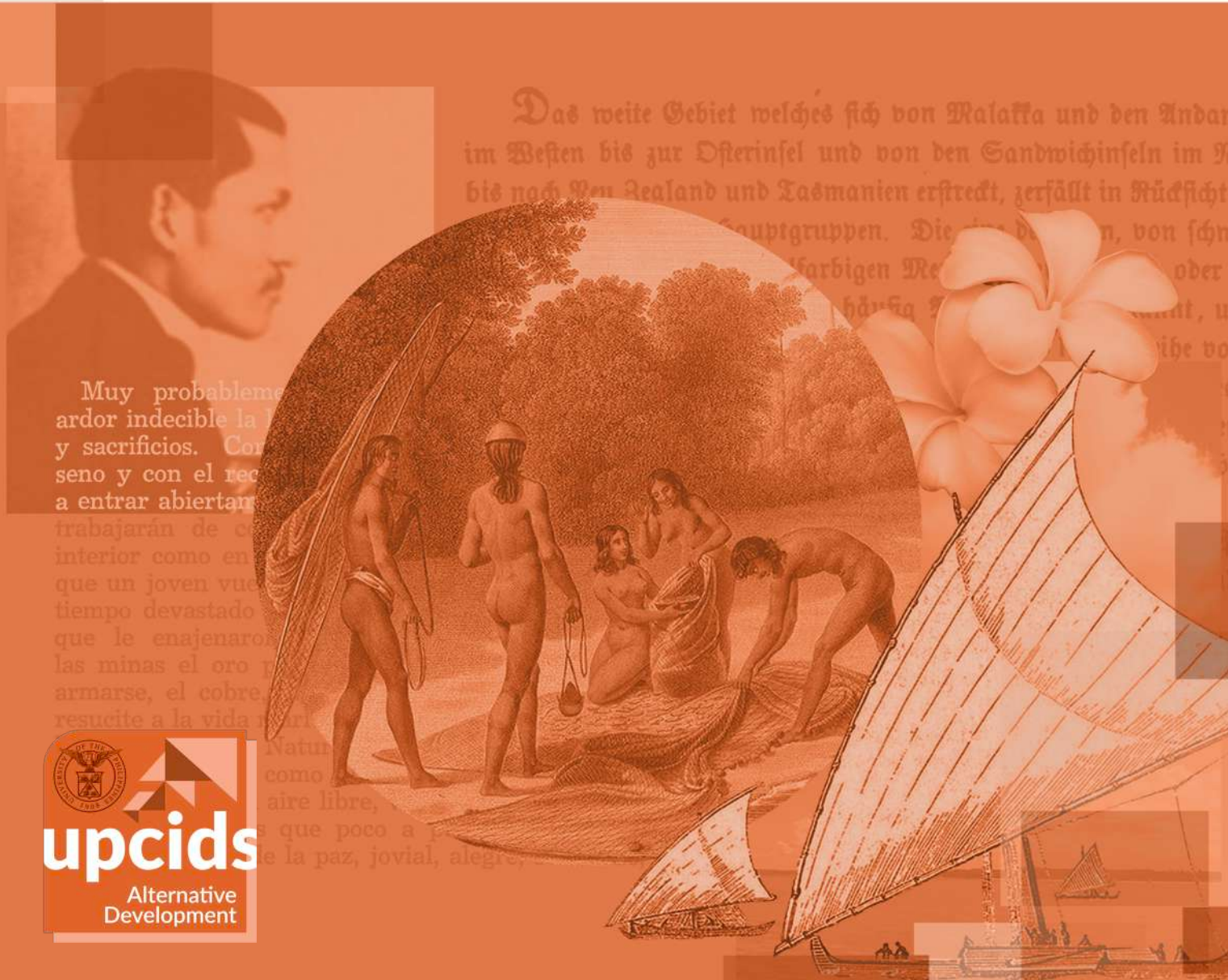


UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES
CENTER FOR INTEGRATIVE AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
PUBLIC POLICY MONOGRAPHS

The Future Has an Ancient Heart: In Search of Our *Antiguas Buenas Calidades*

A Voyage of Rediscovery from Jose Rizal's
(Ignored) Translation of Theodor Waitz's "Die Malaien"
to the Jesuit Missionaries' (Forgotten) Reports
on the Chamorros of Marianas

FLORO CAYANAN QUIBUYEN



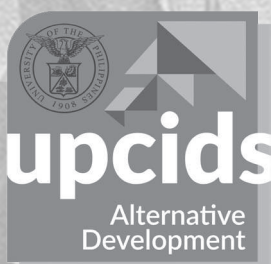


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Telephone: 8981-8500 / 8426-0955 loc. 4266 to 4268
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Abstract

My paper¹ takes off from where Rizal's "The Philippines Within A Hundred Years" (1890) ended—in that stirring evocation of our future: "And free once more, [Filipinos] will discover their *good old qualities* ... and again become lovers of peace, jovial, cheerful, smiling, hospitable, and fearless." What are those *antiguas buenas calidades*, and where and how do we find them? The key lies in Rizal's unfinished translation of "Die Malaiei" (The Malays), written by the great German ethnologist Theodor Waitz. The ten pages that Rizal translated into Spanish lead us to Wilhelm von Humboldt's magnum opus, *Über die Kawi-Sprache* (On the Kawi Language). Humboldt points to a world that Rizal (and Filipino scholars after him) had failed to explore—our pre-Sanskrit heritage. And so, it remains buried deep in the past—a treasure waiting to be excavated and brought to life.

Three thousand and five hundred years ago, our indomitable seafaring ancestors sailed over 2,000 kilometers of the Pacific Ocean—the longest sea crossing by humans at that time—and settled a group of uninhabited islands that Spanish colonizers later named "Las Islas Marianas," and its inhabitants Chamorros. Through our ancestors, the Chamorros, we can imagine what we were like thousands of years before the arrival on our shores of Sanskrit and of Chinese and Muslim traders—indeed long before the "agents of empire," the Spanish *conquistadores* and zealous missionaries, invaded to convert and colonize us. Such an exploration will take us back to a forgotten past—a culture of kindness founded on a matrilineal kinship system which, tragically, was destroyed by Spanish conquest. It is a past worth remembering, and, perhaps, by remembering it, we may be more inspired to change the world to a kinder one—to look past the nation towards community.

Kia whakatomuri te haere ki mua

(To walk into the future, our eyes must be fixed on the past.)

—Maori proverb

Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan ay hindi makakarating sa paroonan.

(Those who do not know how to look back to where they came from
will never reach their destination.)

—Filipino proverb

Floro Quibuyen, Croydon, NSW, Australia

November 15, 2019

¹ This monograph is an expanded and updated version of a lecture delivered at the symposium "Rethinking Rizal for the 21st Century: Unexplored Themes and New Interpretations" held on June 19, 2019 at the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS), Diliman, Quezon City. The event was organized by the UP CIDS Program on Alternative Development (AltDev).



FOREWORD

Looking backwards to the future

I had thought of using the title “In Search of Our Pre-Sanskrit Past: When Women, Free Love, and Kindness Ruled the Day” for this paper. But then the term “free love” might be misconstrued by my readers as sexual promiscuity, as the zealous Spanish Jesuits did in 1668, upon seeing the strong, tall, magnificently naked, intelligent, happy natives of the Marianas they had dreamt of Christianizing. It was a misunderstanding that led to the cruelty of forceful conversion and consequent, albeit unintended, decimation of ninety percent of the indigenous population that has flourished for over a thousand years in those beautiful isles nestling in the vast Pacific Ocean.

“Free love,” in the pre-colonial, matrilineal context of those happy natives, referred to a social system in which women had absolute right and full control over their bodies and were not subordinate to men, much less treated as the property of their husbands, in which adult women and men were free to enter into responsibly pleasurable intimacies, emotional or sexual, free from the patriarchal control of the state or the church or male authority figures (“Adultery,” as my favourite British philosopher Bertrand Russel once quipped, is the loving relationship “between two consenting adults”). Theirs was a matrilineal social system that generated a culture of kindness and generosity (and, as Freud would have added, sanity)—the qualities that we need to have in abundance if we are not only to survive but also thrive in the perilous 21st century. Who were those strong, healthy and happy natives who, by the cruel fate of history, lost control of their destiny? But I’m jumping the gun on my paper. So, let’s start from the very beginning (as nanny Maria cheerfully encouraged her youthful wards to learn to sing in harmony on that wondrous Austrian hilltop in *The Sound of Music*). Hopefully, by the end of this, my readers will join me in a spirit of solidarity—to sing and to remember a lost time when women, free love, and kindness ruled the day.

In search of our pre-Sanskrit roots:

On the way to the British Museum Library, Rizal missed Engels

During his lonely exile in Guam, after the American conquest of the Philippine Republic, Apolinario Mabini, the leading light of the Philippine Revolution who refused to swear allegiance to the United States, remembered Jose Rizal and advised his countrymen and the future generation the best way to honor Rizal: “the only tribute worthy of his memory” is “the imitation of his virtues.”²

One virtue of Rizal is his courage to see behind convenient illusions and confront the uncertain future, an essential virtue in our day and age of fake news, climate change denial, and unabashed

² Apolinario Mabini, *The Philippine Revolution*, trans. Leon Ma. Guerrero (Manila: National Historical Commission, 1969), 45.

capitalist greed and disregard for human suffering, especially among the “masters of mankind,” Adam Smith’s term for the constituency of private power and wealth. This moral-intellectual virtue was brilliantly demonstrated in Rizal’s ground-breaking essay “Filipinas dentro de cien años” (1890), arguably the most important essay of the *La Solidaridad*. Indeed, it stands alone in Filipino nationalist literature. I know of no other work by a Filipino scholar, in his time or since, that envisions with such critical honesty yet realistic hopefulness the Philippines in one hundred years. Rizal could envision the future only after searching for a lost past. But did he go far enough into the past? Or did he miss something terribly important, something crucial for our future? This is the question I wish to explore.

In this paper, I will go beyond explicating what Rizal had meant in his writings. I’d like to think that I’ve done my share of reconstructing the Rizal that has been buried by misinformed distortions and misrepresentations—though I’m not sure if I have done so convincingly—in my book, *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony and Philippine Nationalism* (1999/2008), and in the essay I wrote to commemorate Rizal’s 150th centennial, “Rizal’s Legacy for the 21st Century: Progressive Education, Social Entrepreneurship, and Community Development in Dapitan” (which is my personal favourite among my Rizal articles, so far).

I submit that if we connect “Filipinas dentro de cien años” to a virtually unknown or ignored writing of Rizal—actually his translation project—that he never completed, we would be able to update Rizal for the 21st century. I am referring to what the National Historical Commission (which became the National Historical Institute, and currently the National Historical Commission of the Philippines) had published in 1972 as Rizal’s notes on “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia” in the volume *Escritos Políticos e Históricos por José Rizal* (1961). The esteemed historians in the Board of Directors of the National Historical Commission had decided that this virtually ignored piece of writing constituted the draft notes that Rizal must have jotted down while frenetically reading all he could read about his country at the British Museum in 1888. To this day, the celebrated historians of the National Historical Institute apparently have neither realized that that decision had been a mistake, nor, if they had seen the mistake, have they made the necessary correction.

The piece that the National Historical Institute had entitled “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia” is, in fact, Rizal’s translation into Spanish of the first 10 pages of “Die Malaïen” (“The Malays”) from the six-volume *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* (Anthropology of Peoples Close to Nature) (1865) of the leading German ethnologist at the time, Theodore Waitz, whose pioneering work is even more relevant today. Rizal’s 10-page translation of Waitz was, in turn, translated into English (somewhat sloppily) and published by the National Historical Institute as “Rizal’s Notes on Melanesia, Malaysia, Polinesia.”³

Resil Mojares, professor emeritus of the University of San Carlos in Cebu, Philippines, realized the NHI’s mistake in 2013—a discovery that was missed or perhaps brushed off as inconsequential, and thus ignored by the scholarly community. In footnote 20 of his article “Rizal in the World of German Anthropology,” Mojares explains,

Jose Rizal[’s] “Notes on Melanesia, Malaysia and Polynesia” and “The People of the Indian Archipelago,” *Political and Historical Writings* (Manila: National Historical

³ In the National Historical Commission’s 1972 English translation of Rizal’s Spanish translation of the first 10 pages of Waitz’s “Die Malaïen,” the island named *Isla de Pascua* in Rizal’s text is incredibly mistranslated—twice—as *Christmas Island*. *Isla de Pascua* is the Spanish equivalent of *Paasch-Eyland* (18th-century Dutch for *Easter Island*), the name given to the island by the Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen when he first visited it on Easter Sunday, April 5, 1722. *Isla de Pascua* or *Easter Island* (*Rapa Nui* to the natives) lies in the South Pacific Ocean off Chile—14,374 kilometers away from Christmas Island, which lies in the Indian Ocean, southwest of Indonesia. Did the translator for the National Historical Commission think that the Spanish *pascua* stood for the Tagalog *pasko* (Christmas)?

Commission, 1972), are translations of pp. 1–10 and 10–16, respectively, of the fifth volume of *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. These articles originally appeared in Spanish in *The Independent* (Manila) on April 28 and May 4, 1918. Published in English translation by the National Historical Commission in 1972, these are mistakenly annotated as “a rough draft, or notes taken by Rizal from various books cited therein that he intended perhaps to use in tracing the origins of the inhabitants of the Philippines.”

Before I discovered the true nature of these articles, I had taken the NHC annotations at face value, and thus taking the bibliographic citations as Rizal's own overstated (but mainly in detail) Rizal's knowledge of the relevant literature in previous articles I had written.⁴

Like Mojares, I had been a victim of the editorial-scholarly carelessness of the National Historical Institute, and had presumed, in my June 19, 2019 lecture at the well-attended Rizal Day Symposium sponsored by the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS) (with my brilliant co-speakers Lisandro Estrada Claudio and George Aseniero) that “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia” was authored by Rizal. But Mojares was too modest to explain how he made the discovery, considering that the work of Waitz is hardly talked about, if at all, in the Philippine Studies and Philippine History scholarly community. Thus, having come across Mojares' paper only after the symposium, I forthwith visited the New South Wales State Library (not far from where I live) to get the original 1865 copy of “Die Malaïen.” Mojares was right! There is an exact correspondence—paragraph for paragraph, sentence for sentence, footnote for footnote—between the first ten (10) pages of “Die Malaïen” and the NHI's “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia,” as well as the next six (6) pages of “Die Malaïen” and the NHI's “Los Pueblos Los Del Archipelago Indico” (“Peoples of the Indian Archipelago”). Both so-called Rizal's notes in the NHI-published volume *Escritos Políticos e Históricos* are indeed Jose Rizal's Spanish translation of the first 16 pages of Waitz's “Die Malaïen.” This was part of the missing Rizal translation of Waitz that my dear friend George Aseniero had been looking for over the past three years.⁵

“Die Malaïen” (1865), consisting of 194 pages, is the first of the two-part fifth volume (“Die Völker der Südsee” (The Peoples of the South Seas)) from Waitz's massive six-volume work *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. The second part of Volume 5 (250 pages, published in 1870) is titled “Die Mikronesier und Nordwestlichen Polynesier” (The Micronesians and Northwestern Polynesians). Waitz died in 1864; thus, Volumes 5 and 6 (which consist of over 800 pages) were completed, edited, and published in 1872 by Waitz's colleague, Georg Gerland. The authorship of Volumes 5 and 6 (“Die Polynesier, Melanesier, Australier und Tasmanier” (the Polynesians, Melanesians, Australians and Tasmanians)) has been attributed to Waitz-Gerland. The sheer massiveness of Waitz's seminal work would have rendered any translation task by a single scholar practically impossible, especially if, like Rizal, they were preoccupied with, among others, finishing a second novel and organizing a radical political movement.

Indeed, we can hardly blame Rizal for not completing his project of translating Waitz's fifth volume “Die Völker der Südsee,” or, better yet, annotating and publishing it as he did with Antonio Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (1609). Had Rizal been more fortunate and lived longer in a world “where faith does not slay” he might have been able to do a longer translation and annotation of

⁴ Resil B. Mojares, “Rizal in the World of German Anthropology,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 41, no. 3–4 (September/December 2013): 163–94, 189.

⁵ George Aseniero had alerted me to this missing Rizal translation of Waitz when we corresponded by email in 2017.

Waitz. In hindsight, considering how things turned out for the Philippines after its independence, the Filipino people would have been better served had Rizal lived long enough to continue and complete his scholarly work cum his community development efforts, such as his model project in Dapitan, instead of achieving the rather empty glory of martyrdom.⁶

Unfortunately, Rizal's failure to devote the same scholarly attention to Waitz as he did to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* had serious academic consequences. For one, as I will discuss later, it was a setback for Philippine Studies (be it in the educational curriculum or in academic journals) which remained stuck with the primary sources on precolonial Philippine society and culture produced by Spanish historiography—i.e., Morga, Chirino, Colin, Gaspar de San Agustin, Argensola, Aduarte, etc.—all of which Rizal had bragged (to German ethnologist Ferdinand Blumentritt and to compatriot Isabelo de los Reyes) of devouring at the British Museum from August to November 1888.⁷

How important is the so-called Rizal's notes on "Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia?" This is tantamount to asking, "How important is the concept of the 'pre-Sanskrit'—which emerges from the notes' discussion of Humboldt-Buschmann's work—in Philippine Studies?" I will try to answer this question by first reviewing the product of Rizal's intensive four-month research at the British Museum, after which I shall focus on "Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia." Rizal's library research yielded two landmark essays: "Sobre la indolencia de los Filipinos" and "Filipinas dentro de cien años," which could be read as Rizal's prolegomena to his envisioned but unrealized book project on the history of the Filipino people.

Rizal's "Filipinas dentro de cien años" posits two theses. The first thesis recapitulates his central argument in his annotations to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*:

Incorporadas apenas a la Corona Española, tuvieron que sostener con su sangre y con los esfuerzos de sus hijos las guerras y las ambiciones conquistadoras del pueblo español, y en estas luchas, en esa crisis terrible de los pueblos cuando cambian de gobierno, de leyes, de usos, costumbres, religión y creencias, las Filipinas se despoblaron, empobrecieron y atrasaron, sorprendidas en su metamorfosis, sin confianza ya en su pasado, sin fe aun en su presente y sin ninguna lisonjera esperanza en los venideros días. [...]

Comenzó entonces una nueva era para los Filipinos. Perdieron poco á poco sus antiguas tradiciones, sus recuerdos; olvidaron su escritura, sus cantos, sus poesías, sus leyes, para aprenderse de memoria otras doctrinas, que no comprendían, otra moral, otra estética, diferentes de las inspiradas á su raza por el clima y por su manera de sentir. Entonces rebajóse, degradándose ante sus mismos ojos, avergonzóse de lo que era suyo y nacional, para admirar y alabar cuanto era extraño é incomprensible; abatióse su espíritu y se doblegó.⁸

⁶ Although commemorated yearly by the Philippine government and civic organizations like the Knights of Rizal, Rizal's martyrdom, apparently, no longer strikes a chord in the popular imagination, except the Rizalist religious sects and millenarian movements that venerate Rizal, such as those found in the foothills of Mt. Banahaw, Quezon Province, Philippines. See my two articles on this subject—"Paghihintay sa Kristong Pilipino" on the Iglesia Watawat ng Lahi based in Lecheria, Calamba, Laguna, Philippines (written in Filipino and published in the *Diliman Review* in 1977) and "And Woman Will Rule Over Man:" *Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Counterhegemonic Discourse in Mt. Banahaw—The Case of the Iglesia del Ciudad Mistica de Dios* (a monograph published by the Center for Philippine Studies of the University of Hawaii at Mānoa in 1991).

⁷ See Chapter 5, "The Morga and Reclaiming History," in my *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony and Philippine Nationalism*, rev. 2nd ed. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008), 135–62.

⁸ José Rizal, "Filipinas dentro de cien años," in *Escritos Políticos e Históricos por José Rizal* (*Escritos de José Rizal, Tomo VII*) (Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961), 136–65, 136–37.

Soon after being incorporated in the crown of Spain, [Filipinas] had to support with her blood and the vigor of her sons the wars and imperialistic ambitions of the Spanish nation. In these struggles, in these *terrible crisis of peoples when they change government, laws, usages, customs, religion, and beliefs*, the Philippines was depopulated, impoverished, and retarded, astounded by her metamorphosis, with *no more confidence in her past, still without faith in her future*. [...]

Then began a new era for the Filipinos; little by little *they lost their old traditions*, the mementos of their past; *they gave up their writing, their songs, their poems, their laws* in order to learn by rote other doctrines which they did not understand, *another morality, another aesthetics different from those inspired by their climate and their manner of thinking*. Then they declined, degrading themselves in their own eyes; they became ashamed of what was their own; they began to admire and praise whatever was foreign and incomprehensible; their spirit was dismayed and it surrendered. (emphasis mine)

To get ahead of my story: Rizal's words apply as well to the Chamorros, natives of the Marianas (*Islas de las Marianas*), whose origin and matrilineal culture constitute our focus in Part 2, with one crucial difference: despite Spanish conquest, we are still here. Spanish conquest of the Marianas in the last three decades of 17th century (from 1668 to the 1690s)—through the combined efforts of the zealous Jesuit missionaries and the Spanish military forces—resulted in the decimation of ninety percent of the native Chamorro population.⁹

Thus, from the 18th century onwards, the Chamorro population transformed into a mix of genes from the surviving ten percent of the original population *plus* genes from immigrant Filipinos, Spaniards, Carolineans (natives of the Micronesian islands of Yap, Palau, the Marshall Islands, etc.), and, later, the Japanese, and Americans. When Apolinario Mabini arrived in Guam in 1901 as a recalcitrant exile, after the brutal American invasion of the Philippines, he observed that “the natives of this island appear to belong to our race”—but of course, by that time, a substantial part of the Chamorro population already had Filipino genes.¹⁰

Spanish conquest was not just a case of genetic genocide. It was also a cultural genocide. Two fundamental institutions of Chamorro culture, the *guma'urita* (the bachelors' house for education of male adolescents in the traditional Chamorro trades, such as navigation, sailing, fishing, boat building, house building, martial arts, and in sexual/social relations with women), and the Chamorro matrilineal kinship system, were destroyed and replaced by the Jesuit-run seminary for boys and girls, and the Catholic patriarchal institution of marriage. The Chamorro matrilineal culture was characterized by gender equality, women's rights to their bodies and pleasure, the responsibility of nurturing offspring vested not only on their mothers but also on all the women of the mothers' clan. The sex education of young Chamorro bachelors was conducted by women who were honoured by the community for such educative tasks. This practice horrified the patriarchal, sexually repressed, and zealous Jesuits, Spain's “agents of empire.”

The Jesuits saw it as their sacred duty to destroy the Chamorros' matrilineal kinship system and the *guma'urita*, and, with the backing of the military, they succeeded. As we shall see, this was a momentous loss, not only for the Chamorros but also for humanity. For, ironically, the Chamorros'

⁹ The 17th century Jesuit mission in the Marianas was led by Fr. Sanvitores, now beatified, and his Filipino assistant, Pedro Calungsod, now also beatified and venerated by Filipino Catholics.

¹⁰ Mabini's letter to his brother Alejandro (February 1901), cited in Ambeth R. Ocampo, “Mabini in Exile,” *Looking Back, Philippine Daily Inquirer*, July 18, 2014, <https://opinion.inquirer.net/76644/mabini-in-exile>.

matrilineal culture and the *guma'uritao* constituted the foundation of what the Jesuits admired most in the Chamorros—their singular kindness, generosity, hospitality and cheerfulness. The destruction of the Chamorro's *guma'uritao* and matrilineal culture, in effect, undermined the Chamorros' culture of kindness and their *antiguas buenas calidades*. We shall focus on this issue in Part 2 of this paper.

The second thesis of Rizal's "Filipinas dentro de cien años" asserts that Filipinos will eventually free themselves from colonial rule, either peacefully or by revolutionary struggle, depending on how Spain responds to the people's clamor for independence. But then, Rizal realized that getting rid of Spain is not the end of the story, for by the late 19th century, the Philippines was confronted with a more serious threat—conquest by a more powerful nation, America, which is a geopolitical development that could lead to an even more terrible crisis for the fledgling Filipino nation.¹¹ However, realizing that he has found the key that would unlock the door to a brighter, happier future for his people, Rizal ends on a hopeful note (which probably accounts for his serene demeanor while being marched by the Spaniards to his execution site at the Bagumbayan, now called the Rizal Park, on December 30, 1896):

Muy probablemente las Filipinas defenderán con un ardor indecible la libertad comprada á costa de tanta sangre y sacrificios. *Con los hombres nuevos que broten de su seno y con el recuerdo de su pasado*, se dedicarán tal vez á entrar abiertamente en la ancha vía del progreso, y todos trabajarán de consuno á fortalecer su patria, así en el interior como en el exterior, con el mismo entusiasmo con que un joven vuelve á labrar el campo de sus padres, tanto tiempo devastado y abandonado gracias á la incuria de los que le enajenaron. Entonces volverá á desenterrar de las minas el oro para remediar la miseria, el hierro para armarse, el cobre, el plomo, el carbón, etc.; acaso el país resucite á la vida marítima y mercantil á que están llamados los isleños por la Naturaleza, sus aptitudes y sus instintos, y *libre otra vez, como el ave que deja la jaula, como la flor que vuelve al aire libre, volverá á recobrar las antiguas buenas cualidades que poco á poco va perdiendo, y será otra vez amante de la paz, jovial, alegre, sonriente, hospitalario y audaz.*¹²

Very probably the Philippines will defend with indescribable ardor the liberty she has bought at the cost of so much blood and sacrifice. *With the new men that will spring from her bosom and the remembrance of the past*, she will perhaps enter openly the wide road of progress and all will work jointly to strengthen the mother country at home as well as abroad with the same enthusiasm with which a young man returns to cultivate his father's farmland so long devastated and abandoned due to the negligence of those who had alienated it. *And free once more, like the bird that leaves his cage, like the flower that returns to the open air, they will recover their good old qualities which they are losing little by little and once again become lovers of peace, jovial, cheerful, smiling, hospitable and audacious.* (emphasis mine)

Note Rizal's crucial point: the "new men" (Rizal should have added, and women) that will emerge at the end of Spanish and American colonial rule will have to remember the past if they are to recover ("*volverá a recobrar*" is inaccurately translated by the NHI as "they will discover") their good old qualities ("*antiguas buenas calidades*") and will, once again, as they were before they were colonized, become lovers of peace, jovial, cheerful, smiling, hospitable, and audacious. Curiously, the word "kindness" (*amabilidad, benevolencia, la bondad*) is never used by Rizal, but it is the most admirable

¹¹ This was the subject of George Aseniero's brilliant lecture at the Rizal Day Symposium at the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UP CIDS) on June 19, 2019.

¹² Rizal, "Filipinas dentro de cien años," 163.

trait of the Chamorros, according to the Jesuit missionaries who started forcibly converting them in 1668. Why I keep invoking the Chamorros will become clear later.

Rizal did not explicate in “Filipinas dentro de cien años” what precisely were the “*antiguas buenas calidades*” that we need to recover, and why recovering them would be essential in the formation of the Filipino nation, and thus, the future of the Filipino people. How did Rizal go about trying to find them? Did he succeed? Or did he miss something fundamental?

Rizal’s translation of the first 10 pages of Waitz’s “Die Malaïen,” the NHI’s “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia,” highlights Wilhelm von Humboldt’s crucial insight on the spread of Malay languages from island Southeast Asia to Polynesia, which provides the key to the pre-Sanskrit world of the Malays. I have often wondered why Rizal didn’t pursue this insight of Humboldt, which grew out of his last and greatest work *Über die Kawi Sprache auf der Insel Java* (About the Kawi Language on the Island of Java, 1836). Indeed, as he noted in his letter to Blumentritt, Rizal was impressed by the work of Humboldt. In Rizal’s November 28, 1886 letter to his German mentor and best friend Ferdinand Blumentritt, he writes,

Humboldt’s work is worthy of admiration, and though I cannot read the whole book, I’m going to buy a copy. I believe that the little errors that I found in it are only typographical, as for example, *n* for *m*.¹³

Rizal likewise considered Waitz’s work a valuable resource for studying the Philippines’ pre-colonial culture that he believed should be made available to Filipinos. Thus, in the same November 28 letter, Rizal informs Blumentritt, “Tomorrow I will begin translating Waitz. I still have three weeks; I expect to finish it within this time.” But then, later in the letter, Rizal wonders, “In the first page of the work of Waitz I find the following note: ‘The right of translation into foreign languages is reserved.’ How can we go over this notice of the author?” Did a copyright restriction discourage Rizal from pursuing his translation project which he had intended to publish? Rizal ends his letter to Blumentritt by announcing his all-consuming project, “May you fare well, dear professor. From tomorrow on I will devote myself earnestly to the study of history. I greet you affectionately.”

Rizal, however, was side-tracked from translating and exploring the informative and wide-ranging ethnology of Theodor Waitz, regarded by Rudolf Virchow as one of Germany’s leading ethnologists, and considered by scholars to this day as a pioneer in the then emerging disciplines of social psychology and anthropology. Likewise, despite his interest in Humboldt, Rizal failed to fully explore the latter’s work on the spread of Austronesian languages from Island Southeast Asia to Oceania. Instead, Rizal devoted his considerable intellectual energies but very limited time and financial resources to copying by longhand and annotating Morga’s *Sucesos*. In the process, Rizal had forgotten Waitz, and that has made all the difference! Thus, in his obsession to counter the racist vilifications of the Spaniards by annotating and publishing Morga, Rizal missed a crucial insight in Waitz’s “Die Malaïen,” which was informed by Humboldt’s work.

Rizal’s annotation of Morga elicited Isabelo de los Reyes’ sympathetic but critical commentary: Rizal tended to exaggerate the virtues of the ancient Filipinos to conjure a glorious but now extinct civilization. I noticed, too, that Rizal’s annotations of Morga skirted the practice of headhunting (with the ritual participation of *babaylanes*) and the massacre of tens of thousands of Chinese men, women, and children in 1603, 1639, and 1662 by racist Filipino mobs unleashing their violence under

¹³ “9. Rizal, Berlin, 28 November 1886,” Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence, Austrian-Philippine Website, July 30, 1996, accessed November 26, 2018, <https://www.univie.ac.at/Voelkerkunde/apsis/aufi/rizal/rbcor009.htm>.

the bidding of Spanish ecclesiastical/colonial authorities. It would not be too farfetched to say that such genocidal assaults against the Chinese were quite similar to the 1999 massacre of East Timorese natives by Indonesian militias backed by Indonesia's dreaded TNI (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia* or Indonesian National Armed Forces), which could have wiped out the East Timorese had the United Nations' Blue Helmets not intervened to stop the carnage. Surely headhunting and ethnic cleansing are not the *antiguas buenas calidades* that Rizal had hoped would be emulated by the new Filipinos that will spring from the ashes of Spanish colonialism?

"Die Malaian" included a valuable discussion of Humboldt's theory that identified island Southeast Asia as the homeland of the Polynesian peoples of Oceania. Had Rizal used Humboldt's insight and Friedrich Engels' provocative ethnological work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (published in 1884, just two years before Rizal's sojourn in Berlin and four years before his intensive research at the British Museum) to explore the prehistoric and precolonial link between the Philippines and the Marianas, he would have found the key to a most fundamental issue raised in his essay "Filipinas dentro de cien años."¹⁴ This is the question of what, where, and how do we find the "*antiguas buenas calidades*" that "the new men" [and women], born of a liberated Filipinas, would need to recover to secure their future.

Rizal's oversight of Engels' 1884 work on the matrilineal kinship system of "primitive" societies, and how it was undermined and eventually replaced by patriarchy, which emerged with the onset of agriculture and private property, raises some questions. Consider: Rizal and Engels were neighbours in London. Rizal's rented apartment—two small rooms at the home of Charles Beckett, whose daughter Gertrude, became close to Rizal, at No. 37 Chalcott Crescent in Primrose Hill—was only 150 meters away (or a two-minute walk away) from Engels' residence at 122 Regent's Park Road. See the Google map below:

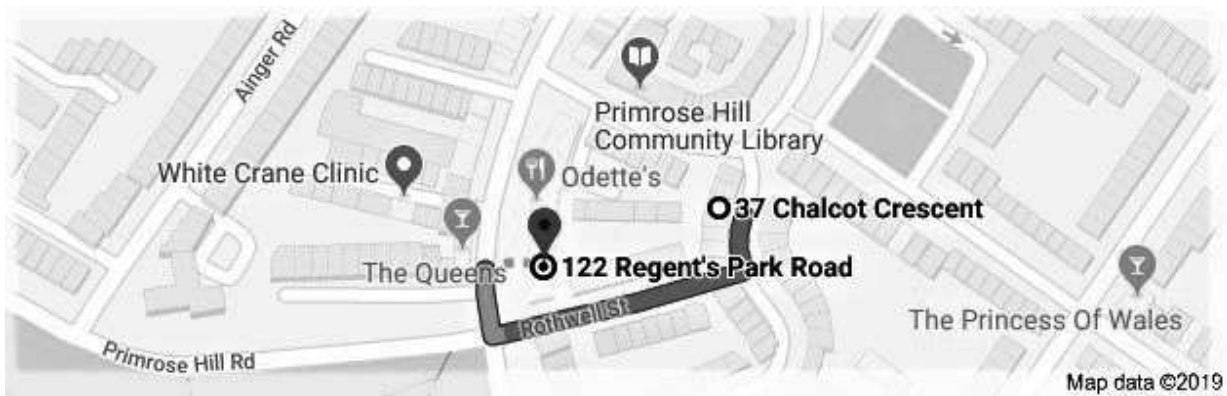


FIGURE 1 • Google Map showing the proximity of Rizal's residence at 37 Chalcot Crescent to Engels' at 122 Regent's Park Road

It is quite telling that Dr. Reinhold Rost, the Sanskrit scholar and bibliophile who advised Rizal regarding his research at the British museum and who introduced Rizal to a number of scholars in London, and who, by the way, lived close to where Rizal and Engels resided, never thought of referring

¹⁴ Rizal could have dug deeper into the history and culture of the Marianas and its connection to the Philippines—through a study of Part 2 ("Die Mikronesier und Nordwestlichen Polynesier" (The Micronesians and Northwestern Polynesians)) of Volume 5 ("Die Völker der Südsee") of Waitz's work. In addition, Rizal had a copy of Jose Montero y Vidal's *El archipiélago Filipino y las islas Marianas, Carolinas y Palaos: su historia, geografía y estadística* (Madrid: Tello, 1886)—albeit written from a colonizers' point of view.

Rizal to Engels' work, much less encouraged him to get in touch with Engels, who, at 68, was still intellectually active and politically engaged.

It is also remarkable that Rizal, an extraordinarily curious scholar who read voraciously, did not show a whit of an interest in Engels or Marx. This raises the question: Were Rizal and his German mentors, such as Blumentritt and Rost, anti-communists? Was this lack of interest (perhaps avoidance) of Marx and Engels Rizal's blind spot, which prevented him from seeing social and cultural phenomena that would have illumined his research and writing as well as his political praxis? To extend this hypothetical questioning even further: was the Jesuit influence on Rizal so deep-seated that, when faced with the prospect of arrest and probable execution by his colonial tormentors, instead of escaping, Rizal opted to face martyrdom? It is intriguing that Rizal did not heed the advice that his beloved character in the *Noli Me Tangere*, Pilosopo Tasyo, gave to the reformist Ibarra—to be as flexible as the bamboo when dealing with the bigoted and repressive Spaniards. Rizal could have run away to safety all the better to fight more ably another day (as Marx, Lenin, Engels, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, and Che Guevarra did) or simply to fulfill his intellectual and creative pursuits (as did the many brilliant German-Jewish philosophers, psychoanalysts, and scientists who fled Germany during Hitler's reign of terror). Instead, Rizal opted to face martyrdom, which for the Jesuits was the highest form of devotion to Jesus Christ. Was this martyr complex—to be gloriously crucified like Christ—in the final analysis, Rizal's Achilles heel?¹⁵

This essay pursues what Rizal had overlooked (or perhaps avoided). This could lead to areas and issues never before explored in the disciplines of Philippine History, Philippine Studies, Women's Studies, or Development Studies—as taught at the University of the Philippines and other institutions of higher education in the Philippines.

¹⁵ This was the question I had wanted to raise to my esteemed fellow Rizal Day Symposium speakers, Leloy Claudio and George Aseniero, but I didn't pursue the matter as other more exciting issues kept creeping into our lively conversations.



PART I

Rizal's 10-page translation of Waitz's "Die Malaïen" ("Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia")

On the origins of the Polynesians and the role of the Philippines in the colonization of Oceania

Rizal's translation of Waitz is, perhaps, the only translation of Waitz's work that has been made available to Filipinos. For this alone—notwithstanding its egregious failure (or negligence) to attribute the work to Waitz and its inexplicable mistranslation of *Isla de Pascua* in Rizal's Spanish text—the National Historical Commission deserves to be applauded, for it has done all scholars of Philippine Studies a huge service. Unfortunately, Rizal's translation of the first ten (10) pages of Waitz has been ignored by the very scholars who would have benefitted hugely from it. It is telling that Resil Mojares, who discovered that Rizal's "notes" was nothing but his direct translation of Waitz, did not explore its significance and implications for the study of Philippine history and culture.

The first 10 pages of Waitz's "Die Malaïen," remarkably, give us an overview of the state of the art—circa 1865—of a field of knowledge that we now call 'Pacific Studies,' 'Asia-Pacific Studies,' or 'Oceania Studies' in the disciplines of anthropology and history. In just ten (10) pages, the reader is made aware of five (5) key issues in the study of Oceania, to wit:

- (1) The demarcation of the Malayo-Polynesian-speaking region as an area that begins with what was then called the East Indies (today's island Southeast Asia that comprises the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia) and "whose farthest territories are the Marianas Islands, the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii], Easter Island [Rapa Nui], and New Zealand [Aotearoa]"¹⁶ and Madagascar (off the coast of East Africa)—islands and coral atolls sprinkled across two oceans (the Pacific Ocean to the east and the Indian Ocean to the west of the Philippines), roughly two-thirds of the surface of the globe, inhabited by peoples who manifest "family resemblances" (to use the analytic philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein's term) in their phenotype, genotype, and the languages they speak;

¹⁶ "...cuyos más remotos territorios son las Marianas, las Islas de Sandwich, la Isla de la Pascua y la Nueva Zelandia." José Rizal, "Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia," in *Escritos Políticos e Históricos por José Rizal (Escritos de José Rizal, Tomo VII)* (Manila: Comisión Nacional del Centenario de José Rizal, 1961), 362–71, 362.

- (2) The origin of the Polynesians of Oceania and the role of island Southeast Asia, in particular the Philippines, as the staging area for the Austronesian dispersal;
- (3) The sequence or pattern of migration from island Southeast Asia eastward to the Polynesian triangle (Hawaii, Easter Island/Rapa Nui, New Zealand/Aotearoa);
- (4) The date of the beginning of the emigration from ISEA to Polynesia; and
- (5) The “West to East voyaging conundrum” (my term) or the assumption that sailing over long distances against prevailing winds and currents in the Pacific Ocean, for example, from Manila to Guam, is practically impossible.

We will use Waitz’s overview as our launching pad for our journey in search of the Philippines’ pre-Sanskrit heritage, which, as we mentioned in the introduction, Rizal and subsequent scholars seem to have ignored. We shall consider other relevant studies not mentioned by Waitz, as well as those recently published in scholarly journals, as we go along in our journey of rediscovery.

The question of origins

The issue of the origins of the peoples of Oceania or the Asia-Pacific region has fascinated European explorers, ethnologists, philologists, and philosophers since the Age of Enlightenment of the French explorer Bougainville and philosopher Diderot to the waning days of the Spanish Empire of missionaries-philologists Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga and Fr. Lorenzo Hervás.

To the European explorers of what was then called the “South Pacific,” and the naturalists and priests who accompanied them, the nagging question was: Where did the Polynesians come from? Why are their languages very similar, with only slight variations? The British explorer Captain James Cook had thought of the Tahitians, Maoris, and Hawaiians as constituting one nation when he observed that they could communicate with each other. But this posed a conundrum for Cook. Tahitians and Hawaiians are separated by an ocean expanse of 4,226.137 kilometers, and the Hawaiians and the Maoris by an even more forbidding distance of 7,412 kilometers. Captain Cook noted too that their languages show a striking similarity with the languages spoken in island Southeast Asia (referred to as the East Indies in Cook’s time). Did the Polynesians come from island Southeast Asia? But considering that these primitive, illiterate peoples had only flimsy wooden canoes driven by sails made of woven *pandanus* or coconut palm leaves, how could they possibly sail over long distances, from west to east, against the prevailing winds and currents? How could they maintain course in the open seas and reach their destinations without the navigational instruments that European explorers used such as the compass, sextant, and the chronometer? It staggered the minds of the Europeans who knew nothing about non-instrument navigation in the Pacific.

Thus, when Captain Cook saw the natives of the Hawaiian Islands in his third, and tragic, expedition in 1778, he wondered in his diary:

How shall we account for this nation’s having spread itself in so many detached islands, so widely disjoined from each other, in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean?

We find them from New Zealand to the South, to these islands [Hawaii] to the North and from Eastern Island to the Hebrides; an extent of 600 of latitude or twelve hundred leagues north and south and 830 of longitude or sixteen hundred and sixty

leagues east and west, how much farther is not known, but we may safely conclude that they extend to the west beyond the Hebrides.¹⁷

The first to come up with the scientifically verifiable answer to Cook's question, based on his comparative study of Malayo-Polynesian languages (now called Austronesian) was Johann Reinhold Forster, who served as a naturalist on James Cook's second voyage to the Pacific (1772–1775). Forster was the first to document the similarity of the languages spoken by peoples of the central Pacific (now known as Polynesian) and the languages spoken by peoples in island Southeast Asia (the so-called Malays of the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia). From this comparative study, Forster concluded that the ultimate source of the Polynesian languages was the lowland region of the Philippines in island Southeast Asia!¹⁸

Forster's identification of the Philippines as the source of Polynesian languages is stunning! Two hundred forty years later, a genetic study has arrived at the same conclusion. In their recent scientific report, "Investigating the Origins of Eastern Polynesians Using Genome-wide Data from the Leeward Society Isles" (2018), an international consortium of 17 geneticists from Australia, Estonia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, led by Georgi Hudjashov (of Massey University, New Zealand) and Phillip Endicott (of the Musée de l'Homme, France), found that

More than 70% of the autosomal ancestry of Leeward Society Islanders derives from Island Southeast Asia with the lowland populations of the Philippines as the single largest potential source.¹⁹

This is quite exciting because it connects the Philippines, not just linguistically (as Forster did) but also genetically to the farthest reaches of the Pacific Ocean—the Leeward Society Isles of French Polynesia.²⁰ The identified gene from the Philippines is that of the Kankanaey [also spelled Kankanai] of Northern Luzon. The study suggests that the Kankanaey of the Philippines and Taiwanese aborigines are the next closest populations to all four Polynesian groups (Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, and Leeward Society Isles).

The 2018 study of Hudjashov et al. supports and extends a ground-breaking study published in 2016, "Genomic Insights into the Peopling of the Southwest Pacific," which linked the Polynesians of West (or Central) Polynesia directly to the Philippines. This genetic study was conducted by another international consortium of researchers composed of 31 geneticists and archaeologists led by Dr. Pontus Skoglund of the Department of Genetics of Harvard Medical School.²¹ The study identified

¹⁷ James Cook, *The Voyages of Captain James Cook*, vol. 2 (London: William Smith, 1842), 256.

¹⁸ See Johann Reinhold Forster, *Observations Made During a Voyage Round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy: Especially On: 1. The Earth and Its Strata; 2. Water and the Ocean; 3. The Atmosphere; 4. The Changes of the Globe; 5. Organic Bodies; and 6. The Human Species* (London: G. Robinson, 1778).

¹⁹ Georgi Hudjashov et al., "Investigating the Origins of Eastern Polynesians Using Genome-wide Data from the Leeward Society Isles," *Scientific Reports* 8, no. 1823 (January 29, 2018): 1–12, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-018-20026-8>, 1.

²⁰ French Polynesia, a territory of the French Republic, is comprised of five island groups: Society Islands (divided into Windward Islands and Leeward Islands), Tuamotu Archipelago, Marquesas Islands, Gambier Islands, and the Austral Islands. Society Islands boasts of two tourist destinations—Bora Bora (famed for having been the location of the Marlon Brando-starred *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962)), one of the islands of Leeward Society, and Tahiti, which is in the Windward Islands.

²¹ Pontus Skoglund et al., "Genomic Insights into the Peopling of the Southwest Pacific," *Nature* 538 (October 27, 2016): 510–13, <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature19844>. For popular accounts, see Ann Gibbons, "'Game-changing' Study Suggests First Polynesians Voyaged All the Way from East Asia," *Science*, October 3, 2016, <https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2016/10/game-changing-study-suggests-first-polynesians-voyaged-all-way-east-asia>; and Genelle Weule, "DNA Reveals Lapita Ancestors of Pacific Islanders Came from Asia," *ABC News*, October 4, 2016, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/science/2016-10-04/dna-reveals-lapita-ancestors-of-pacific-islanders-came-from-asia/7893100>.

the groups from which the Polynesians have originated. The ancestral DNA of the Lapita people and modern Polynesians (in Western Polynesia) were traced back to the Atayal people of Taiwan and the Kankanai people of Northern Luzon!²² Australian National University archaeologist Peter Bellwood enthused that this discovery was a “game-changer” because it provides the definitive evidence for his contested “Out of Taiwan” theory. Thus, University of Hawaii linguistics professor Robert Blust pronounced in his 2019 article,

There is now near-universal agreement among both linguists and archaeologists that the Austronesian expansion began from Taiwan, somewhat more than a millennium after it was settled by Neolithic rice and millet farmers from Southeast China.²³

Forster’s work, however, had not been universally accepted. One dissenting opinion came from the 19th-century Spanish missionary and chronicler Fr. Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga. His argument consists of two premises, based on his understanding of the oceanographic conditions in the Pacific. Zuñiga states his first premise thus,

I do not deny that these islands could easily have been peopled by the Malays, but how could they colonize the Isles de Palaos and Marianas, which are distant more than three hundred leagues? And it is still more improbable that they colonized the islands of San Duisk and Otaheite [Tahiti], which are distant two thousand leagues from the Philippines. All these people, however, have the same language, the same manners and customs, and consequently the same origin as our Indians. There is, in my opinion, this other reason for supposing *these latter islands could not be peopled from the westward, viz. that in all the torrid zone the east wind generally prevails, which [is] in direct opposition to the course from Malacca and the adjacent islands...*²⁴ (emphasis mine)

We can call this premise Zuñiga’s “West to East sailing conundrum.” As we shall see, this will turn up again in Thor Hayerdahl’s Kon-Tiki project in the mid-20th century and, in a purportedly more sophisticated, computer-based 21st century study by a group distinguished archaeologists. Zuñiga’s second premise follows,

[I]t is fair to conclude that the inhabitants of all the islands of the South Sea came from the east, sailing before the wind [or sailing downwind]; for we have seen it often happen, that the Indians from the Palaos have arrived at the Philippines, precisely under those circumstances. On the contrary, we have no instance on record, of any of the Philippine Indians having been, even by accident, carried by the winds to the islands to the eastward.²⁵

²² As described by Ann Gibbons (2016) in her *Science* online article, “the international team extracted ancient DNA from the skeletons of four ancient women from the islands of Vanuatu and Tonga, dated to 2300 to 3100 years ago, including three directly associated with the Lapita culture. The team sequenced the DNA at up to 231,000 positions across the genomes of each skeleton and compared the sequences to those of nearly 800 present-day people from 83 populations in East Asia and Oceania.” Gibbons, “‘Game-changing’ Study Suggests First Polynesians Voyaged All the Way from East Asia.”

²³ Robert Blust, “The Austronesian Homeland and Dispersal,” *Annual Review of Linguistics* 5 (January 2019): 417–34, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011718-012440>, 417.

²⁴ Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga, *An Historical View of the Philippine Islands, Exhibiting their Discovery, Population, Language Government, Manners, Customs, Productions and Commerce* (1803), trans. John Maver, vol. 1 (London: J. Asprene and Nonaville and Fell, 1814), 32–33.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 33. Zuñiga betrays ignorance of the 17th-century Jesuit records which mention Chamorros doing return voyages on their *proas* between Guam and the Philippines. The same ignorance is apparent in the group of eminent archaeologists who subscribe to Zuñiga’s West to East sailing conundrum. I discuss this at length in my “Was Marianas Settled by Seafarers

Ergo, Zuñiga declares, "I dare affirm that the Indians of the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru."²⁶

Over a hundred years later, Norwegian zoologist adventurer Thor Heyerdahl sought to prove Zuñiga's thesis. Against all advice, he built what he believed was a pre-Columbian South American sailing vessel, which he christened "Kon-Tiki," after a mythical Peruvian sun god. It was a 30- by 15-foot raft built from nine balsa logs (which proved to be less dense than cork) latched together by hemp ropes.

With a six-man crew led by Hayerdahl (who, on top of having had no sailing experience, did not know how to swim), Kon Tiki left on April 28, 1947 from Callao, Peru and sailed across the South Pacific for 101 days until, finally, it was swept at the Raroia atoll in the Tuamotu Archipelago (near Tahiti).²⁷ This mishap-free landfall instantly made Thor Hayerdahl world famous—his feat of survival continues to be celebrated to this day, as a recent movie attests.²⁸ In stark contrast, no such appreciation or honour has been bestowed on Tupaia, the Raitean master navigator who enabled Cook to explore the many islands of the South Pacific and, thus, revealed to the latter what till then had been a mystery to the Europeans—the Polynesians' wayfinding knowledge and skills in non-instrument long-distance navigation.²⁹

Hayerdahl has demonstrated what Fr. Zuñiga had presumed, that a balsa raft from Peru can be carried by the prevailing winds and currents towards French Polynesia. But this does not constitute proof that Polynesians, much less "the Indians of the Philippines," came from South America. There is no link—linguistically and archaeologically—between the natives of South America and the Malays and Polynesians. Aside from this fundamental scientific point, the Hokulea's experimental voyages (from 1975 to 2017), sponsored by the Hawaii-based Polynesian Voyaging Society, had demonstrated that voyaging canoes can sail upwind, against wind and current, over long distances—thus resolving once and for all Zuñiga's West to East voyaging conundrum.³⁰

Over a century before the Hokuléa, Waitz was not at all bothered by Zuñiga's West to East sailing conundrum. As he put it, the evidence "compels one to advance the hypothesis that already in the most ancient times navigation among these peoples [Austronesians from island Southeast Asia] had

from the Philippines in 1500 B.C.? Resolving, through History, an Archaeological Debate over a Prehistoric Voyaging Issue" (Paper presentation, Australian Historical Association Conference 2018, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, July 5, 2018).

²⁶ Ibid., 31–32.

²⁷ See Christopher Klein, "Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki Voyage," *History*, October 6, 2014 (updated August 22, 2018), <https://www.history.com/news/thor-heyerdahls-kon-tiki-voyage>.

²⁸ Heyerdahl's account of his 1947 voyage, *Kon-Tiki, Across the Pacific by Raft* (1950), sold more than 50 million copies and was translated into nearly 70 languages. The 1950 documentary *Kon-Tiki* won the Academy Award for Best Documentary in 1952, while the 2012 film dramatization (of the same title) was nominated for Best Foreign Language Film in the 2013 Academy Awards.

²⁹ Thankfully, for the first time, New Zealand is now telling the fascinating story of Tupaia and his encounter with Captain Cook in the exhibition "Voyage to Aotearoa: Tupaia and the Endeavour" at the Tāmaki Paenga Hira Auckland War Memorial Museum (which ran from September 13, 2019 to March 15, 2020). I was fortunate to have seen this wonderful exhibition (whose interactive features were a delight to children) in early December 2019. It remains to be seen, however, if a movie on the untold story of Tupaia will be made. For more information on the exhibit, see the media release on the exhibit from the Auckland Museum (<https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/media/media-releases/2019/experience-the-untold-story-of-the-voyage-to-aotea>).

³⁰ One of the brains behind the Hokuléa voyage of rediscovery, which ushered a renaissance of traditional non-instrument long distance voyaging in the Pacific, was the late Ben Finney, one of my mentors in my MA Anthropology program at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa. See my documentary "Stars Across a Sea of Time: The Hokulea Lives On!" (YouTube video, 57:01, April 16, 2013, <https://youtu.be/xurKTubiWsU>).

reached a relatively considerable development.”³¹ After citing oceanographic studies on the behavior of the southwest wind and the northwest wind (seasonal shifts of the trade winds?), he concludes, “the excursions and emigrations from the Indian Archipelago [island Southeast Asia] to Polynesia in no way presented insurmountable obstacles to peoples accustomed to navigation.”³²

Apparently unaware of Forster’s work, Waitz was referring to the evidence from the seminal linguistic study of the aristocratic polymath, polyglot, and statesman Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, elder brother of the equally illustrious geographer, ethnologist, and adventurer Alexander von Humboldt, famous for his work on the indigenous peoples of North America (i.e., the United States and Canada). After Forster, Humboldt came up with what Rizal regarded (in his November 28, 1886 letter to Blumentritt) as “worthy of admiration,” *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java* (On the Kawi Language on the Island of Java), his last and generally acknowledged greatest work. Published posthumously in 1836–1839, it consists of four parts: a lengthy book-sized introduction and three volumes. The introduction—*Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluß auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* (published in English by the Cambridge University Press as *On Language: The Diversity of Human Language-Structure and Its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind* (1999))—sets forth Humboldt’s theory of language, which remains influential to this day. The three volumes constitute a systematic study of the Kawi language, based on Humboldt’s general theory of language.³³

The spread of the Malayo-Polynesian language family—as delineated by Humboldt—can be seen in Figure 2 (on next page). Note that the Austronesian language family extends from Taiwan (Formosa in the map), down to the Philippines, then eastwards to the Marianas, Hawaii, Easter Island (off Chile, South America), and New Zealand, and westwards to Madagascar (6,267 kilometers across the Indian Ocean from Sumatra, Indonesia and just 400 kilometers off the coast of East Africa). This is the most extensive language distribution in history before the emergence of English as the global language in modern times.

Humboldt’s work resolves two issues that were not addressed by Forster. First, did the languages of the Philippines descend (or originate) from the Malay language (spoken in the region that now comprises Malaysia and Indonesia)? And second, when did the language dispersal to the rest of Oceania begin? As we shall see, Humboldt’s answer to these two questions have repercussions to the way Filipinos have conceived of their heritage and identity and to the teaching of Philippine history.

The Spanish missionaries-philologists—notably the Jesuits Fr. Francisco Colin (1663) and Fr. Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro (1801), who built upon Colin’s work, and Franciscan Fr. Juan Francisco de San Antonio, O.S.F. (1738)—had claimed that Philippine languages are descended from Malay, the language spoken in the Peninsula of Malacca (now Malaysia) and neighbouring Sumatra and Borneo.³⁴ It follows from this proposition that the Philippine Malays originally came from Indonesia, possibly

³¹ “...que ya en los más antiguos tiempos la navegación de estos pueblos había llegado un desenvolvimiento relativamente considerable...” Rizal, “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia,” 368.

³² “...las excursiones y emigraciones desde el Archipiélago indico hasta la Polinesia de ninguna manera ofrecían insuperables obstáculos para pueblos acostumbrados a la Navegación.” Ibid., 369–70.

³³ Unlike the Introduction, the three volumes have remained untranslated, “a matter for specialists, available only in the reading rooms of libraries,” notes Humboldt scholar Muriel Mirak Weissbach. See Muriel Mirak Weissbach, “Wilhelm von Humboldt’s Study of the Kawi Language: The Proof of the Existence of the Malayan-Polynesian Language Culture,” *Fidelio* 8, no. 1 (Spring): 29–40, 30.

³⁴ See Francisco Colín, “Native Races and their Customs,” from *Labor Evangélica* (Madrid, 1663), in Blair, Emma H., and James A. Robertson, eds., *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 40 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906); Juan Francisco de San Antonio, “The Native Peoples and their Customs,” *Cronicas* (Manila, 1738–44), in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898*, vol. 40; Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*,

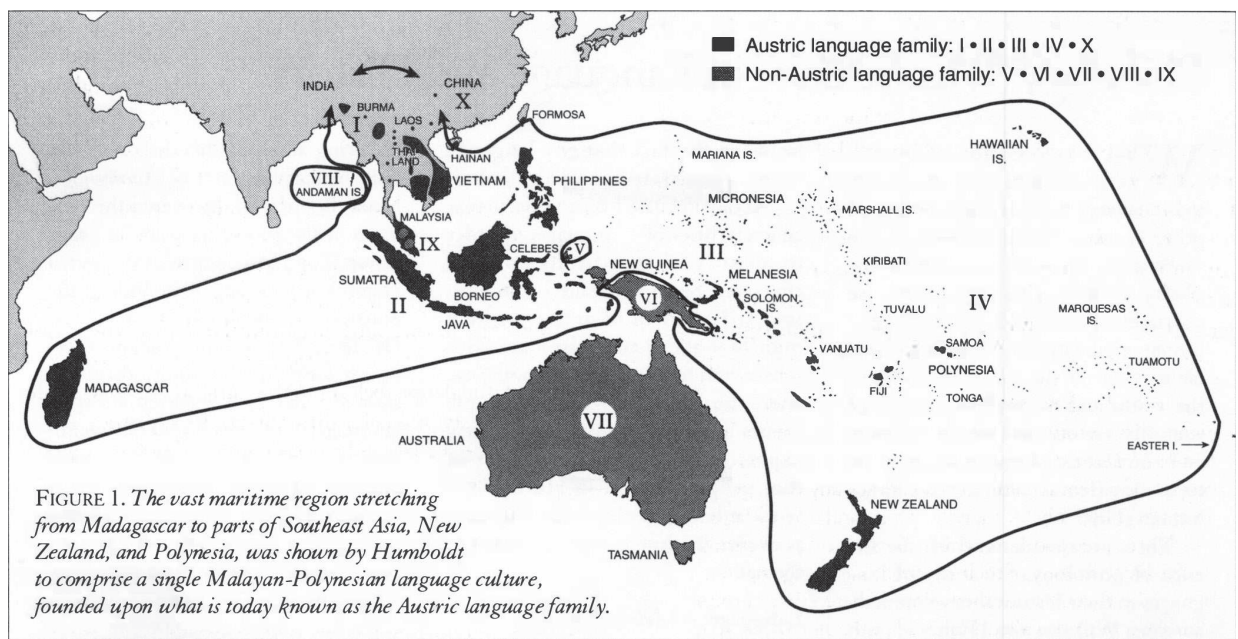


FIGURE 2 • Map of the spread of the Malayan-Polynesian language according to Humboldt (Source: Weissbach, "Wilhelm von Humboldt's Study of the Kawi Language," 31)

Sumatra (a view that Rizal had initially accepted uncritically in his annotations to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*). This view must have been the source of H. Otley Beyer's waves of migration theory, which I had learned as an undergraduate in the University of the Philippines (ca. 1965) (see Figure 3 below). Humboldt's linguistic study, however, showed that the linguistic flow was not from the area

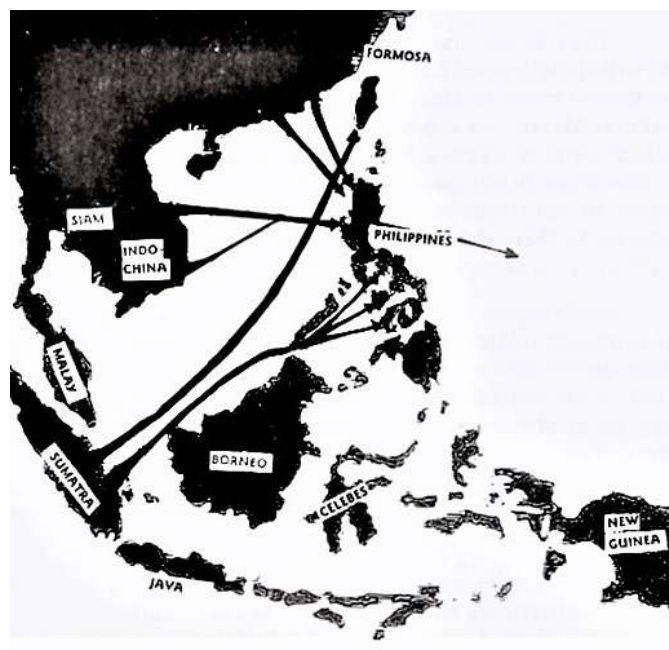


FIGURE 3 • Beyer's waves of migration theory; arrows show the flow of seafaring migrants from Sumatra to "Formosa" (Taiwan) and the Visayas region (Source: F. Landa Jocano, *Filipino Prehistory: Rediscovering Precolonial Heritage* (Quezon City: Punlad Research House, Inc., 2001))

y numeracion, divisons, y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos, Volumen 2: Lengua y naciones de las islas de los mares Pacífico e Indiano austral y oriental, y del continente del Asia (Madrid: Imprenta de la Administración del Real Arbitrio de Beneficencia, 1801).

of Malacca (between Sumatra and Borneo) to the Philippines, but the other way around—from the Philippines to the Malaysia-Indonesia region.

Humboldt's theory is now the consensus among scholars specializing in Austronesian linguistics, but alas, Beyer's waves of migration theory, I heard, is still being taught in Philippine primary schools.³⁵ And the idea that Filipinos came from Indonesia still holds sway in Philippine popular culture. This is evident, for example, in the celebration of the arrival in Panay of the legendary ten Bornean datus in festivals such as the Dinagyang in Iloilo and the Sinulog in Cebu. As David R. Zorc (Senior Linguist at the Language Research Center of McNeil Technologies) lamented in a paper presented at the University of the Philippines' Asian Center in 2005:

It is sad that, with little available in truly pre-historical documentation, the fabrications of a chemist have held sway in the teaching of Philippine prehistory, setting up details about migrations from Borneo as the progenitors of numerous Philippine groups (see Scott 1968 for a critique of these materials). *In truth, the people of Borneo and of the numerous Indonesian islands can trace their origins to the Philippines, and at a much greater time depth than a few hundred years!*

Filipinos have much to be proud of since they remain part of a major staging area for what had been the largest and most expansive language family on Earth (prior to European expansion and the spread of English).³⁶ (emphasis mine).

The next question is “When and from where did the emigration to Oceania begin?” Waitz presents what to my mind is a most important conclusion of Humboldt, at least as far as the Philippines is concerned. Waitz leads us to the notion of the Filipinos' pre-Sanskrit heritage by posing the question, “if the countries of the Malays [i.e., island Southeast Asia, which is now comprised of the Philippines, Malaysia, and Indonesia] are considered the most probable homeland of the Polynesians,”³⁷ when did this emigration occur? Citing Buschmann (it should be Humboldt or Humboldt-Buschmann), Waitz declares that the answer to the question can be deduced from the comparative study of Malay and Polynesian languages—i.e., it lies in the presence or absence of Sanskrit words:³⁸

Buschmann ha hallado como una diferencia capital entre los idiomas malayos y polinésicos en la completa falta de voces sánscritas que se encuentra en estos últimos, mientras que tales voces dejan comprobar aun en el idioma de los Tagalos

³⁵ A parent of a third grade pupil had posted on his blog that Beyer's waves of migration theory and the idea that the Filipinos originally came from Indonesia are presented as established fact in the textbook *Pilipinas: Bayan Mo, Bayan Ko* 3 (on pages 66–71). Pio Verzola, Jr., “A Fascinating Prehistory,” *Pathless Travels* (blog), January 28, 2012, <https://iraia.net/blog/2012/01/28/a-fascinating-prehistory/>.

Here's another piece from the mother of a fourth grader: “A few months ago, I heard Professor Floro Quibuyen, who teaches at the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines in Diliman, say that the theory that Negritos, Indonesian and Malays came one after another in waves to become the ancestors of the Filipinos has been discredited for years. That surprised me because this theory is still found in grade school history books and taught as gospel truth...I felt very sorry for my son when I saw his Grade 4 history book.” Kaye Malilong-Isberto, “Relearning History,” *Fighting Words*, *Philstar*, April 29, 2008, <https://www.philstar.com/opinion/2008/04/29/58974/relearning-history>.

³⁶ David R. Zorc, “The Spread of Austronesian Languages from South China and Formosa—Westward to Indonesia and Eastward to Oceania” (Paper presentation, 1st International Conference on the Philippines Between Asia and the Pacific, Asian Center, University of the Philippines Diliman, Quezon City, March 2–3, 2005). On a personal note, I was the conference convenor.

³⁷ “...si se consideran los países de los malayos como la más probable patria de los polinesios...” Rizal, “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia,” 370.

³⁸ Buschmann was Humboldt's student and then research associate who edited and posthumously published Humboldt's *Über die Kawi-Sprache auf der Insel Java*. Thus, the proper attribution is Humboldt-Buschmann (as in Waitz-Gerland for volumes 5 and 6 of Waitz's magnum opus *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*).

*y de los Madecases si bien ya en bastante menor cantidad. Presupuesta la exactitud de este hecho, se deduce del mismo la consecuencia de que se ha separado la rama polinésica del tronco común en un tiempo en que aun no había tenido sobre este ninguna influencia el sánscrito, es decir...antes del comienzo de la era cristiana.*³⁹

Buschmann [i.e., Humboldt] has found a capital difference between the Malay and the Polynesian languages in the complete lack of Sanskrit terms in the latter, while such terms are evident even in the language of the Tagalogs and the Madagascans [inhabitants of Madagascar], though already in rather small quantity. Presupposing the correctness of this fact, from it is deduced the conclusion that *the Polynesian branch separated from the common trunk at a time when Sanskrit did not yet have any influence on it, that is to say...before the beginning of the Christian era.* (emphasis mine)

What a brilliant deduction! The dispersal of peoples and languages from Island Southeast Asia eastward to the far reaches of the Pacific Ocean, the so-called “Polynesian triangle”—began before the birth of Christ. Thus, Tagalog and other Malay languages have Sanskrit words, but Polynesian languages have none. Humboldt notes, however, that Malagasy, the language spoken in Madagascar, has Sanskrit words, just like Tagalog. Following Humboldt’s logic, this implies that Madagascar was settled after the Christian era. We now know that this implication is correct. According to a genetic study published in 2012, Madagascar was settled most probably 1,200 years ago by seafarers from Indonesia.⁴⁰

Thanks to Humboldt’s insight, we now have a time frame for the Malays’ pre-Sanskrit past—and this was before the estimated dates for the *balangay* sea craft and the *baybayin* script (ca. 1000 CE), which we Filipinos have held to be iconic of our pre-Spanish roots. Following Humboldt’s insight, we can see our roots as going much deeper than the *balangay* and the *baybayin*. The crucial two-fold question for us Filipinos is: Did the emigration to Oceania begin from the Philippines? What place (island or group of islands) did the first emigrants colonize?

Waitz notes that the sequence of migration from West (island Southeast Asia) to East (Polynesia) involved “a successive advance towards Polynesia passing through the Carolines.”⁴¹ In Spanish usage, “Carolinas” was sometimes used interchangeably with “Micronesia,” which includes Palau, Yap, and the Marianas. Was the first migration from the Philippines to any of these islands? Or was it from Indonesia to Palau, then to Yap, and then to the Marianas? The first 10 pages of Waitz’s “Die Malaien” do not give us a definite answer. This issue was the subject of a recent academic debate among distinguished anthropologists, to which we now turn.

Was the Marianas settled by seafarers from the Philippines (ca. 1500 BCE)?

In the pages of the archaeology journal *Antiquity*, two conflicting answers—representing two models for the colonization of Oceania—were presented over the period from 2011 to 2013. The model proffered by archaeologists Hsiao-chun Hung, Mike T. Carson, and Peter Bellwood, among others, showed that the first migration involved a direct sail of seafarers from the Philippines to the Marianas

³⁹ Rizal, “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia,” 371.

⁴⁰ Murray P. Cox, Michael G. Nelson, Meryanne K. Tumonggor, François-X. Ricaut, and Herawati Sudoyo, “A Small Cohort of Island Southeast Asian Women Founded Madagascar,” *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* 279, no. 1739 (March 2012): 2761–68, <https://doi.org/10.1098/rspb.2012.0012>.

⁴¹ “...un sucesivo avance hacia la Polinesia pasando por las Carolinas...” Rizal, “Melanesia, Malasia, Polinesia,” 368.

ca. 1500 BCE (or 3,500 years BP).⁴² This model was derived from the pottery trail from Taiwan to the Philippines and on to the Marianas, as shown in Figure 4 below.

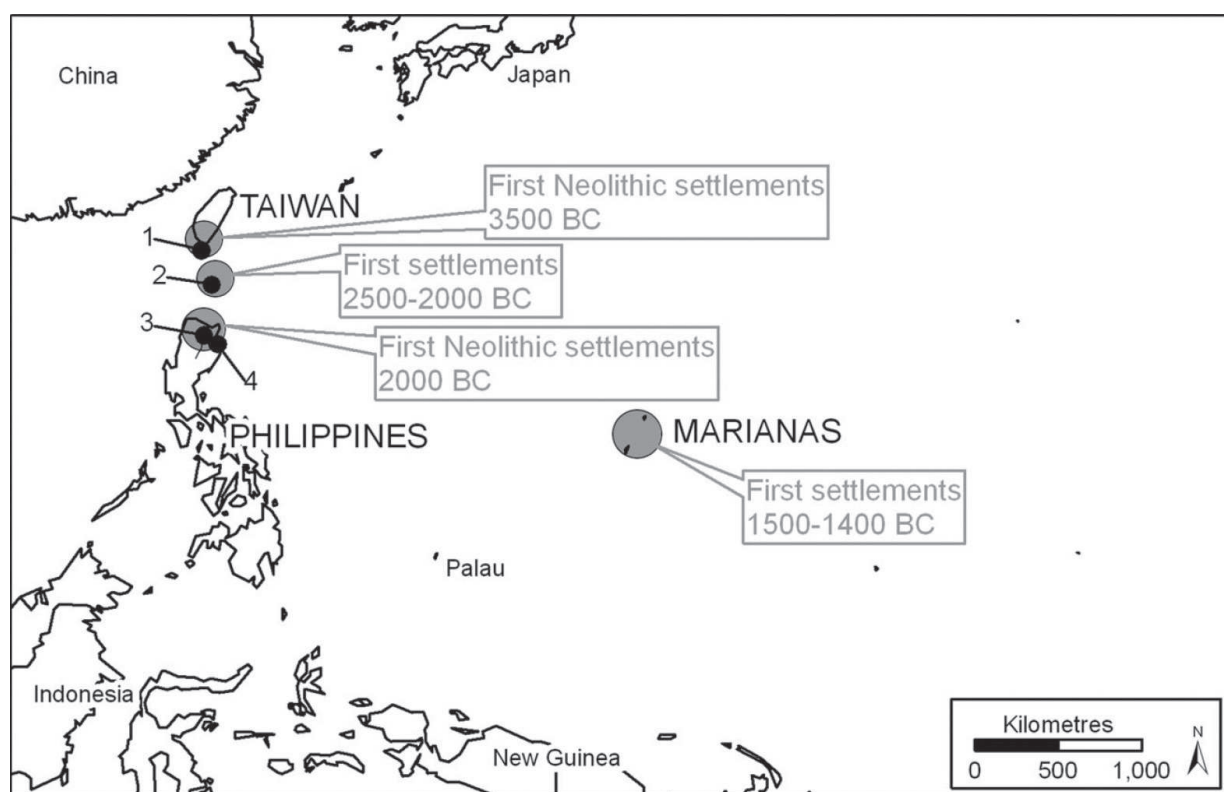


FIGURE 4 • Map of first human settlements in Taiwan, the Philippines, and the Marianas
(Source: Hsiao-chun Hung et al., “The First Settlement of Remote Oceania: the Philippines to the Marianas,” *Antiquity* 85, no. 239 (September 2011): 909–26, 910.)

The whole sequence of migration is illustrated in a 2013 map by Mike T. Carson (see Figure 5 on next page). The map shows the sequence and corresponding dates of the “successive advance towards Polynesia” (to use Waitz’s phrase) of Austronesian languages (as well as genes)—starting from Taiwan down to the Philippines, then eastwards to the Pacific (first to the Marianas in 3,500 years BP, then to Palau in 3,000 years BP, and so forth) and westward to Madagascar (1,500 years BP) in the Indian Ocean.

The Hung et al. model was rejected by two groups of archaeologists in favor of a model that dates back to 1973. The first group, Olaf Winter et al., argued that a direct passage from the Philippines to the Marianas “is improbable in the light of prevailing sailing conditions and historical evidence of voyaging.”⁴³ They asserted that “the colonisation of the Marianas can be explained, at least in voyaging terms, rather more easily”:

The best routes to western Micronesia begin in the seaway between Mindanao and the Bird’s Head of New Guinea... [Thus, e]ither a single voyage could have been

⁴² Hsiao-chun Hung, Mike T. Carson, Peter Bellwood, Fredeliza Z. Campos, Philip J. Piper, Eusebio Dizon, Mary Jane Louise A. Bolunia, Marc Oxenham, and Zhang Chi, “The First Settlement of Remote Oceania: the Philippines to the Marianas,” *Antiquity* 85, no. 239 (September 2011): 909–26, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00068393>.

⁴³ Olaf Winter, Geoffrey Clark, Atholl Anderson, and Anders Lindahl, “Austronesian Sailing to the Northern Marianas, A Comment on Hung et al.,” *Antiquity* 86, no. 333 (September 2012): 898–910, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00047992>.

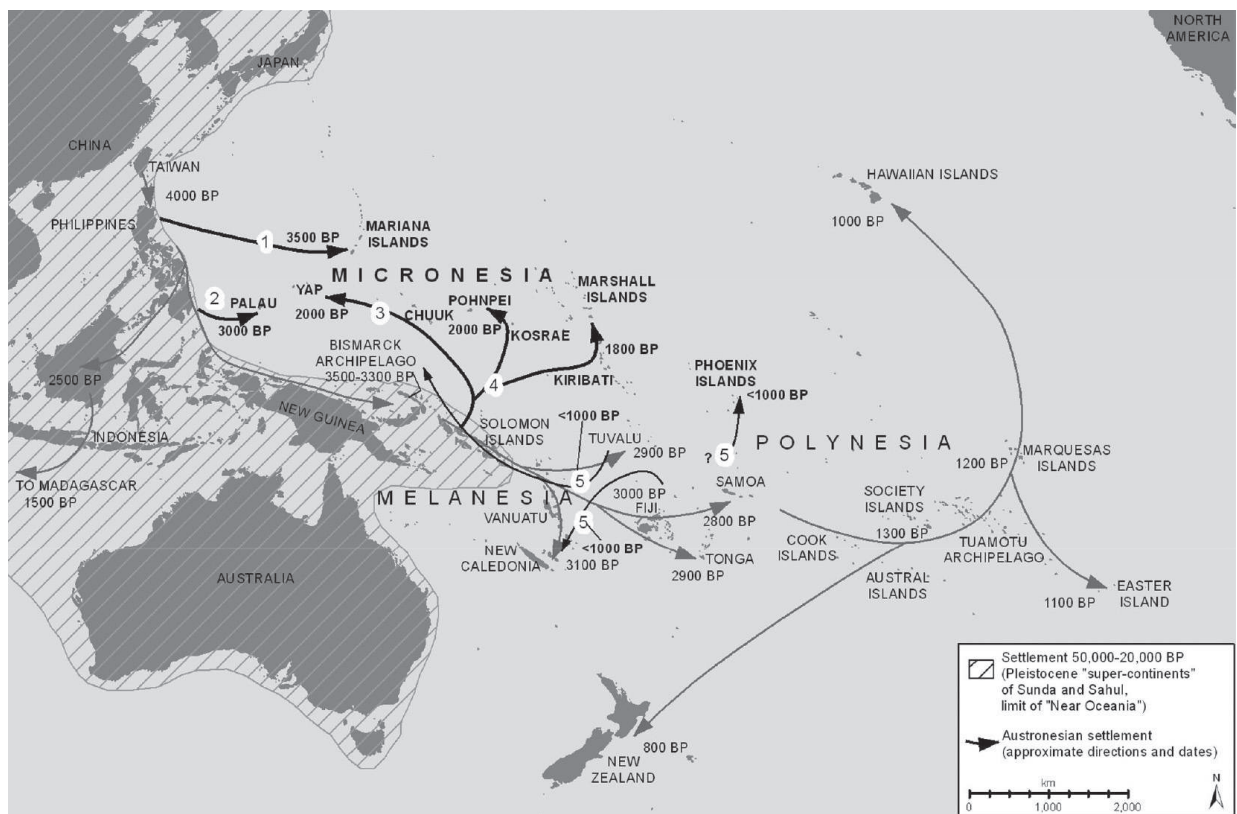


FIGURE 5 • Major colonizing migrations in Micronesia, in relation to larger Asia-Pacific patterns: (1) settlement of Mariana Islands, 3,500 years BP; (2) settlement of Palau, 3,000 years BP; (3) settlement of Yap by 2,000 years BP or possibly earlier; (4) settlement of multiple areas in central-eastern Micronesia, beginning 2,000–1,800 years BP; and (5) settlement of Polynesian Outliers and temporarily in the Phoenix Islands, within the last 1,000 years (Source: Mike T. Carson, "Austronesian Migrations and Developments in Micronesia," *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 2013): 25–52, 27)

made (Mindanao/Morotai to Guam 2100 km) or dispersal utilised the islands of western Micronesia as staging points, with the two longest passages at about 900 km each (Mindanao/Morotai to Palau/Yap, Palau/Yap to Guam)...⁴⁴

This "seaway between Mindanao and the Bird's Head of New Guinea" towards the Marianas is shown in a map in a recent book on Maori history, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, of which one of the authors is Atholl Anderson, a member of the Winter camp (see Figure 6 on page 24).

Note that the arrow towards the Marianas in Anderson's 2014 map is the same as that shown in William Howells' 1973 map, "hypothetical periods in the occupation of Oceania" (see Figure 7 also on page 24).

The model represented by Howells' 1973 map and Anderson et al.'s 2014 map appears on Wikipedia, thereby giving the impression that it is the dominant model (see Figure 8 on page 25).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibid., 900.

⁴⁵ Some recent publications rely on this 1999 map. See, for example, Lorenz Lasco, "Ang Kaisahan at Ugnayan ng Lumang Pamayanan ng Pilipinas at ng Rapa Nui at Polynesyang Pranses," *Saliksik E-Journal* 4, no. 1 (August 2015), 13–86.

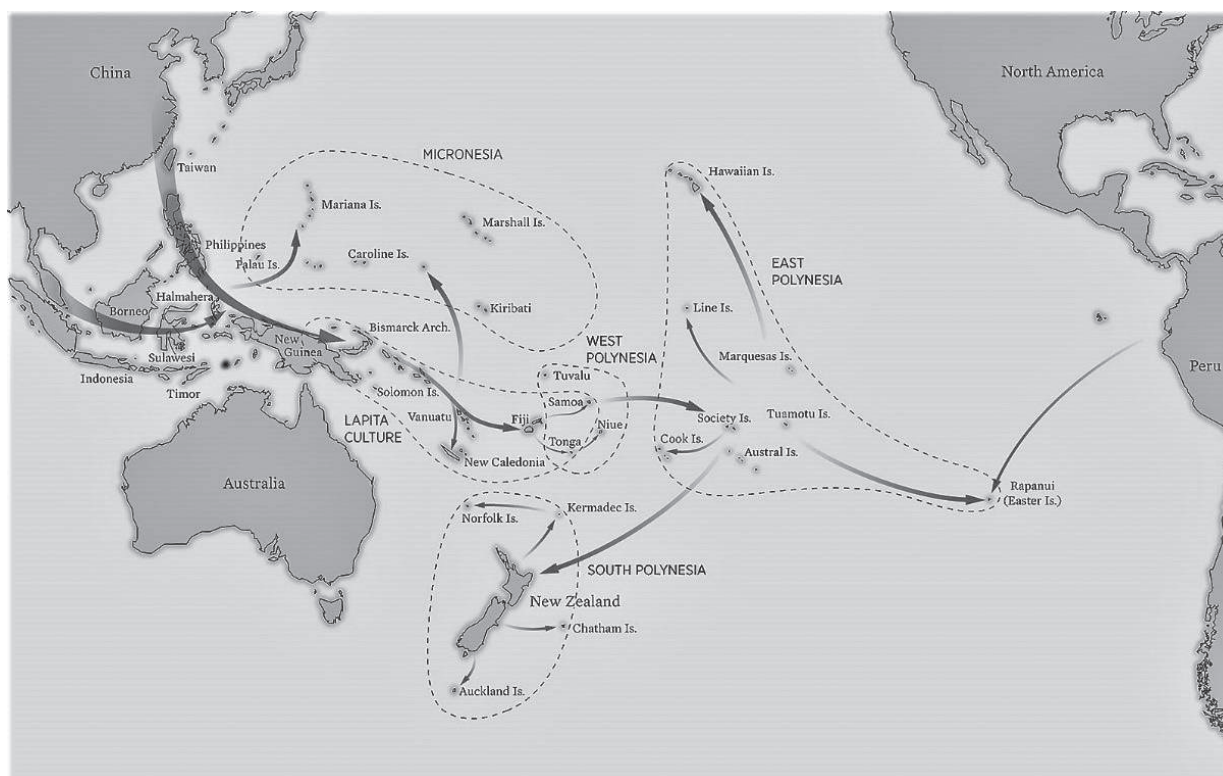


FIGURE 6 • Map of Austronesian dispersal (Source: Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014), 18.)

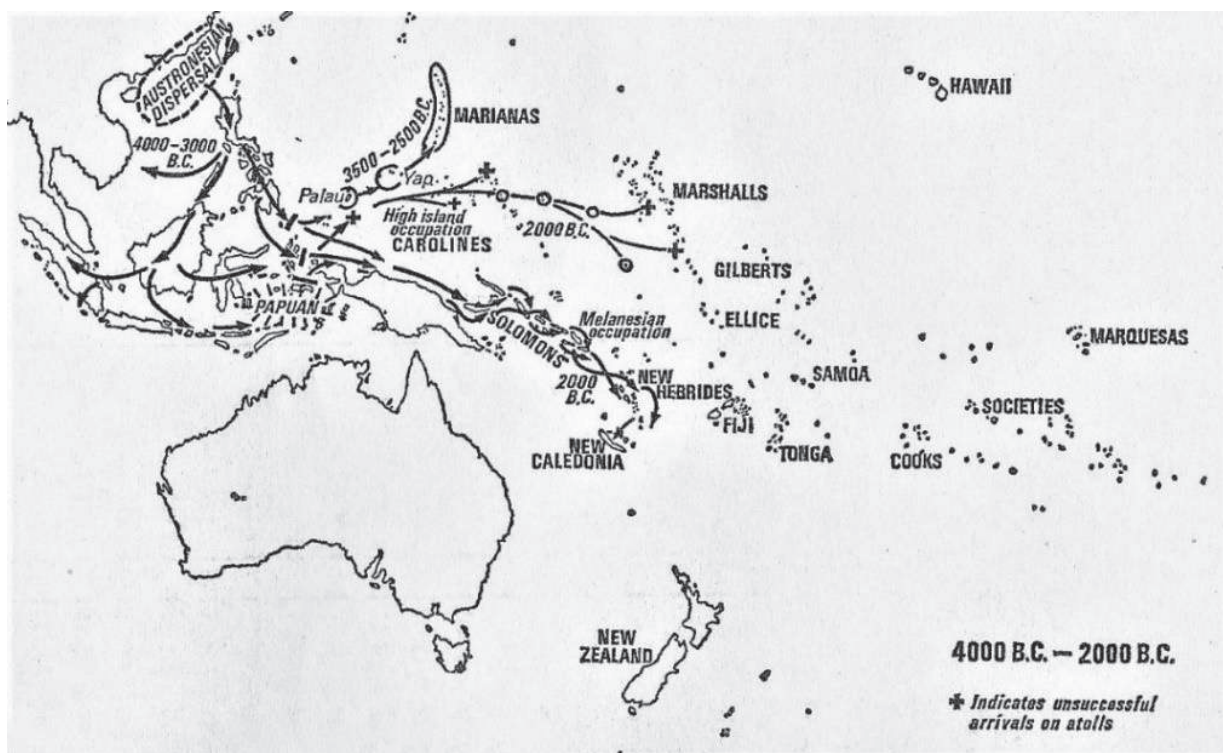


FIGURE 7 • Map of Austronesian dispersal (Source: William Howells, *The Pacific Islanders* (Sydney : Reed, 1973), 256.)

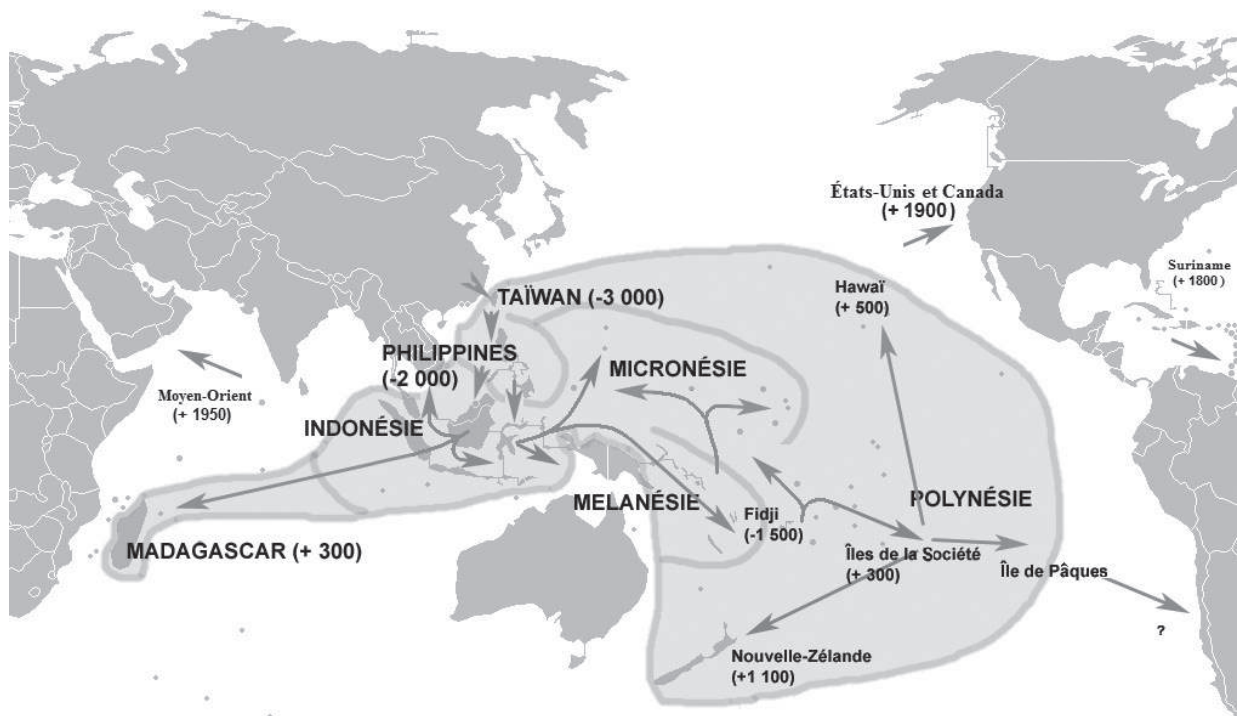


FIGURE 8 • Map of expansion of Austronesian languages based on Michel Jan et al.'s *Atlas historique des migrations* (1999) and Greenhill et al.'s *The Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database* (2008)
(Source: Wikimedia Commons)

As if to drive the final nail into the coffin of the Hung et al. model, Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Richard T. Callaghan went further than Winter et al., declaring that their computer simulation of direct voyages from the Philippines to the Marianas yielded “zero probability”⁴⁶—as shown in their table of simulations below:

	Taiwan	Luzon	Mindanao	Halmahera	W. New Guinea	C. New Guinea	E. New Guinea	Bismarck Archipelago
January	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
February	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
March	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
April	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
May	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
June	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
July	0%	0%	0%	13% (38–146)	5% (49–109)	0%	9% (35–98)	14% (35–82)
August	0%	0%	0%	27% (22–184)	10% (37–71)	2% (29–53)	17% (39–93)	32% (39–82)
September	0%	0%	0%	20% (30–160)	24% (39–101)	20% (40–46)	17% (39–74)	24% (34–76)
October	0%	0%	0%	10% (39–160)	26% (42–144)	18% (41–94)	14% (41–76)	18% (30–98)
November	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
December	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

TABLE 1 • Success rates for directed voyages to the Mariana Islands and duration in days (in parentheses)
(Source: Fitzpatrick and Callaghan, “Estimating Trajectories of Colonisation to the Mariana Islands,” 848.)

⁴⁶ Scott M. Fitzpatrick and Richard T. Callaghan, “Estimating Trajectories of Colonisation to the Mariana Islands, Western Pacific,” *Antiquity* 87, no. 337 (September 2013): 840–53, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00049504>.

This “zero probability” argument of Fitzpatrick and Callaghan, if correct, would demolish the thesis of Hung et al.—that a direct voyage from the Philippines to Marianas (ca. 1500 BCE) was not only improbable (as Winter et al. had argued), it was downright *impossible*! Inexplicably, Fitzpatrick-Callaghan’s computer simulation was not challenged by Hung et al., perhaps presuming that computer calculations cannot be wrong. They could have easily refuted both Fitzpatrick-Callaghan’s “zero probability” claim, as well as Winter et al.’s unproven assertion that the historical record of voyages (which they never specified) do not support a direct Philippine-Marianas voyage. The clear cut-way to do this is by using the very method of verification that both Callaghan and Anderson have endorsed in earlier publications—by appealing to the relevant and readily available historical record of voyages!

As Callaghan explains in his 1999 article,

The results of a simulation and their interpretation are fine in themselves, but it is desirable to have some way to verify the results. Although the Caribbean example I have presented is prehistoric, verification is possible by examining historic records, which are available beginning with the voyages of Christopher Columbus and continue in the form of media and rescue vessel reports of ships at drift in the region. Some of these...even suggest that...the simulation may underestimate the chances of success. In many cases where computer simulations can shed light on issues of voyaging, contemporary historical documents do exist for verification.⁴⁷ (emphasis mine)

I have set forth in a paper I presented at the Australia Historical Association Conference held at the Australian National University in Canberra on July 5, 2018 the relevant historical record of direct voyages between Manila and Guam in the 17th century. I demonstrated that the West to East sailing conundrum—invoked by Zuñiga in the 19th century and purportedly confirmed by Fitzpatrick and Callaghan’s computer simulation, based on 21st century oceanographic conditions—is a myth! I will summarize here the key points of that paper.

The intrepid global traveller Giovanani Francesco Gemelli Careri wrote a day-to-day sailing log of his 1697 voyage (the *Giro del Mondo*), which recorded how his galleon made it safely from Manila straight to the Marianas (and from there to Acapulco, Mexico). This alone would have been enough to refute Fitzpatrick and Callaghan’s “zero probability” argument. I have examined the original Gemelli Careri book in the archives of the New South Wales Library, only to realize later that it had been digitized and uploaded on the internet.

On top of Gemelli Careri’s sailing log, Jesuit records provide documentation for two kinds of voyages that demonstrated direct return voyages between Manila and Guam in the 17th century. One is the successful establishment of a voyaging line in 1683 by a Cavite-constructed Spanish single-masted sloop. This crucial voyage was the beginning of direct voyages between Manila and Guam. Prior to 1683, the Marianas could be reached from Manila only through a very long, circuitous route—by first sailing all the way to Acapulco, Mexico (by following the Kuroshio Current that flowed from the Philippines to Japan), and then from Acapulco to Guam, and finally to the Philippines.

⁴⁷ Richard T. Callaghan, “Computer Simulations of Ancient Voyaging,” *The Northern Mariner* 9, no. 2 (April 1999): 11–22, 20. Atholl Anderson advocates the same method of historical verification regarding oral traditions about ancient seafaring in the Pacific. See Atholl Anderson, “Seafaring in Remote Oceania: Traditionalism and Beyond in Maritime Technology and Migration,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Oceania*, eds. Ethan E. Cochrane and Terry L. Hunt (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 473–92. See also Atholl Anderson, “Traditionalism, Interaction, and Long-Distance Seafaring in Polynesia,” *The Journal of Island and Coastal Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (2008): 240–50, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15564890802340000>.

The second type of voyages documented by the Jesuits were the Chamorro *proa* return voyages between Guam and Manila in 1639, 1676, 1681, 1683, and 1693. While I have discussed these Chamorro voyages, as well as Gemelli Careri's sailing log of his 1697 voyage from Manila to the Marianas, in my aforementioned conference paper, I shall just cite for my readers here one historical record: the return voyage of two Chamorro *proas* from Guam to the Philippines in 1693, as related in Fr. Bouwens' letter to Fr. De Pape dated May 1, 1695 (translated from the original Latin by Lévesque):

At the beginning of February '93 two native canoes set out on a voyage to Manila, with one Spaniard, two Filipino Indians, and the rest [Marianas] Islanders, eight in all. They ran out of food and for the last twelve days had nothing but palm leaves to chew on. The Spaniard died before reaching the Philippines. One who was a chief among them took over as leader. Upon reaching the shore, they ate and drank so much that one of them died. The rest later took to their canoe and proceeded to the [San Bernardino] strait leading to Manila. Two of them were delegated to go up to see the Governor, one a Mariano [Chamorro] and the other a Filipino. They brought back here [Guam] a letter from the Governor [of the Philippines], which they could not read, but gave me a full verbal report about their experiences.⁴⁸

The historical record of voyages provide the final support, on top of the archaeological-genetic and linguistic trails, for the Hung et al. model for the first ever colonization of Oceania from the Philippines. Given that the Marianas was settled in 1500 BCE by seafarers from the Philippines, we can now approach the issue of our pre-Sanskrit heritage. Could we search for it in the Marianas—from the Jesuit records of their Marianas mission around the 17th century?

⁴⁸ "Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. De Pape, dated May 1, 1695," in Rodrigue Lévesque, *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents*, vol. 9 (Québec : Lévesque Publications, 1999), 625.



PART II

History and anthropology of the Chamorros

16th- and 17th-century accounts of missionaries and explorers

One of the first Jesuits to cross the Pacific from Acapulco and stopover in Guam en route to Manila was Fr. Antonio Sedeño, who would become the first Jesuit Superior in the Philippines. In his June 12, 1582 letter to his superior, Father General Acquaviva, Sedeño wondered,

From there [i.e. Guam] to this Island [i.e. Luzon, Philippines], there is about 300 leagues;⁴⁹ now, dear Father, you can see where they [the Chamorros] were settled, but who could have shown them and brought them through this great gulf?⁵⁰

By 1776, scholars were still clueless about the origins of the first settlers of the Marianas, as we can see from Abbé Raynal's comment:

They were undoubtedly thrown on these coasts by some storm; but this event must have happened so long ago, that they had forgotten their origin, and thought themselves the only inhabitants of the globe.⁵¹

But the Marianas natives had given a clue to the Jesuits, as recounted by Fr. Sanvitores:

The people of the Marianas say, by tradition passed from father to son and without other history than their memory, that people came from the south to populate these islands, and that they have the same origin as the Tagalog; and their argument is supported not a little by the similarity in their tinting of their teeth, and by the similarity in their languages and mode of government. When, or for what reason,

⁴⁹ Fr. Sedeño had underestimated the distance between Manila and Guam, which is 2,569 kilometers or about 462 leagues.

⁵⁰ "A Letter from Fr. Sedeño to the General of the Jesuits" in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 2, 522. For the first published English translation (which reads better than the Lévesque translation, but curiously, deletes certain crucial phrases from the original text), see W. C. Repetti, S.J. and H. de la Costa, S.J., "The First Jesuit Voyage Across the Pacific," *The Woodstock Letters* 69, no. 1 (February 1, 1940): 21–24, 23, <https://jesuitonlinelibrary.bc.edu/?a=d&d=wlet19400201-01.2.3&e=-----en-20-1-txt-txIN----->.

⁵¹ Abbé Raynal, "History of Settlements and Trades in the East and West Indies" (Book VI, third English edition, 1783), in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 14, 636.

they came to these islands is unknown; some think that some tempest drove them here from the nearest islands in the Philippines, as has happened to others who have been driven from these islands to the islands of the Visayas.⁵² (emphasis mine)

The Chamorro oral tradition is now supported by compelling linguistic and archaeological evidence that we had presented in the previous section: most probably, the Chamorros descended from seafarers from the Philippines who settled the Marianas ca. 1500 BCE. With the culture and social system that they brought with them from the Philippines, the newly arrived seafarers adapted to their new but isolated environment, and through the centuries, evolved, innovated, and thrived, unmolested or untouched by foreign invasion or influence—until the arrival of Europeans between the 16th and 17th centuries.

How did the Marianas Islands, of which the largest is Guam, compare to the homeland they had left behind? What did the islands offer to the newly arrived seafarers that they decided to stay for good? Fr. Sedeño's letter did not provide a description of how Guam looked like. For this, we must turn to the 18th century account of the French naval officer, Lt. Julien Marie Crozet, whose ship, with most of its crew sick and starving, landed in Guam on September 27, 1772. We cite a few pertinent passages from his account:

The island of Guam appeared a *terrestrial paradise* to us; the air was excellent, the water was very good, the vegetables and fruits perfect...

[The island abounded in breadfruit which is] very pleasant for the fortunate inhabitant of these islands, to be assured of his daily bread; to nourish himself he has only to cull it and eat it, and that too without any of the troubles attaching to ploughing the field, sowing the grain, hoeing, harvesting, threshing, winnowing, grinding, kneading, or baking. ...we attributed the quick recovery of those [of the crew] suffering from scurvy to the breadfruit diet.

The rivers of Guam, which after all are only brooks, or torrents, abound in fish. During their convalescence, our sailors amused themselves by fishing, and caught eels, mullets, gobys, and a sort of carp. All these fish are excellent...

The island [Guam] is studded with picturesque and delicious scenes. In my promenades it often happened that I came across these enchanting places where Nature had made all, and the hand of man none of the arrangements. It was not possible to feel bored, everything was arranged for the happiness of the man who loves solitude, verdure, shade, freshness, the smell of flowers, crystalline water springing from a rock and falling in cascades, who enjoys the songs of numberless birds, and glimpses of scenery, coco-nuts, breadfruits, oranges, citrons, and an infinity of wild fruits found equally on trees with their flowers, and growing in that charming irregularity in which art has never been able to imitate Nature. ... *It was only with regret that I could leave such delicious places for I would have spent my whole life there...*

We left Agana with deep regret on the 19th of November...our sailors, who were in better health than they would have been in leaving a French port, *called the island a terrestrial paradise*.⁵³ (all emphases mine)

⁵² Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas: An Account of Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores and His Companions 1669–1670*, trans. with commentary Ward Barrett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), 18.

⁵³ Julien Marie Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the Years 1771–1772*, trans. H. Ling Roth (London: Truslove and Shirley, 1891; Project Gutenberg Australia, 2013), <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1306431h.html> (no pagination).

Lt. Crozet's description of a "terrestrial paradise" may not be so different from the Philippines, but something in the Marianas sets it apart, as we can see from the 17th century account of the German Jesuit Fr. Augustin Strobach:

On these islands are neither snakes nor poisonous animals or vermin and even the spiders are non-poisonous that the natives eat them without suffering from harm, just as any other food [actually, these are small land crabs—Lévesque].

How bad things must be in those foreign countries, they say, can be easily seen from the rats and mice and other vermin which these [foreign] people had brought with them to the Mariana Islands, and as easily from the fact that as often as they [the Chamorros] board a Spanish vessel, they return with a [sore] throat and cold.⁵⁴

What did the Chamorros look like? Recounting his first impressions of the Chamorros to Father General Acquaviva, Fr. Sedeño described them as "well-proportioned and well-featured," "very merry and sociable," intelligent, and "capable of receiving our faith."⁵⁵ The pious Fr. Sedeño seem to have avoided talking specifically about the women. Crozet, in his 1772 visit to Guam, describes the Chamorro women as "generally beautiful and well-made and with a red skin."⁵⁶ The Boxer Codex (Lévesque attributes authorship to the son of Philippine governor-general Dasmariñas) mentions another feature not mentioned by Fr. Sedeño:

They do not wear any type of clothes whatsoever, either the men or the women, nor anything else, nor do they cover any part of their body; rather, the way they are born is the way they go about.⁵⁷

Towards the end of his letter to Fr. Acquaviva, Sedeño lamented,

It tore our heart and grieved us to see their loss, and feel the impossibility of preaching the gospel to them; although some day it may please God to send us back to draw them, that they may not remain helpless.⁵⁸

Fr. Sedeño had expressed the rationale for the Jesuit mission in the Marianas—one of many Catholic missions that always accompanied the spread of the Spanish empire. By 1668, Fr. Sedeño's wish came true—Jesuit missionaries, led by the "restless" Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, arrived in Guam.⁵⁹ This momentous event would change the lives of the Chamorros forever and, alas, lead to the decimation of ninety percent (90%) of their population within a few decades.

How did a once free, beautiful, and happy people get so utterly destroyed? To answer this question is to tell the story of the Chamorro people as a "parable of the tribes." In *Destiny's Landfall: A History*

⁵⁴ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 602.

⁵⁵ Fr. Sedeño, in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 9, 521.

⁵⁶ Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage*.

⁵⁷ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 2, 619.

⁵⁸ Repetti, S.J. and H. de la Costa, S.J., "The First Jesuit Voyage Across the Pacific," 22.

⁵⁹ See Joan-Pau Rubiés' prologue ("Apologetics and Ethnography in the History of the Mariana Islands by Luis de Morales, S.J. and Charles Le Gobien, S.J.") to Luis de Morales, S.J. and Charles Le Gobien, S.J., *History of the Mariana Islands*, ed. and comm. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, trans. Yesenia Pumarada Cruz (Mangilao: University of Guam Press and Micronesian Area Research Center, 2016), 1.

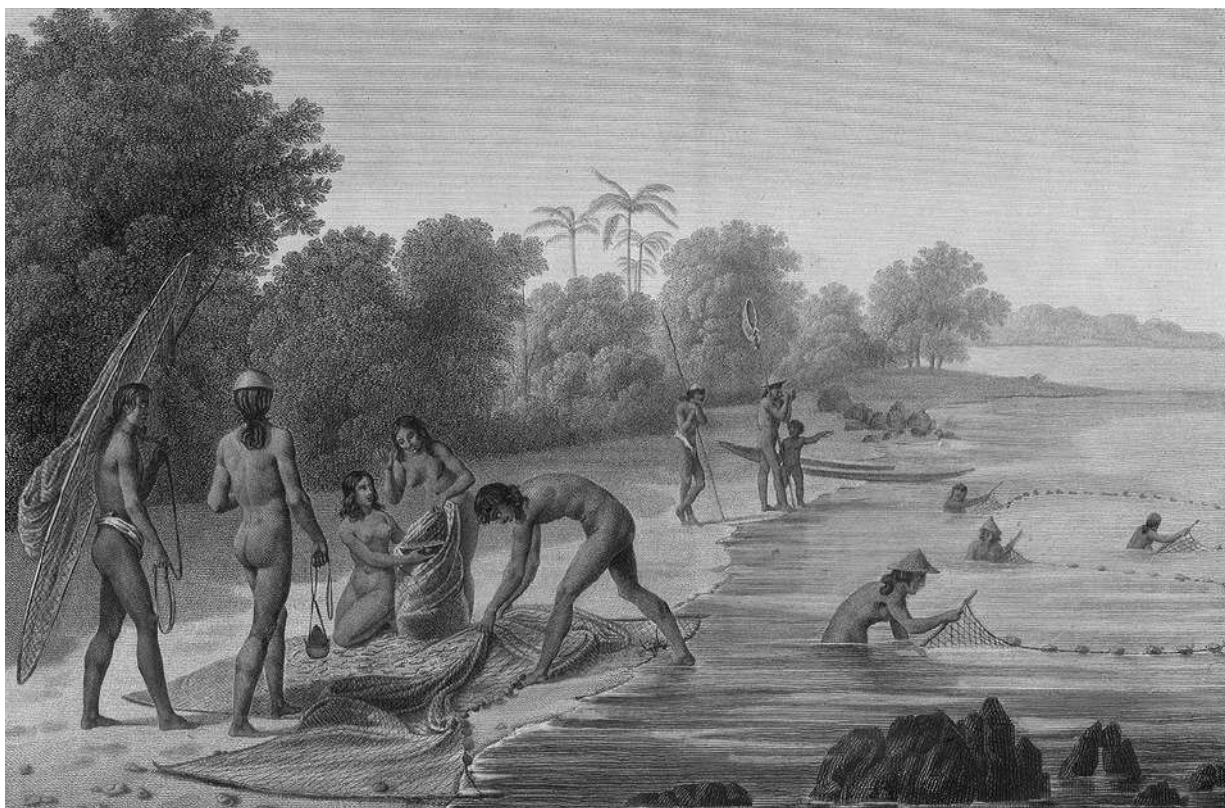


FIGURE 9 • Ancient Chamorros fishing for the village illustrated by J.A. Pellion from Freycinet's *Voyage Autour de Monde* (Paris, 1824) (Source: Guam Public Library System/Guampedia)

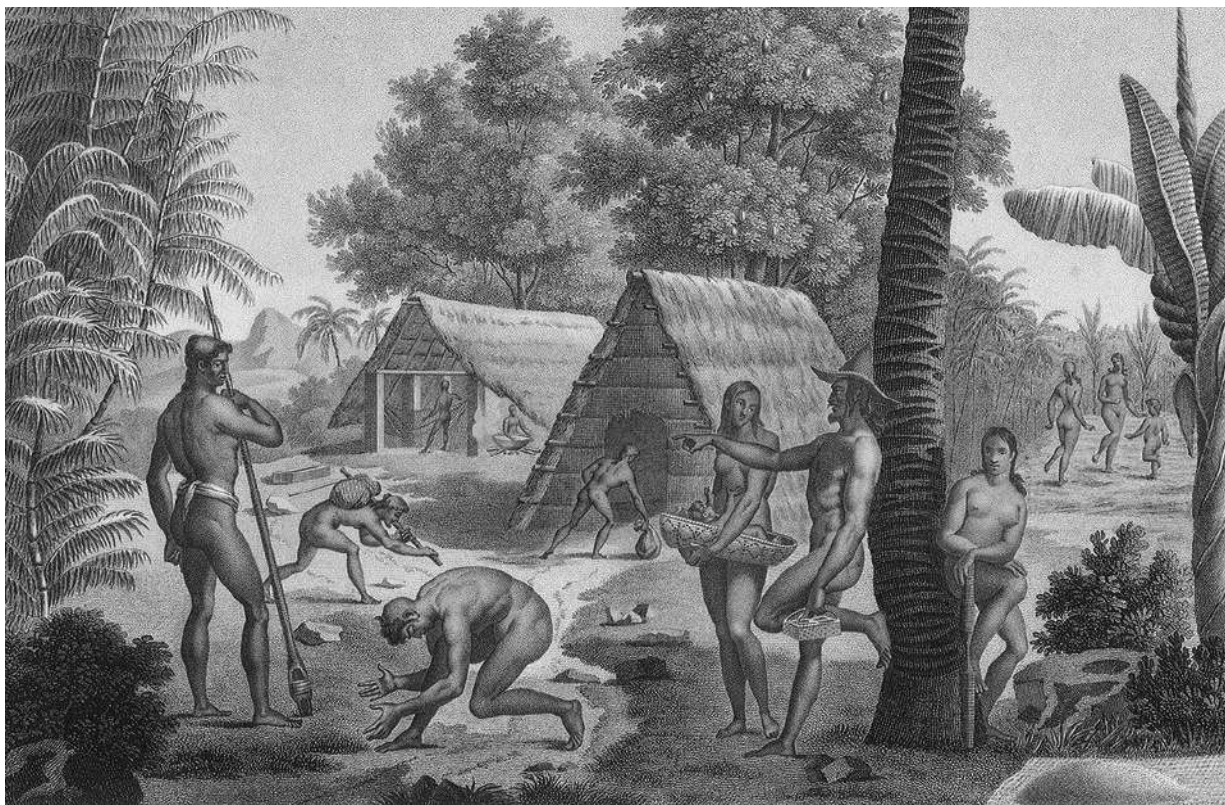


FIGURE 10 • A village scene of the ancient Chamorros illustrated by J.A. Pellion from Freycinet's *Voyage Autour de Monde* (Paris, 1824) (Source: Guam Public Library System/Guampedia)

of Guam, Robert F. Rogers alludes to Andrew Schmookler's notion of the "parable of the tribes" in discussing the fateful encounter between the Chamorros and the Spanish colonizers. Rogers writes,

Anthropologists have described the parable of the tribes as a division between "resilient societies" (which adapt by maintaining population and resource needs below the environmental carrying capacity) and "power-based" societies (which adapt by acquiring more territory, resources, and people). The resilient, non-power-based society is found more often among small traditional cultures [such as that of the precontact Chamorros], while the power-based kind is found mainly among "Western" (meaning European) nation-state societies [such as Spain].⁶⁰

The year 1668 saw an encounter between two fundamentally different and unequal "tribes"—between a patriarchal Catholic empire and a resilient, self-sustaining island society in the western region of the Pacific Ocean during the last three decades of the 17th century. Following the logic of the "parable of tribes," the outcome of such an encounter was predictable. As Carol P. Christ observes, "Once warfare enters the picture, societies of peace must either become warlike and male dominant or be conquered and absorbed by warlike groups."⁶¹

What were the Chamorros like when the Spaniards arrived? Did they embody the *antiguas buenas calidades* that, according to Rizal (in his essay "Filipinas dentro de cien años"), the Spanish colonizers had destroyed or suppressed when they colonized the Philippines and that the Filipinos, once liberated from the colonial yoke, would rediscover and recover?

Thankfully, practically all the 17th- and 18th-century documents dealing with the history of the Marianas—variously written in Latin, Spanish, German, and French—have been compiled in the first 10 volumes of the 20-volume collection *History of Micronesia: A Collection of Source Documents*, edited and translated (for most of the documents) into English by nautical engineer, classics scholar, and polyglot Rodrigué Lévesque. The next 10 volumes deal with the history of the rest of Micronesia. Most of the documents describing the Chamorros and their culture were written by the Jesuits, but some were written by non-Jesuit priests like Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola and explorers and travellers like Crozet. Cross-reading the two sources—one set by the Jesuits and the other set by the explorers who visited the Marianas after the Chamorros have been converted to Christianity would be instructive. It would tell us what the Chamorros were like when the Spaniards arrived and what have become of them after colonization. Thus, we would be employing the same method of cross-reading that Rizal had used in his annotation of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, which became the basis for his "Filipinas dentro de cien años."

In their reports and correspondence regarding the progress of their mission, the Jesuit missionaries expressed both admiration for what they saw as the Chamorros' good qualities, and horror for the "strange customs" that they did not understand and which they considered extremely offensive to their patriarchal values and Catholic sensibilities and which they believed were instigated by the Devil. These mixed feelings of admiration and disgust intensified the Jesuits' fervour in converting the Chamorros. The Jesuits became more determined to destroy the "strange customs" in order to save the souls of the otherwise good Chamorros from eternal perdition. But the Jesuits did not realize that, as we shall soon find out, the good qualities and the strange customs of the Chamorros were inextricably linked—destroying the latter would undermine, or lead to the destruction, of the former. To put forth

⁶⁰ Robert F. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall: A History of Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 40.

⁶¹ Carol P. Christ, "Societies of Peace: Matriarchies Past, Present, and Future," Edited by Heide Goettner-Abendroth (Review)," *Literature and Theology* 26, no. 1 (March 2012): 108–10, <https://doi.org/10.1093/litthe/frf041>.

my central thesis: *the Jesuits hated and destroyed the very foundation of the Chamorro culture and society—the guma'uritao and the matrilineal kinship system—which generated, nurtured, and sustained a culture of kindness.*⁶²

As we dig deeper into Jesuit accounts of their first encounter with the Chamorros, we shall see a dangerous polarity of impressions: on the one hand, there were qualities that the Jesuits found endearing and admirable, but, on the other, they saw qualities that they disliked or hated and regarded as “rubbish” (to use Fr. Strobach’s term) and sinful. Thus, the Jesuits vowed to cleanse Chamorro society of such abominations by whatever means necessary. Indeed, alongside the zealous Jesuits were armed soldiers, mostly Filipinos, under the command of seasoned military officers of Imperial Catholic Spain.

Although the Jesuits acknowledged the value and moral worth of certain Chamorro traits and customs, they never wondered where the Chamorros’ good qualities were coming from, what was the source of such goodness. It could not have been from Christian influence—as the Chamorros were unbaptized at the time of the missionaries’ arrival. This was in fact a philosophical issue among the Jesuits when they ventured into China in the 16th century and learned about the good Confucians (among the educated or mandarin class), and the good Buddhists and Taoists (among the common people), who they initially regarded as “virtuous atheists.”⁶³ However, they later rescinded their initial judgement as heretical, for it conflicted with the Catholic rationale for baptism or with the very notion of *mission civilisatrice*. Let us go through these qualities—good and bad (as judged by the Jesuit missionaries)—from the physical to the social-cultural.⁶⁴

The Chamorros’ extraordinary physical strength, size, and long life

Franciscan missionary Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, a nephew of St. Ignatius de Loyola (the founder of the Jesuit order) who visited Guam in 1582 (probably on the same galleon as Fr. Sedeño), noticed the Chamorros were bigger and much stronger than the Europeans:

All of these islands are inhabited by light-complexioned people, of pleasing and regular features, like those of Europe; although in their bodies they do not resemble

⁶² The logical form of this argument may be illustrated in the rule of inference called *modus tollens* (as formulated in the *Principia Mathematica* by Alfred North Whitehead and Bertrand Russell)—given that *p* stands for the culture of kindness and *q* the matrilineal kinship system:

$$\begin{array}{ll} p \Rightarrow q & [p \text{ implies } q] \\ \sim q & [\text{not } q] \\ \hline \therefore \sim p & [\text{therefore, not } p] \end{array}$$

Another way of formulating this, in Marxist terms, is to construe *p* (the culture of kindness) as the superstructure and *q* (the matrilineal kinship system) as the infrastructure of social reproduction.

⁶³ Thijs Weststeijn, “Spinoza sinicus: An Asian Paragraph in the History of the Radical Enlightenment,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 68, no. 4 (October 2007): 537–61.

⁶⁴ My discussion of the ancient qualities of the Chamorros relies on Jesuit reports, particularly Fr. Strobach’s “Annual Report on the Mariana Island Mission, 1681–82,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 587–606. How a German Jesuit ended up in the Marianas is explained by Ulrike Strasser: “In 1681, Augustin Strobach of Bohemia (1646–1684) at long last arrived at what his obituary named ‘the center of all his desires’: the Marianas Islands in the Spanish-controlled Pacific. It had taken years of thoughtful preparation and dogged determination for Strobach to reach the coveted archipelago. Few German Jesuit applicants landed an assignment in the Spanish Indies, and even fewer in the much-coveted Marianas, due to restrictions on the admission of non-Iberians and fierce competition for the available slots.” Fr. Strobach was murdered by Chamorro rebels in 1684, at the height of the Spanish-Chamorro wars. See Ulrike Strasser, “Copies with Souls: The Late Seventeenth-Century Marianas Martyrs, Francis Xavier, and the Question of Clerical Reproduction,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 4 (2015): 558–85, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00204002>, 559, 584.

the latter—for *they are as tall as giants, and of such great strength* that it has actually happened that one of them, while sitting on the ground, got hold of two Spaniards of good stature, seizing each of them by one foot with his hands, and lifting them thus as easily as if they were two children. Both men and women are naked from head to foot...⁶⁵ (emphasis mine)

The Boxer Codex describes the extraordinary strength of the Chamorros in much the same way, but with even more astonishing examples:

[The Chamorros] are a people who can take a coconut, *green or dry*, covered with husk about 4 fingers in thickness, more or less, and so interwoven that it is necessary, if dry, in order to cut it often with an axe, to give it as many blows just to remove its husk; as far as they are concerned, I am told that they only need one punch to split it, and they crack it often with their head to get the same result.⁶⁶ (emphasis mine)

The above description sounds like a candidate for Ripley's "Believe it or Not." I have not come across a similar account elsewhere—not even in karate or Shaolin martial arts or Bruce Lee demonstrations—in which an unhusked coconut, green or dry, was split open with one punch. That would have been really amazing. But, as the Boxer Codex attests, it was not unusual among the pre-colonial Chamorros (what became of them after conquest and colonization is another matter). Let us continue:

They also narrate that, one day when they were bartering ashore with the Spaniards, one of these Indians stepped forward, ahead of the others. Three men grabbed hold of him with their arms in order to catch him and seize him to take him along with them. He in turn grabbed them and was dragging them off and running away [with them] so that in order to make him release them it became necessary for others to intervene with arquebuses and then he let them go.⁶⁷

The above anecdote is very credible. Not so long ago, a news item appeared on Australian television and newspapers of a tall and muscular Pacific Islander (who would fit the Boxer Codex' description of a Chamorro) being escorted to the court (for his trial for physical assault) by five security guards. The news reported that the Pacific Islander overpowered his five escorts and managed to escape. The rest of the Boxer Codex account continues,

As for their size, as I have said, it is much superior to ours, [they are] men very well developed all over their body, with very large legs which is a specially good feature general among the Indians of this land.

Their face is wide and flat although others are well-formed but they are all very brown. The mouth is very big and the teeth are sharpened like those of a dog and more so, and they stain them with red varnish that cannot be removed and which is to preserve their set of teeth; they never lose one tooth no matter how old they are. They keep their hair very long; some wear it loose and others tie it with one loop at the back.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola, "The Voyage of Father Martin Ignacio de Loyola, O.F.M., around the world, via Guam," in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 2, 518.

⁶⁶ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 2, 619.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Not only were they extraordinarily strong, the pre-colonial Chamorros lived exceptionally long lives. Fr. Sanvitores writes that, of the 13,289 baptized Chamorros between June 16, 1668 and April 21, 1669, there were “more than 50 oldsters of close to 100 years in age, and some of more than 120.”⁶⁹ Fr. Francisco Garcia upped the figure to “more than 120 persons who were more than 100 years old.”⁷⁰

Cleanliness, tidiness, and etiquette

Jesuit accounts characterize the Chamorros as quite fastidious about tidiness and cleanliness. As Fr. Strobach observes: “They keep their houses extraordinarily clean;” “they do not tolerate any rubbish in their houses;” “people are not allowed to spit inside the room but must go out into the street with their mouths full;” “to relieve themselves, they go all the way to the seashore;” and “every afternoon, women bathe for three hours.”⁷¹ Chamorro notions of cleanliness seem to be connected to their notions of etiquette. Fr. Strobach observes,

When they drink they do not bring the vessel to their lips, but pour the liquid into their mouths from a distance. They regard it as rude to touch with their lips a vessel from which another person is to drink as well. ...they initially abhorred our baptismal ceremonies during which the priest touches noses and ears with his saliva.⁷²

Fr. Strobach’s last sentence is quite revealing. Despite being aware of the Chamorros’ abhorrence to being kissed on the nose and ears by a foreigner, the Jesuits persisted in their ritual of baptizing infants. Consequently, over a hundred infants died during the first days of mass baptism—for the innocent infants had no immunity to the pathogens in the priest’s saliva. These infant deaths from baptism, as we shall see, triggered the Chamorro’s resistance to conversion.

One wonders how Fr. Strobach knew that it took the women three hours to bathe—was he watching them all that time? But the nakedness of Chamorro women who were “generally beautiful and well made” made the Jesuits very uncomfortable. The Jesuit solution was ingenious. After noting that Chamorro women, thanks to insistent prodding by the Jesuits (Fr. Strobach’s account was written ca. 1681), “had covered themselves in certain places with shells or leaves [and] are now wearing little aprons which they knit together from the barks of certain tress [called *tapa* in Fiji and in Tonga] and with which they cover their bodies from the waist to the knee,”⁷³ Strobach still felt uncomfortable.⁷⁴ So, he enjoined his fellow Jesuit missionaries in Guam to adopt a new rule to avoid temptation, which was quite a departure from the rule set by their founder,

Our holy founder, St. Ignatius, must graciously forgive us if we disregard his rule of discipline by which he ordered us to lower our eyes whenever we are in the presence of women. *Instead we look up, above their heads, for if we lowered our*

⁶⁹ “Jesuit Annual Report for 1668–1669 signed by Fr. Sanvitores et al., Agaña, April 26, 1669,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 4, 507.

⁷⁰ Fr. Francisco Garcia, “Vida y Martyrio De El Venerable Padre Diego Luis De Sanvitores” (Madrid: Ivan Garcia Infanzón, 1683), in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 373.

⁷¹ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 604–06.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 605–06.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 600.

⁷⁴ Although it has disappeared completely in the Marianas, the traditional custom of being naked from the waist up among women, young and old, can still be seen among Micronesians living in isolated atolls, such as the Ifaluk of the Caroline Islands region of Micronesia.

*faces, our eyes might fall upon something that would be to the detriment of angelic purity.*⁷⁵ (emphasis mine)

The Jesuits must have looked very saintly indeed—as seen from an illustration of Fr. Sanvitores below.



FIGURE 11 • Portrait of Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores (Source: Capuchin Order, Guam/Guampedia)

But the Jesuits went a step farther—they instilled in the Chamorros shame for their nakedness. Fr. Strobach wrote, “we hope that our Mariana islanders of the male gender, who until now [1682] have been walking around stark naked, will use cotton to cover *their nakedness of which they are now ashamed*”⁷⁵ (emphasis mine).

There were other qualities of the Chamorros that the Jesuits found endearing. Fr. Strobach mentions that “the Mariana Islanders know nothing about greed” and notices the absence of alcoholism:

There is no vice to which they are less subject than drinking. With great care they abstain from all drinks that intoxicate and dull the mind, although there is no lack of [coconut] palm trees from which other Indians [of island Southeast Asia] extract a strong wine [called *tuba* in the Philippines].⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Ibid., 600. I wonder if the issue arose in the baptism of women in the early days of the Jesuit mission in the Philippines? There is no mention of the Jesuit strategy of looking on top of the heads of women to avoid temptation in Rizal's annotations to Morga's *Sucesos*.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 605–06.

Friendliness, politeness, hospitality, honesty, and generosity are qualities that both adults and children show not only to each other, but also to strangers, such as foreigners who are shipwrecked or travel to their islands:

One would not find any [im]politeness among them. They demonstrate their *friendliness* readily enough when the ships from the Philippine Islands return to China [from Acapulco, stopping over at Guam] once a year. They guard it for many days in the sea and accompany it for awhile.

They have proven their charity to the many strangers who have been shipwrecked near their islands. They have shown them all possible *kindness*, comforted them, housed them and provided them with all necessities. They are so friendly that they visit us not daily, but almost hourly, which is an inconvenience because it interrupts our business.

To describe their *politeness* even better, I must not forget to relate that when they meet each other, it is not their custom to say good morning, good day or good evening. Instead they offer to wash each other's feet.

No Mariana Islander will ever eat or drink before he has warm-heartedly offered something to all others present, or he will divide the food in as many parts as there are persons present and hand everyone his portion, keeping only the last and generally the poorest for himself.⁷⁷ (emphasis mine)

The first contact experience between Pacific Islanders and European explorers has been well documented and critically studied. The usual picture is either one of warm hospitality extended by the islanders on arriving foreigners, such as that depicted in the movie *Hawaii* (based on James Michener's novel) or one of hostility, such as stories about European intruders being violently attacked and, in some places like Fiji and the Solomon islands, cooked and eaten.⁷⁸ But the first encounter between the Chamorros and Magellan has been glossed over. We have relied primarily on the accounts of the Genoese pilot and Pigafetta which give only Magellan's side. Here is the Genoese pilot's account:

On the 6th of March, 1521, [Magellan and his men] fetched two islands inhabited by many people, and they anchored at one of them, which is in twelve degrees north; and the inhabitants are people of little truth, and they did not take precautions against them until they saw that they were taking away the skiff of the flagship, and they cut the rope with which it was made fast, and took it ashore without their being able to prevent it.⁷⁹

This was Magellan's response:

Fernando de Magalhães seeing that the skiff was lost, set sail, as it was already night, tacking about until the next day; as soon as it was morning they anchored at the place where they had seen the skiff carried off to, and he ordered two boats to

⁷⁷ Ibid., 604–05.

⁷⁸ In the aftermath of the infamous "mutiny on the bounty," Captain Bligh and his loyalist crew of 18 (who were cast adrift on a boat by the mutineers led by Lt. Christian Fletcher) avoided landing on Fiji because of its dreaded reputation of cannibalism. See Richard Hough, *Captain Bligh and Mr. Christian: The Men and the Mutiny* (London: Hutchinsons, 1972), 174.

⁷⁹ "The Genoese Pilot's Account of Magellan's Voyage," in Antonio Pigafetta, *The First Voyage Round the World*, trans. Lord Stanley of Alderley (London: Hakluyt Society, 1874; Wikisource, 2016), https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_First_Voyage_Round_the_World/The_Genoese_Pilot%27s_Account_of_Magellan%27s_Voyage.

be got ready with a matter of fifty or sixty men, and he went ashore in person, and burned the whole village, and they killed seven or eight persons, between men and women, and recovered the skiff, and returned to the ships.⁸⁰

Pigafetta gives a similar account, with gruesome detail:

[Magellan] went on shore with forty armed men, burned forty or fifty houses, with several small boats, and killed seven men of the island; they recovered their skiff. After this we set sail suddenly, following the same course. Before we went ashore *some of our sick men begged us that if we killed man or woman, that we should bring them their entrails, as they would see themselves suddenly cured.*⁸¹ (emphasis mine)

To Magellan, this was just retribution for his stolen small boat, but it was not as if Magellan had lost his one and only lifeboat. In fact, he and fifty of his men went ashore on two boats to attack a Chamorro village which they assumed had harboured the thief. But the Chamorros, who did not share Magellan's concept of private property, never thought of taking a skiff such a heinous crime that was punishable by the destruction of an entire village and the death of as many men as the Spaniards could find. Gift-giving and the exchange of gifts was an essential aspect of Chamorro culture. Thus, apparently unaware of the destruction and murder of their fellow Chamorros, forty or fifty *proas* from another village rowed towards Magellan's galleons, bringing much food and refreshments, as the Chamorros invariably did every time a foreign ship approached their shores. Magellan, however, ordered his galleons to weigh anchor and set sail. As they were sailing away, they were pursued by "more than a hundred *proas*" with women on board who, in Pigafetta's words, "were crying out and tearing their hair, for love, I believe, of those whom we had killed."⁸²

I have yet to come across any creative work—in literature or cinema—that captures the unbearable anguish of Chamorro women and children who lost their fathers, brothers, or husbands as a result of Magellan's wrath over one Chamorro lad's "theft" of his skiff. We shall encounter the same absence regarding accounts of the Spanish-Chamorro wars. Much have been written about how the dedicated and indefatigable Jesuit missionaries suffered for their labours only to end up martyred, but not much, if at all, have been written to probe into or dramatize the anguish of a whole population that was suddenly colonized, displaced, forcefully converted and decimated. In one of his footnotes to Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Rizal lamented,

Death has always been the first sign of the introduction of European civilization in the Pacific; God grant that it may not be the last. For to judge from statistics, the Pacific islands which became "civilized" suffer dreadful depopulation. The first exploit of Magellan on his arrival in the Marianas was to burn more than forty houses, many boats, and seven inhabitants, for having stolen a boat from him. Those unhappy savages saw nothing evil in theft, which they did with naturalness, just as civilized peoples view fishing, hunting, and the subjugation of weak or badly armed peoples.⁸³

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ José Rizal, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas del Dr. Morga por Rizal* (Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961 [1890]), 64, n. 6, cited in John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Making of a Nation: Essays in Nineteenth Century Filipino Nationalism* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1991), 113.

Alas, this has been true since the time of Columbus. As we shall see, the death and destruction inflicted by Magellan on the Chamorros would not be the last. But let's continue with the admirable traits of the Chamorros.

It was also noted that:

Nothing is more admirable than their affection. No Mariana islander will ever deny another what he desires, even when the other does not express his wishes. When a man sees something he likes, he will say straight out to the owner 'I want this or that.' As soon as he has said it, the owner will make no excuses but give it to him.

This is the case not only with adults but also with children. If one child should want a piece of food that another [child] is about to put into his mouth, it is given to him, and a child would rather go hungry than deny something to a playmate. (emphasis mine)

A Marian Islander will even share a tobacco leaf, for which he has worked all day, with a neighbor whom he happens to meet.

In the beginning, these generous people thought that all men were as honest as they were, and they became very annoyed with the Christians who denied them the things they wanted, regarding them as rude barbarians who have no room for love.⁸⁴

In terms of caring for others, this was written of the Chamorros:

When a Mariana Islander became ill, all his friends, even from far-away villages, come together to comfort, refresh, and entertain the patient. They stay with him until he is either well again or has passed away.

They tolerate with infinite patience another person's [the sick's] bad smell, illness and other awful things without making the patient feel sad, and without avoiding him. ...the Mariana islanders pay no attention [to these inconveniences] but endure it with incredible patience and even with happy indifference, which is the reason why they always look cheerful and jovial.⁸⁵

What the Jesuits regarded as the Chamorros' most admirable quality—"affection" or kindness and caring, or what Christians call unselfish "love"—is a mode of relating and responding to others that the Chamorros extend not only to members of their own family or clan or village but also to foreigners. The shipwrecked Spaniards in Strobach's account who were cared for and nourished to health by the Chamorros had enjoyed Chamorro hospitality so much that they decided to settle down in the Marianas. One exception is Esteban Ramos, the admiral of the Spanish *galleon* Our Lady of the Conception who survived its shipwreck off the coast of Marianas in 1638. After fully recovering his health and strength, Ramos returned to Manila in 1639, helped by Chamorros who took him to Manila on their *proa*, thus demonstrating to the Jesuits that Chamorro *proas* could make return voyages between Manila and Guam, despite the ocean gulf of over 2,000 kilometers.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 606.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ See Fr. Xamarillo's Letter to the King, Manila, dated June 17, 1681, in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 492–97; and David Atienza, "A Mariana Islands History Story: The Influence of the Spanish Black Legend in Mariana Islands Historiography," *Pacific Asia Inquiry* 4, no. 1 (Fall 2013): 13–29, 14.

In the psychological literature—notably Adler (1927/1954) and Maslow (1954), and recently, McFarland et al. (2012)—the type of kindness that individuals extend not only to their in-groups but also to others regardless of race or nationality is characterized as “identification with all of humanity.”⁸⁷ Maslow calls such individuals “self-actualising” adults. While we are not sure if such traits apply to the Chamorros, the observation of Fr. Strobach bears repeating,

They have proven their charity to the many strangers who have been shipwrecked near their islands. They have shown them all possible kindness, comforted them, housed them and provided them with all necessities.⁸⁸

Duckitt has come up with a theory, subsequently confirmed by other studies, that explains such qualities in terms of child-rearing practices and the formative experience of childhood.⁸⁹ As summarized by McFarland et al.:

In this model, *harsh and strict child rearing* beget a strong need for social conformity and a heightened sense that the world is threatening. These, in turn, beget *authoritarianism*. An *absence of early affection*, on the other hand, inspires a cold competitiveness and the *social dominance orientation*.

Early punitiveness and lack of affection appear to predispose one to be less concerned for all humanity, whereas *a lack of punitiveness coupled with affection* may provide a foundation for later *concern for humanity at large*.⁹⁰ (emphasis mine)

But the focus of these studies has been on exceptional individuals—for example, Chiune Sugihara, the Japanese diplomat in Lithuania who, at extreme risk to his life and that of his family, managed to save around ten thousand desperate Jews by giving them visas to travel to Japan.⁹¹ But here’s the rub—in Chamorro society, such quality of kindness was not manifested only by extraordinary adults such as Chiune Sugihara or, for that matter, Filipino patriot and martyr Jose Rizal or Mahatma Gandhi or St. Francis of Assisi. Judging from Fr. Strobach’s account, it was a normal trait—not an exceptional one—among the Chamorros. But how did the Chamorros acquire and sustain such trait of kindness? Based on the studies of Duckitt and McFarland and the theories of Adler and Maslow, we could assume that such trait among the Chamorros can be traced to the way they raise and take care of their children. But this is where we get stumped by Fr. Strobach’s two contradictory opinions. While Fr. Strobach admires the Chamorro children’s kindness, he detests and disparages the Chamorro way of raising their children, not realizing that the two phenomena may in all likelihood be inextricably connected. He writes,

[The Chamorros] love their children like monkeys do, to such detriment that *they allow them all mischief without any punishment*. To let them have more freedom they often have their children brought up by relatives, with whom they live like young cattle, doing as they please. For that reason, the parents do not like it when they

⁸⁷ Sam McFarland, Derek Brown, and Matthew Webb, “Identification with All Humanity as a Moral Concept and Psychological Construct,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 22, no. 3 (2013): 194–98, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0963721412471346>.

⁸⁸ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 604.

⁸⁹ John Duckitt, “A Dual-Process Cognitive-Motivational Theory of Ideology and Prejudice,” *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 33 (2001): 41–113, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(01\)80004-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(01)80004-6).

⁹⁰ Sam McFarland, Matthew Webb, and Derek Brown, “All Humanity Is My Ingroup: A Measure and Studies of Identification With All Humanity,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 103, no. 5 (2012): 830–53, <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0028724>, 849.

⁹¹ McFarland, Brown, and Webb, “Identification with All Humanity.”

send their children to our formal school. The children themselves, regardless of the poverty they must endure at home, prefer to be with their parents and relatives rather than with us, just so they can have their freedom without any discipline.⁹² (emphasis mine)

Was it not rather obvious why the Chamorro children preferred to be with their parents rather than with the newly arrived strange-looking foreigners? But instead of considering this point, Fr. Strobach presumed that something was wrong with the children and their parents. He also presumed that something was amiss when children are brought up by their relatives and not exclusively by their parents. Alas, Fr. Strobach, a German Jesuit, was judging the Chamorros from his European, patriarchal vantage point. Had he inquired further, he would have realized that it was standard practice in a matrilineal society, such as that of the Chamorros, for the children to be the responsibility not just of their biological parents but of the whole extended family—the uncles and aunts, the grandparents and cousins—and indeed of the whole clan. Judging from Strobach's observations, the Chamorro practice of child rearing was marked not by what McFarland et al. term "punitive socialisation" (in popular parlance, "spare the rod and spoil the child") which generates the "authoritarian" personality. Nor was their child rearing characterized by a lack of affection which generates "social dominance." Rather, child rearing of Chamorro children is based on care and affection for the child, which generates in the growing child the personality trait of kindness and concern for everyone's wellbeing.⁹³ But Fr. Strobach and his fellow Jesuits, presuming their moral superiority over the Chamorros, were blinded to the link between the loving care that Chamorros bestowed on their children and the Chamorro's "most admirable" quality of affection.

The Jesuits were also disturbed by the Chamorro women's dominant role and high status in their communities. Consider what Fr. Strobach wrote about the status of Chamorro women,

The household was not ruled by the man, who was not allowed to have anything to do with it, but with the woman, who had so much authority that *if the poor man was suspected by his jealous wife of loving another more than her*, the wife would call her friends and relatives together who would enter the house and *send the alleged adulterer packing, dividing his property among themselves as a booty*. Without allowing any argument, they not only gave the wife the house with everything in it, but also the children of the expelled husband, and then married her to another man whom the children of the previous husband had to recognize as their legal father. *We have already stopped this female arrogance to some degree and will try everything to bring it to a complete halt.*⁹⁴ (emphasis mine)

Strobach's view of Chamorro "female arrogance" was shared by his fellow Jesuits. Fr. Xamarillo notes that "the head of the household was the woman, she ordering and the husband obeying"⁹⁵—a rather unfair or inaccurate description of the Chamorro matrilineal system. There are unstated assumptions or implications in Fr. Strobach's account that should be considered and made explicit to get a fairer view of Chamorro matrilineal culture. As implied in Fr. Strobach's phrase—*if the poor man was suspected by his jealous wife of loving another more than her*—the issue that could trigger a divorce is not one of having a relationship outside of marriage but rather how the wife sees her

⁹² Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 603.

⁹³ Duckitt, "A Dual-Process Cognitive-Motivational Theory of Ideology and Prejudice," McFarland, Brown, and Webb, "Identification with All Humanity."

⁹⁴ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 603.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 319.

husband's relationship with other women. In other words, the husband may have relationships with other women provided that (a) he does not love them more than his wife, and (b) that his wife does not get jealous of the other women. It all boils down to whether the wife feels unloved and is unhappy in her relationship with her husband. As Fr. Francisco Garcia puts it, "[Marianas is] a land where marriage lasts only so long as the wife wishes it; and where by their own free will, without cause of occasion whatever, wives leave their husbands and marry others."⁹⁶

Abbé Raynal, the heretical Catholic priest who embraced Enlightenment thought and denounced European imperialism in the 17th century also commented on what he termed "the superiority which the weaker sex had assumed over the stronger" or "the tyranny of the weaker sex over the stronger" in the Marianas:

Such was their ascendance that women there enjoyed unlimited power in their families; that nothing could be parted without their consent, and that they had the free disposal of everything; that in no instance, even that of infidelity publicly acknowledged, it was permitted to be wanting in the attentions that were due to them; that how little soever they themselves might judge their husbands to be deficient in mildness, complaisance, and submission, they were at liberty to make a new choice; and that if they thought themselves betrayed, they might pillage the hut, and cut down the trees of the traitor, or make their relations or companions commit the same havoc.⁹⁷

Abbé Raynal declared that "it is truly extraordinary that there should have been any countries, and especially savage regions, where a difference so marked hath been found between the two sexes."⁹⁸ He was wrong of course in presuming that the status and power of women in the Marianas was unique in the world. But, unlike Fr. Strobach and his fellow Jesuits, who attributed the "tyranny of the weaker sex over the stronger" to a Devil-induced "female arrogance," Abbé Raynal offered a more secular, psycho-social explanation—by reasoning that because Chamorro women were far more physically attractive than the men, their alluring charms may have been the key to their dominance over "the stronger sex:"

The women...had a tolerably clear complexion, regular features, an easy air, some graces, and a taste for singing and dancing... It is not therefore surprising that with all their means of pleasing, they should have required an absolute empire, which cannot be shaken.⁹⁹

As we shall see, Raynal was wrong again on his last point—the Jesuits did succeed in shaking and overturning the Chamorro women's "female arrogance."

Fr. Strobach grossly misrepresents the matrilineal system when he writes that the alleged adulterer is sent packing by his erstwhile wife and her friends and relatives who, afterwards, divide among themselves the husband's property as booty. Firstly, in the matrilineal system (be it the Chamorro of the Marianas or Minangkabau of Indonesia or the Mosuo of China), it is the wife, not the husband, who owns the house and controls the household. The wife had inherited the house from her mother who had inherited it from her own mother (the wife's grandmother). Property inheritance is through

⁹⁶ Fr. Garcia, "Vida y Martyrio De El Venerable Padre Diego Luis De Sanvitores," 408.

⁹⁷ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 14, 637–38.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 638.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

the maternal line. Thus, when a Chamorro woman gets married, she does not leave the abode of her parents, sisters, and aunts. It is her husband, who hails from another village, who leaves his family to live with her. The marriage simply gives him the right to live in his wife's house. If his wife gets displeased or unhappy with him for some reason, his wife has all the right and capability to chase him away, and her kin ensures that he never returns. Note also that in a domestic dispute in matrilineal societies like the Chamorros, it is not simply a one-on-one case of the husband versus the wife who may appeal to the courts for a legal resolution of their domestic issue. Rather, it is a case of the husband versus his wife and her maternal family—mother, grandmother, sisters, aunts, brothers, and uncles (brothers of her mother)—who all close ranks against the husband. If his wife is fed up with her husband for whatever reason, he is simply told to leave the matrilineal household and go back to his village. After the divorce, the child remains with his mother because the child belongs not only to his mother but to the whole maternal clan. In Chamorro society, every child, even if that child were born out of wedlock, was accepted and loved and cared for by the whole clan. Thus, a young single mother who got pregnant unintentionally or who decided not to marry the father of her child need not worry about the care of her newborn, for she is assured of the full support of her family and clan.

The Jesuits, labouring from a patriarchal perspective, saw such high status and power of women as abnormal and morally reprehensible. But from a feminist perspective, one can argue that it is patriarchy that is detrimental to human growth and well-being, and that matriliney/matriarchy is superior to patriarchy on socio-psychological and moral grounds.¹⁰⁰ As pointed out by Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke,

Matriliney favors an environment free of abuse and violence between the sexes by creating greater distance between the spouses, by emphasizing less economic involvement on the individual spousal level, by separating the reproductive and sexual rights of men, and, finally, by creating respect for the feminine and its association with the creation and sustenance of life. There is less need for women to use sexual favors to manipulate men, and men in the role of husband and father cannot use economic pressures or the children to force their wishes on women.¹⁰¹

But the zealous Jesuits would have none of the Chamorros' "female arrogance" and were determined to cleanse Chamorro society of it. In today's modern secular world, the Jesuits' hatred of native beliefs and customs that went against their Catholic sensibilities could just be dismissed with a shrug or, perhaps, debated and posted online (for example, the classic debate on BBC between Bertrand Russell and Jesuit Fr. Copleston, or, more recently, the debates that the atheists Christopher

¹⁰⁰ The term "matrilineal" may be conceived as a subset of the broader, albeit contested, term "matriarchy"—as used by pioneering feminist anthropologist Peggy Reeves Sanday in her now classic study of Minangkabau in West Sumatra, *Women at the Center: Life in a Modern Matriarchy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004) and Heide Goettner-Abendroth, who advocates a new field of study called "modern matriarchal studies." Many anthropologists question the usefulness of the term matriarchy on the grounds that there are no real "matriarchies" in human history, in the sense of women ruling over men. But for Sanday, to define matriarchy as the mirror image of patriarchy is wrong-headed, for it "obscures the dominant role played by maternal meanings" in societies such as the Minangkabau (see her preface to *Women at the Center*). Likewise, Goettner-Abendroth contends that "[m]atriarchies are not just a reversal of patriarchy, with women ruling over men—as the usual misinterpretation would have it. Matriarchies are mother-centered societies, with complementary equality between the genders and generations. They are based on maternal values: care-taking, nurturing, motherliness, peace-building, which holds for everybody: for mothers and those who are not mothers, for women and men alike." Heide Goettner-Abendroth, "Societies in Balance: Re-thinking Matriarchy in Modern Matriarchal Studies," accessed January 22, 2020, https://www.mujeerpalabra.net/libros/pdf/Re-thinking_Matriarchy_best_version_for_USA.pdf, 1.

As summarized by Carol P. Christ, "these [matriarchal] societies are for the most part matrilineal, matrilocal, and matrifocal or mother-centred, and mother-honouring. Within them men have important economic and social roles and play a significant part in the lives of their sisters' and female maternal cousins' children." Christ, "Societies of Peace: Matriarchies Past, Present, and Future (Review)," 108.

¹⁰¹ Maria-Barbara Watson-Franke, "Masculinity and the 'Matrilineal Puzzle,'" *Anthropos* 87 (1992): 475–88, 446.

Hitchens, Sam Harris, and Richard Dawkins have had with various Christian theologians, all available on YouTube). Alas, the 17th century Chamorros were allowed no other choice but to submit to the will of the Jesuit missionaries.

It would be instructive to compare pre-colonial Chamorro matrilineal culture with the contemporary cases of the Mosuo and the Minangkabau. The Mosuo people, who live in villages by Lugu Lake and the nearby mountains in the southwest of China (close to Tibet), have, through the centuries, sustained their traditional matrilineal culture, in which women's autonomy and high status and ownership of property are the order of the day. The matriarch, or *ah mi*, oversees the large household, and property and lineage are passed down through the maternal line. Couples do not live together. Mosuo "husbands" have only visiting rights to their "wives" maternal ancestral homes.¹⁰² The men visit their partners at night for a tryst and then go back to their mothers' households at daybreak. Thus, observers call the relationship a "walking marriage" which can be terminated by either man or woman anytime. As one journalist puts it, "The women take lovers from various tribes, enjoying relatively unique sexual agency and freedom from judgement. Children belong to their mothers; indeed, babies often do not know who their father is—for which there is no stigma."¹⁰³ Unfortunately, although the Mosuo matrilineal system survived under the old communist rule, its survival is now threatened by the rising tide of capitalism in China and the onslaught of the tourist industry and the construction of luxury hotels and brothels around Lugu Lake.¹⁰⁴ We can only hope that the Mosuo will manage to sustain their matrilineal culture.

The matrilineal pattern is also evident among the Minangkabau of West Sumatra, Indonesia. In her wonderfully illustrated book *Journey to the Land of the Earth Goddess* (1986), Canadian filmmaker Katherine Stenger Frey wrote of a young woman who was regarded in the Minangkabau village of Lunang as the spiritual descendant of *Bundo Kanduang*, the ancient mystical Minangkabau Queen Mother or Earth Goddess. Thus, her given name of Rakiah was changed to the spiritual name of *Mande Rubiah* (believed to be the alias of *Bunko Kanduang*). Frey writes,

At the time of the meeting with Mande, she is 20 years old. She has married a second time. Her first husband whom her parents had chosen for her she had felt was incompatible. She refused to cook his meals or wash his clothes for him, and within one month the marriage was dissolved. In 1982 she married Suhardi... Their year old son is a rather willful child who has all his wishes satisfied.¹⁰⁵

Frey's passage is revealing on two counts. One is the fact that in the Minangkabau matrilineal society, a woman can divorce her husband within a month of marriage simply on the ground that she finds him "incompatible." Mande's behaviour was exactly what the Jesuits loathed as the "feminine arrogance" of Chamorro women. Among the Minangkabau people, as with the pre-colonial Chamorros, a woman's wish to get rid of her husband simply because she feels dissatisfied with him is respected.

¹⁰² See Choo WaiHong's *The Kingdom of Women: Life, Love and Death in China's Hidden Mountains* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2017), an informative and sympathetic account of the Mosuo by a feminist lawyer from Singapore who lived with them for several years.

¹⁰³ Harriet Marsden, "International Women's Day: What are Matriarchies, and Where are They Now?" *The Independent*, March 8, 2018, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/long_reads/international-womens-day-matriarchy-matriarchal-society-women-feminism-culture-matrilineal-elephant-a8243046.html.

¹⁰⁴ Stefan Andrews, "Kingdom of Women – The Matriarchal Society Struggling to Keep Traditions Alive," *The Vintage News*, November 27, 2018, <https://www.thevintagenews.com/2018/11/27/mosuo-people/>. See also the video documentary "The Land Where Women Rule: Inside China's Last Matriarchy" (YouTube video, 24:29, February 25, 2016, https://youtu.be/t_19D7tEixc).

¹⁰⁵ Katherine Stenger Frey, *Journey to the Land of the Earth Goddess* (Jakarta: Gramedia Publishing Division, 1986), 26.

The second point has to do with Frey's wry comment that Mande's one-year-old son "is a rather wilful child who has all his wishes satisfied." This sounds very much like Fr. Strobach's comment about the way children are raised in pre-colonial Chamorro society. Frey's account—both in her book and film documentary—is replete with instances of how the village folk of Lunang in Minangkabau have kindly treated her. However, she saw the affection and kindness shown to her by the folk of Lunang in a different, somewhat egoistic, light. When talking about her film on Minangkabau, she crowed, "I was the first white they had seen, and white being associated with holiness, they concluded I was a goddess."¹⁰⁶ But nowhere in her book is she explicitly referred to as a "goddess" by the village folk. This is Frey's interpretation, which is probably off the mark.¹⁰⁷ Just like Fr. Strobach, Frey fails to see the connection between satisfying the needs of a one-year-old child and the kindness of Minangkabau folk. This is an interesting case of a 17th-century German Jesuit and a contemporary Canadian social worker-filmmaker both judging non-Western peoples, one Chamorro and the other Minangkabau, based on the child-rearing norms of their respective patriarchal societies. The crucial difference, however, is that the modern Canadian filmmaker did not impose her own view of child-rearing on Mande, while the 17th-century German missionary sought to completely put a stop to Chamorro "female arrogance." The Jesuit missionaries, backed by the Spanish military, succeeded, with, as we shall see, tragic consequences.

Among the Minangkabau, property, family name, and land passed down from mother to daughter. It is this passing of economic assets through the female lines that gave the Minangkabau women a high status and a more advantageous position in society compared to women in patriarchal societies.¹⁰⁸ As in the Mosuo, in Minangkabau traditional culture, a young boy's primary responsibility was to his mother's and sisters' clans, and it was "considered 'customary' and ideal for married sisters to remain in their parental home, with their husbands having a sort of visiting status."¹⁰⁹ The matrilineal system in Minangkabau survives to this day, albeit with some modifications. As it is in the rest of Indonesia, the people of Minangkabau have undergone Islamic conversion and have, consequently, become devout Muslims. However, unlike what happened in the Marianas, Minangkabau matrilineal cultural system was not totally rejected and overturned by the Islamic authorities. They accommodated the traditional matrilineal system with the precepts of Islam.¹¹⁰ For example, in terms of property inheritance, the now Islamized Minangkabau distinguish between "high inheritance" and "low inheritance." "High inheritance" is the passing of the mother's property—the house and land—to his daughter. This is the Minangkabau tradition of matrilineal inheritance. "Low inheritance" is what the father passes on to his children from his own personal income or earnings. "Low inheritance" derives from Islamic law, which dictates that sons get twice as much as daughters.¹¹¹ Nonetheless, even under an Islamic regime, the daughter is still the winner because not only does she inherit her mother's house and

¹⁰⁶ "Villagers Hail Filmmaker as a 'Goddess,'" *Toronto Star*, September 5, 1986, C17.

¹⁰⁷ The issue of interpretation can be problematic in the case of Frey because she knew neither Bahasa nor Minang, the language spoken by the Minangkabau people, despite her two-year residence in Indonesia with her husband who taught aeronautical engineering in an Indonesian college under a United Nations program. See Karl G. Heider's review of Katherine Stenger Frey's film "Sanctuary of the Earth Goddess" (1986) and her book *Journey to the Land of the Earth Goddess* (1986) in *American Anthropologist* 90, no. 1 (March 1988): 244–45.

¹⁰⁸ "Minangkabau people," *Wikipedia*, last edited on June 10, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minangkabau_people.

¹⁰⁹ William H. Frederick and Robert L. Worden, eds., *Indonesia: A Country Study* (Washington DC: Federal Research Division Library of Congress, 2011), <https://cdn.loc.gov/master/frd/frdcstdy/in/indonesiacountry00fred/indonesiacountry00fred.pdf>, 141.

¹¹⁰ For a journalistic account of contemporary life in Minangkabau, see Frey, *Journey to the Land of the Earth Goddess*. For an example of how Minangkabau traditional custom (the *adat*) and the observance of Islam are harmonized by the people of Minangkabau, see Frey, page 52. For a more scholarly account, see Evelyn Blackwood, *Webs of Power: Women, Kin, and Community in a Sumatran Village* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000).

¹¹¹ Danielle Shapiro, "Indonesia's Minangkabau: The World's Largest Matrilineal Society," *The Daily Beast*, September 4, 2011, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/indonesias-minangkabau-the-worlds-largest-matrilineal-society>.

land but also a portion of her father's own assets. Because of this blending of Minangkabau tradition (called the *adat*) and Islamic practices (based on Sharia law),¹¹² Minangkabau women did not become subordinated to men and were able to share, in equal measure, the power and authority of men in an Islamic society. Alas, no such accommodation happened in the Marianas.

I mangguma' uritao (The young bachelors' houses)

The “female arrogance” that characterized Chamorro matrilineal culture may have been anathema to Fr. Strobach and his fellow Jesuits, but nothing horrified them more than the “strangest custom ever seen or heard anywhere”—the *guma'uritao*. They completely misunderstood it as something akin to a brothel wherein young Chamorro bachelors were encouraged by their elders to engage freely in adolescent premarital sex and prostitution—that's all they saw and nothing else. The first to write about this “strangest custom ever seen or heard anywhere” was Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola on his first visit to Guam in 1582:

There is in these islands the strangest custom ever seen or heard of anywhere. A time limit is imposed for the youth to marry, in accordance with their custom; and during all this period they are allowed to *enter freely into the houses of the married*, and to remain with the women, without receiving any punishment therefor, even if the very husbands of the women should see it. *These youths carry a club in the hand*, and *when one enters the house of married people*, he leaves his club at the door, in such a position that those arriving may easily see it. This is a sign that no one may enter until the club is taken away, although it be the husband himself. *They observe this custom so strictly that if anyone should violate it, all the others would put him to death.*¹¹³ (emphasis mine)

Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola did not have a name for this practice, which he grossly misunderstands and misrepresents. His unsubstantiated claim of the meting out of capital punishment on those who violated the practice is not corroborated by any other Jesuit account. Fr. Sanvitores referred to the practice, rather inaccurately, as *uritao* and described it as

those public houses the Devil...where youths live with unmarried women with no other control or direction than what the Devil or their appetite persuades them to, urged by the libertinage of their age.¹¹⁴

Fr. Xamarillo denounces these “temples of abomination” as “houses dedicated to sensuality and turpitude, where the bachelors along with a single consort, accomplice their sins, would serve the Devil with numberless ugly doings.”¹¹⁵ His fellow Jesuit, Fr. Besco, condemns them as “seminaries of all the torpitudes [sic] of these poor people and where they pay themselves sensually for their lewd rent.”¹¹⁶ Only one thing is accurate in Fr. Ignacio de Loyola's account: the carrying of clubs by the young Chamorro bachelors. Before we consider what he and his fellow Jesuits got wrong, let us first define the key Chamorro terms:¹¹⁷

¹¹² Anthropologist Evelyn Blackwood interprets the *adat* as “local customs, beliefs, and laws.” Blackwood, *Webs of Power*, 1.

¹¹³ “The Voyage of Fr. Martin de Ignacio de Loyola, O.F.M, Around the World via Guam,” vol. 2, 518.

¹¹⁴ Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas*, 43.

¹¹⁵ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 307.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 223.

¹¹⁷ My understanding of the *guma'uritao* relies on accounts by Chamorro scholars whose articles and discussions are posted on Guampedia.com: Kelly G. Marsh and Brian Muna, “Guma'uritao: Ancient CHamoru Bachelor Houses,” <https://www.guampedia.com>

Guma'uritao literally means young bachelors' house. *Imangguma'uritao* is the plural form of *guma'uritao*.¹¹⁸ The *guma'uritao* was a long house that was, initially, built on wooden poles, but later, ca. 1,000 years BP, on stone pillars called *latte*. The *guma'uritao* is situated in the young bachelors' village and thus belongs to the village clan (see Figure 12 below).

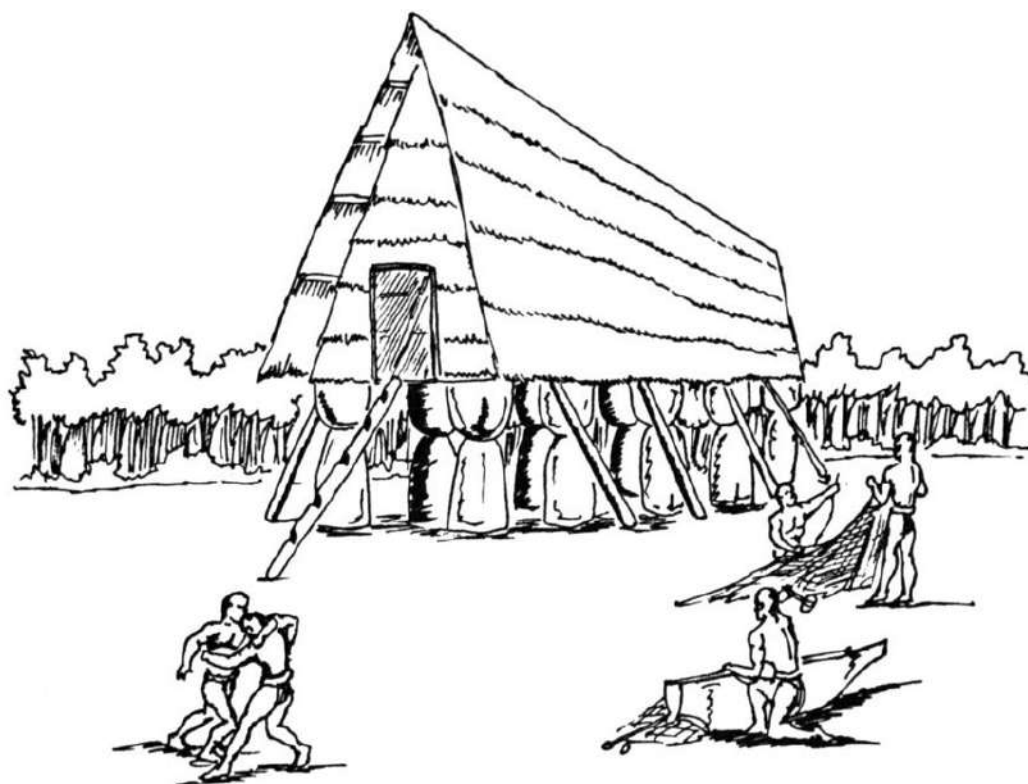


FIGURE 12 • An illustration of the *guma'uritao*

(Source: Lawrence J. Cunningham, *Ancient Chamorro Society* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1992), 184)

[guampedia.com/guma-uritao/](https://www.guampedia.com/guma-uritao/); Antonio Salas, "Ma Uritao," <https://www.guampedia.com/ma-uritao/>; Brian Muna, "Uritao: Bachelor," <https://www.guampedia.com/uritao/>; Art de Oro, "Mother's Brothers," <https://www.guampedia.com/mothers-brothers/>; and Nathalie Pareda, "Fino' Gualåfon: Moonlight Talk: Language of Bachelors," <https://www.guampedia.com/fino-gualafon-moonlight-talk/>.

For further discussion, see Lawrence J. Cunningham's *Ancient Chamorro Society* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1992) and "Pre-Christian Chamorro Courtship and Marriage Practices Clash with Jesuit Teaching," in *Guam History Perspectives*, Vol. 2, eds. Lee D. Carter, William L. Wuerch, and Rosa Roberto Carter (Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 2005); Scott Russell's *Tiempon I Manmofo'na: Ancient Chamorro Culture and History of the Northern Mariana Islands* (Saipan, CNMI: Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Division of Historic Preservation, 1998); George J. Boughton's "Revisionist Interpretation of Precontact Marianas Society," in *Pacific History: Papers from the 8th Pacific Association Conference*, ed. Donald H. Rubinstein (Mangilao, GU: University of Guam Press and the University of Guam Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 1992); Laura M. Torres Souder's "Unveiling Herstory: Chamorro Women in Historical Perspective," in *Pacific History: Papers from the 8th Pacific Association Conference*; and Laura M. Thompson's *Guam and Its People: With a Village Journal by Jesus C. Barcinas*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947).

¹¹⁸ In the Chamorro language, "i" is the English article "the," and "mang" is equivalent to adding "s" to the noun to make it plural. In the Tagalog language (which, the Jesuits noticed, showed a striking similarity with Chamorro), the Chamorro "i" is "ang" and the "mang" is "mga." Thus the Chamorro *imangguma'uritao* in Tagalog is "ang mga guma'uritao."

Uritao means young bachelor,¹¹⁹ while *ma'uritao* means young unmarried woman.

Guma'uritao also stands for the Chamorro institution of socialization and education—the pre-colonial Chamorro version of what we call the school. The *guma'uritao* served a crucial function—to provide education, training, and socialization for young boys upon reaching the age of puberty in a secluded venue like our modern “boarding school,” where “interns” live away from home. As noted by Chamorro Studies scholars Kelly G. Marsh and Brian Muna,

[The *guma'uritao*] served the entire Chamorro socio-politico-cultural system. / *mangguma'uritao* provided for continuance of vital skills and knowledge—ensuring generations of men skilled enough to protect village, learn skills and maintain histories and traditions.”¹²⁰

So, what were the goings on in the *guma'uritao*? The adolescent boys were trained on everything that was necessary for them to become competent, well-functioning adults in their community—such as boat building, sailing and navigation, fishing, house construction, the making of tools and weapons, martial arts such as wrestling, hunting techniques, etc. Their “teachers” were their elders—uncles, older brothers, and cousins. In addition to the trades, they were also taught about what we now call the performing arts—chanting and dancing and reciting of Chamorro poetry. In the *guma'uritao*, the boys developed a special language only comprehensible among themselves—the *Fino' Gualâfon* (*fino* = language; *gualâfon* = full moon; thus, “the language of the full moon”). In the process, they bonded with each other and became closer to their elders.

Aside from the arts and trades, they also learned to relate to the opposite sex, both emotionally and sexually. And because the whole process of learning was conducted as a practicum, they learned directly from young unmarried but sexually experienced women—the *ma'uritao*. These young unmarried women were from another village and were pre-selected by their elders. It was considered an honour to be so chosen and serve as sex teacher to the young bachelors. The *ma'uritao* were showered with gifts by the bachelors' parents to compensate their families who were deprived of their domestic services during the period of their stay in the *guma'uritao*. It was never a problem if, in the process, a young woman got pregnant. Either the young man married her (if both of them wished to do so), in which case he ended up living in her village, or she gave birth as a single mother in her village, where her new born was warmly welcomed and raised lovingly as a new member of her clan. There was no stigma attached to her as an unmarried mother. On the contrary, her value increased

¹¹⁹ My colleague George Aseniero sees a linguistic link between Chamorro and Cebuano (also called Bisayan), one of the major languages in the Philippines which is spoken in the Visayas region. Noting that the Chamorro term *uritao* is equivalent to *ulitawo*, and the term *guma* is equivalent to *gama* in Cebuano, Aseniero (who hails from Dapitan, Zamboanga del Norte in Southern Philippines) speculates that the Chamorro *guma'uritao* can be rendered in Cebuano as *gama ulitawo*, which could mean the making of an adolescent male bachelor into a man or education for manhood. He adds, however, that “the [Chamorro] cultural practice of *guma'uritao* is unknown to us [Bisayans], or perhaps it was lost in the mist of time” (this is from an email sent to me by George Aseniero on November 17, 2019). During the open forum following my talk on Philippine-Marianas connections at a gathering of Filipino expatriates in Auckland, New Zealand on November 30, 2020, a Cebuana lady, Ms. Dadai Norman, raised the possibility that the Chamorro *guma* might have been derived from the Cebuano *gugma*, which means love—in which case, *guma'uritao* would be *gugma ulitawo*, which could mean “young bachelors' house of love.” However, the Chamorro word for love is *guinaiya* (according to a Chamorro blogger, “Today's Chamorro Word: Guaiya,” *Paleric* (blog), February 14, 2013, <http://paleric.blogspot.com/2013/02/todays-chamorro-word-guaiya.html>). Thus, I am sticking to the literal meaning of *guma'uritao* as “young bachelors' house.” Lending support to this usage is the fact that the Chamorro *guma* is linguistically related to the Bahasa Minangkabau term *rumah* which means house, and the *rumah gadang* refers to the big house that was traditionally home to a large extended matrilineal family in Minangkabau, West Sumatra. I have yet to consult a linguistics expert in Oceanic languages on these interesting linguistic links between Chamorro, Bahasa Minangkabau, and Bisayan. Indeed, the linguistic/cultural connections deserve a scholarly paper.

¹²⁰ Kelly G. Marsh and Brian Muna, “Guma'uritao: Ancient CHamoru Bachelor Houses.”

because, by getting pregnant and giving birth to a healthy child, she had demonstrated her robust fertility.

The *guma'uritao*, thus, served as the adolescent boys' long initiation into adulthood. After attending the *guma'uritao*, they were henceforth regarded as men capable of serving their family and community, and ready for the married life. The sex education-practicum on the art of loving women was but one "subject" in the whole "curriculum" of the school that was the *guma'uritao*. Unfortunately, all that the Catholic missionaries saw was the pre-marital sex, which they believed as evil deeds induced by the Devil—the "strangest custom ever seen or heard anywhere." Apparently, the missionaries have never heard or seen customs and traditions similar to the *guma'uritao* in the neighboring Micronesian islands of Yap and Palau, as well as in the Philippines, where the Igorots of the Northern Cordillera practiced the *ulog* or the *akhamang*.¹²¹ But of course, there was no place for such social practices in the Jesuit world. Indeed, in the Catholic worldview, sex outside of marriage and for the sole purpose of mutual pleasure—or even as a part of young adolescent bachelor's education and development towards responsible and capable manhood—is a sinful act, inspired by the Devil, and deserving of eternal damnation.

Ancestor veneration

But it was not just Chamorro "female arrogance" and the *guma'uritao* that the Jesuits, with backing from the military, succeeded in terminating. They also put a stop to another fundamental institution that reflected as well as perpetuated the Chamorros' affection for each other and devotion to their clan—ancestor veneration. Strobach observes,

They do not worship any idols, or devils either [but] only the bones of their dead, in particular, their skulls, which they keep and honor in their houses. They never eat without first offering them [the ancestors] the choicest morsels of food. Because of such delusions, they take great care not to walk over a grave, so as not to step on a body with their feet. ... they show great respect for the dead, whom they worship with such great devotion *because the Devil has often appeared to them and frightened them in the shape of their dead*.¹²² (emphasis mine)

The last statement expresses the very rationale for the Jesuit missionaries' zeal and relentless campaign, with the aid of their indio assistants from the Philippines (such as the now sainted Pedro Calungsod) and the cruel Spanish officers and their mostly Filipino *indio* soldiers, to destroy everything in Chamorro culture that they believed was the work of the Devil. In the mind of the Jesuits, anything that did not conform to Catholic doctrine was the work of the Devil. For example, regarding the natives of the Philippines, Fr. Chirino believed that,

¹²¹ According to Dr. Leah Enkiwe-Abayao, a historian and director of the Cordillera Studies Center at UP Baguio, in Mayoyao town in Ifugao province, an institution once existed and was called *akhamang* (or *ulog*). She writes, "To avoid the possibility of a mismatch or incompatibility, future couples need to socialize. The *akhamang* provided a venue for would-be married couples to get to know each other, to find out whether they could relate emotionally and for the young men to show off their talents and to extol their virtues [such as skills at building a *toppeng* (the Ifugao stone wall), or playing musical instruments]."

Dr. Enkiwe-Abayao notes that these exchanges were courtship rituals. A pregnancy resulting in the sexual relation meant that the couple was ready to get married. See Roland Rabang, "Why is 'Ulog' Described as a Pre-Christian Motel?" *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, February 12, 2017, accessed via PressReader on October 17, 2018, <https://www.pressreader.com/philippines/philippine-daily-inquirer-1109/20170212/281547995640052>.

¹²² Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 601–02.

All their government and religion are founded on tradition and on the practices introduced by the same Devil who communicated with them through their idols and their ministers and are preserved in songs which they have committed to memory and learned from childhood, having heard them sang while sailing, while at work, while rejoicing and feasting, and, above all, while mourning.¹²³

Thus, in the Jesuit missions, be it in the Philippines, in Latin America, or in the Marianas, anything that smacked of idolatry, that is, any belief, custom, or practice that was “introduced or instigated by the Devil,” had to be completely destroyed and replaced by Catholic doctrine, rituals, and sacraments such as matrimony—because that is what God commands them to do. It was not, however, all Jesuit preaching, forceful conversion and the more violent methods of wholesale destruction of the *guma'uritao* and the desecration of sacred ancestral shrines and skulls. Alongside coercive and military force was the even more effective and long-lasting soft power of education. Fr. Sanvitores writes that seminaries were established,

for the good instruction of the boys of this land, orphans by nature or custom of this nation, in which sons are totally free from education and rule by their parents. This barbarity will make it easier to introduce our care and to gather them into said seminary houses, *opposing this sacred and royal seminary to those public houses the Devil has founded in these islands*.¹²⁴ (emphasis mine)

Thus, while the recalcitrant adult Chamorros were being “pacified,” the children were being baptized and taken away by the Jesuits and soldiers to be bought up as proper Christians in the seminaries (at least in intent, this is similar to the case of the “stolen generation” among aboriginal children in Australian history that lasted until the 1970s).

How the evangelization and colonization process unfolded in the Marianas

An aggressive conversion campaign began as soon as the Jesuit missionaries, led by the “restless” Fr. Diego Luis de Sanvitores, arrived in the Marianas in 1668.¹²⁵ The zealous Jesuits wasted no time in establishing a mission in the Marianas to convert and save the souls of the matrilineal, ancestor-worshipping, animistic, free-loving, and merry Chamorros. But the Jesuits’ all too eager proselytizing led to horrendous consequences—the Chamorros’ world was turned upside down. Summarizing from mid-18th century source documents, Glynn Barrat notes,

At first the Jesuits were kindly received...but soon their efforts to force baptism on children and to change ancient, deep rooted native institutions such as premarital liberty, the class system and burial customs, led to stiff resistance.¹²⁶

¹²³ Cited in R. L. Green, *Tropical Idolatry: A Theological History of Catholic Colonialism in the Pacific World, 1568–1700* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 86–87.

¹²⁴ Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas*, 42–43.

¹²⁵ In his prologue to Morales and Le Gobien’s *History of the Mariana Islands*, Joan-Pau Rubiés notes that, in the eyes of his fellow Jesuits Fr. Morales and Fr. Le Gobien, Sanvitores was “the key figure [in the Jesuit mission in the Marianas] who, by means of his apostolic vision, was able to mobilize the support of the Governor of the Philippines and the Viceroy of New Spain.” Morales and Le Gobien, *History of the Mariana Islands*, 1.

¹²⁶ Glynn Barrat, “HMS Centurion at Tinian, 1742: Ethnographic and Historical Records,” *Micronesian Archaeological Survey Report 26* (Saipan: Micronesian Archaeological Survey, Division of Historic Preservation, Department of Community and Cultural Affairs, 1988): 17.

The Jesuits' "efforts to force baptism on children" caused horror and unbearable grief on many Chamorros who adored and doted on children (and not just their own—for they were a clan-based, matrilineal society in which children were the responsibility of all women and uncles in the clan). As we have mentioned, because of the baptismal rite in which the priest kisses the infant being baptized (thus transferring his pathogens on the unprotected infant), over 100 infants died after being baptized during the first days of mass baptism. In 1684, Don Juan de Vargas, the Governor of the Philippines, reported that "according to the record books listing baptisms and burials, it seems that in just three years very close to 300 children have died with the baptismal grace."¹²⁷ Fr. Xamarillo reported that "from the year 1680 until that of 1683, only in the two islands of San Juan and Santa Ana, 267 children have died... with the sacraments."¹²⁸

Ironically, what constituted a tragedy for the Chamorros was seen by the zealous Jesuits as "a special part" of the "triumph" of their mission. In his April 25, 1669 letter to the Queen Regent of Spain, Fr. Sanvitores reassures Her Majesty that the "hundred or more" recently baptized infants who died "have flown to Heaven, and there with the Angels, compose a bodyguard for His Majesty, for now there are all these little angels in Heaven who would have been lost forever if we had had delayed one year longer in coming."¹²⁹ Sanvitores, moreover, saw the infant deaths as signifying God's blessing for the Chamorros. In his annual report for the year 1669-1670, Sanvitores enthuses that the infants who died were "taken by God to heaven, that they may pray for the conversion of their parents and relatives."¹³⁰ But the Chamorro parents had not felt that way. Barely two months after the Jesuits' arrival, the Chamorros became restive and started resisting conversion. Historian Francis X. Hezel, S.J. notes,

The first trouble broke out in August 1668, just *two months after the arrival of the missionaries*. Fr. Morales, one of the two priests sent to Tinian, was ambushed and speared in the leg as he was on the way to baptize a dying man. Five days later, two of the men who had accompanied Morales—a Spanish sergeant and his twelve-year-old Filipino servant—were killed near Saipan when the men transporting them in their canoes suddenly turned on them with their machetes. Meanwhile, there was a show of hostility even on Guam when Fr. Luis de Medina was attacked and badly beaten in a village on the other side of the island.¹³¹ (emphasis mine)

The violence occurred in the village of Nisichan, located on the eastern side of the island near present-day University of Guam.¹³²

Sanvitores himself was murdered in 1672 by a chief named Matapang after Sanvitores baptized Matapang's child without his consent.¹³³ Despite the Chamorros' violent resistance to the baptism of

¹²⁷ "Report from Governor Vargas, June 26, 1684," in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 127.

¹²⁸ "Letter from Fr. Xamarillo to the King, Manila, dated June 29, 1684," in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 145.

¹²⁹ "Letter to the Queen from Fr. Sanvitores, Agaña, Guam, dated April 25, 1669," in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 4, 528.

¹³⁰ Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas*, 29.

¹³¹ Francis X. Hezel, *When Cultures Clash: Revisiting the 'Spanish-Chamorro Wars'* (Saipan: Northern Marianas Humanities Council, 2015), 19.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 89, n. 51.

¹³³ Lionized by the Catholics as a martyr for the faith, Fr. Sanvitores would be beatified by the Vatican as "Blessed," a preliminary step to sainthood, on October 6, 1985. Rogers, *Destiny's Landfall*, 56. According to Strasser, "[The] mass deaths of the indigenous peoples were not commemorated until much later. By contrast, the death of the Spaniard Sanvitores quickly made waves around the world. Within two decades, church-sponsored inquiries into his alleged martyrdom took place in Guam, Manila, Mexico, and Spain. Sanvitores's fame also reached the Holy Roman Empire and sparked a virtual run for the Mariana missions. Strasser, "Copies with Souls," 572–73.

their infants and children, the Jesuits were undaunted and relentlessly pursued their Christianizing mission. The Chamorros were compelled to give up their beliefs, values, practices, and institutions that conflicted with Catholic doctrine or offended the moral sensibilities of the Jesuits—such as the dominant role of women in the Chamorros' matrilineal kinship system and the *guma'uritao*, which sustained the Chamorro way of life.

Given their *idée fixe* of putting an immediate stop to “female arrogance” and the brothel of premarital sex and prostitution that was the *guma'uritao*, the Jesuits were determined to achieve their mission by hook or by crook—even if it meant being killed or martyred (which they considered a glorious way to die for Christ), and even if it meant unleashing military violence on the natives to enforce their mission.¹³⁴ Thus the Chamorros' resistance and the relentless conversion campaign of the zealous Jesuits resulted in the Spanish-Chamorro wars.

Fr. Sanvitores was quite explicit on the necessity of force, if the natives resisted conversion:

From [the native resistance] one sees how useful it is to have on each island, if not in every village, men and arms sufficient to introduce so healthy a fear, as well as justice and government, not only paternal but also coercive and military, necessary here as everywhere to repress the sins, insults, and fighting that impede the preaching of the Holy Gospel.¹³⁵

Sanvitores' biographer and fellow Jesuit, Fr. Garcia, citing a letter from Brother Bustillo, writes,

When Fr. Sanvitores realized that peaceful methods would not serve to stop the war...he decided to turn to the methods of war in order to obtain peace, which was so necessary to Christianity. ...he preached to [his secular assistants and soldiers] fervently, praising the glory that entrance in such a war would bring them, a war in which they sought not captives nor spoils, neither gold nor silver, but only the glory of God and the conquest of souls, to restore them to their Redeemer, liberating them from the slavery and tyranny of the devil.”¹³⁶

Fr. Sanvitores rallied the troops about to embark on a military expedition (or *entrada*). Here is a sample of his call to arms, quoted by Fr. Garcia:

Do not be afraid because you are few and the enemy many, for the many without God are worth nothing. I assure you that the barbarians, without natural bravery, without military arts and almost without arms, are of no real importance although they may appear formidable. And the Spaniards, with their natural spirit, with the generosity and with their military cleverness, are never weak although they may be no more than 10, for when Christ wished to give them a victory, he gives even greater victory to a few than if they were many, for if there were many they would attribute their success to themselves, but when they are few in number they recognize God in their victory.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Strobach (who arrived in Guam in 1681) shared Sanvitores' fate in 1684. Strasser writes, “In August 1684, Strobach finally had his wish. Anti-Spanish Chamorros marshalled one last rebellion against colonial rule. The capital, Agaña, was on fire. Strobach learned of these occurrences on approach to the capital and rushed off to alert the central Spanish military commander José Quiroga (d. 1720), who was fighting the insurrection on islands to the north. Rebels captured the Jesuit en route and delivered him to a chief on the island of Saypan.” *Ibid.*, 584.

¹³⁵ Sanvitores, *Mission in the Marianas*, 35.

¹³⁶ Fr. Garcia, “Vida y Martyrio De El Venerable Padre Diego Luis De Sanvitores,” 393–94.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 394.

It seems that the description “God-intoxicated man” that was hurled at the atheistic Spanish-Dutch philosopher Benedict de Spinoza (aka Baruch Spinoza) could apply just as well, albeit with an opposite meaning, to Fr. Sanvitores.¹³⁸ Contrast Sanvitores’ words to chief Hurao’s 1670 speech to rally the Chamorros against the Spaniards, which we quote in part:

The Europeans would have done better to remain in their own country. We have no need of their help to live happily.

Before they arrived on the island, we did not know insects. Did we know rats, flies, mosquitoes, and all the other little animals which constantly torment us? These are the beautiful presents they have made us. And what have their floating machines brought us? Formerly, we do not have rheumatism and inflammations. If we had sickness, we had remedies for them. But they have brought us their diseases and do not teach us the remedies. Is it necessary that our desires make us want iron and other trifles which only render us unhappy?

For what purpose do they teach us except to make us adopt their customs, to subject us to their laws, and lose the precious liberty left to us by our ancestors? In a word, they try to make us unhappy in the hope of an ephemeral happiness which can be enjoyed only after death.

We are stronger than we think! We can quickly free ourselves from these foreigners! We must regain our former freedom!¹³⁹

This is a remarkable anti-colonial speech, but some contemporary Spanish scholars dispute its authenticity or, at least, try to put a Jesuitic spin on the Hurao text. In his introduction to Morales and Le Gobien’s *History of the Mariana Islands*, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa declares that, “It is probable that Hurao never pronounced the famous 1670 speech.”¹⁴⁰ It is, rather, a creative interpellation by Morales and Le Gobien—a “critical discourse regarding the abuses of colonialism; a ‘veiled criticism of the Spaniards’ behaviour, ably put in the mouths of Chamorro leaders.”¹⁴¹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, in his Prologue to the same book, concurs with Coello—Hurao’s “supposed speech... must be interpreted in its broad narrative context, as a dramatic counterpoint to a fundamentally apologetic, and even hagiographic text... the Jesuit historian [i.e., Morales/Le Gobien] put a call to rebellion in the mouth of a native leader [Hurao] who was under the misapprehension that, since they were many and the Spaniards few, the rebels were bound to win.”¹⁴²

Chagrined by what he calls the “hypocrisy and double standards in contemporary historiographies of Guam,” James Perez Viernes counters,

The simple fact remains that Hurao was able to mobilize his fellow islanders in the thousands and unify them in a common cause. And *whether the speech he delivered*

¹³⁸ It would be instructive to contrast the “God-intoxicated” atheistic Spinoza and the zealous Jesuit Fr. Sanvitores—both lived in the 17th century, but represented opposite poles of thought: one is the Enlightenment of Protestant Netherlands and the other is the counter-reformism of Catholic Spain. See Steven Nadler, “Why Spinoza Still Matters,” *Aeon*, April 28, 2016, <https://aeon.co/essays/at-a-time-of-zealotry-spinoza-matters-more-than-ever>. An excerpt of Nadler’s essay is cited in the blog post “Spinoza: the God-Intoxicated Man,” *Whereof One Can Speak* (blog), August 31, 2017, <https://whereofonecanspeak.com/2017/08/31/spinoza-the-god-intoxicated-man/>.

¹³⁹ Hurao’s speech is engraved on a wall of the second floor of Guam’s Supreme Court. The original text is in French, cited in Charles Le Gobien’s *Histoire des isles Mariannes* (Paris: Charles Le Gobien, 1700). It was translated into English by Reverend Paul Daly.

¹⁴⁰ Morales and Le Gobien, *History of the Mariana Islands*, 81.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

was captured verbatim by foreign observers or embellished with the creative license of these chroniclers becomes a largely moot point that obscures the reality of Hurao's leadership and impact on history. The very act of gathering a significant number of warriors and inspiring them to invest their loyalties, and indeed their very lives, in asserting, defending, and reclaiming a sense of peoplehood in the face of violent and forceful foreign conquest speaks loudly to the resistance efforts of Chamorros, not symbolically, but in very real and quantifiable ways.¹⁴³ (emphasis mine)

Viernes must have found it remarkable that Hurao's supposed anti-colonial speech is now explained, in the 21st century, as the Jesuits' advocacy of justice for the abused Chamorros who were, after all, their wards. Is Coello-Rubiés' interpretation warranted? Did the Jesuits invent the Hurao speech out of a sense of justice and solidarity with the Chamorros against the cruelty and corruption of the Spanish authorities? But if this were the case, why did the Jesuits not recognize the Chamorro's right to self-determination? This, however, was unthinkable for the Jesuits who believed in the Church's and Empire's *mission civilisatrice*. Cynthia Ross Wiecko was right: The Jesuits were "agents of empire."¹⁴⁴ And by conjuring the Hurao text as a Jesuit plea for justice and kind treatment for the Chamorros—which is belied by what their leader Fr. Sanvitores actually said and did—Spanish post-colonial scholars Coello and Rubiés have, unwittingly, also become "agents of empire."¹⁴⁵

What would a truly decolonizing intervention in the 17th-century subjugation of the Chamorros look like? In *El Filibusterismo* (1891), a novel by the Filipino nationalist and martyr Dr. Jose Rizal, there is a moving passage in Chapter 24, "Sueños" (Dreams). Rizal focuses on the musings of Isagani, a young idealistic student, walking on the Malecón, Luneta, to rendezvous with his beloved Paulita, who he thought was about to ditch him. In such a state of melancolía (physician Rizal's term for severe depression and anxiety), Isagani's thoughts turned to the plight of Filipino conscripts who were sent on military expeditions to unspecified Pacific islands—which the novel's translator, Charles Derbyshire, presumed to be the "Carolines" and Palau:¹⁴⁶

Musing over these expeditions, over the fate of the poor soldiers, over the resistance offered by the islanders to the foreign yoke, he thought that, death for death, if that of the soldiers was glorious because they were obeying orders, that of the islanders was sublime because they were defending their homes.

¹⁴³ James Perez Viernes, "Hurao Revisited: Hypocrisy and Double Standards in Contemporary Historiographies of Guam," (Paper presentation, Third Marianas History Conference, Mangilao, Guam, 2016), accessed November 9, 2019, <https://issuu.com/guampedia/docs/mhc3/128>.

¹⁴⁴ Cynthia Ross Wiecko, "Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire: The Spanish-Chamorro War and Ecological Effects of Conversion on Guam, 1668–1769," *World History Connected*, 2013, http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/10.3/forum_wiecko.html. Curiously, unlike Hezel's, Wiecko's article is hardly cited in journal articles or books, and her "monograph in progress," *At the Crossroads of Empire and Ecological Change in the Spanish Pacific*, remains unpublished.

¹⁴⁵ Joan-Pau Rubiés, however, favorably cites Carlo Ginzburg's "Alien Voices: The Dialogic Element in Early Modern Jesuit Historiography" (in *History, Rhetoric and Proof* (Hanover/London: University Press of New England, 1999), 71–91), as well as Italian scholar Sergio Landucci's *Philosophers and Savages, 1580–1750* (Bari: Laterza, 1972). Rubiés notes, "Ginzburg's argument is that the Jesuits' 'dialogic monologue' also echoes the true Chamorro voice, particularly in the comment about rats and disease. The importance of Hurao's speech was also noted by Sergio Landucci in *I filosofi e i selvaggi 1580–1780* (Bari, 1972)." Rubiés, "Apologetics and Ethnography," 11, n. 18.

¹⁴⁶ In footnote 1 of Chapter 24 ("Dreams") in *The Reign of Greed* (Charles Derbyshire's translation of *El Filibusterismo*), Derbyshire writes:

"Referring to the expeditions—Misión Española Católica—to the *Caroline and Pelew Islands* from 1886 to 1895, headed by the Capuchin Fathers, which brought misery and disaster upon the natives of those islands, unprofitable losses and sufferings to the Filipino soldiers engaged in them, discredit to Spain, and decorations of merit to a number of Spanish officers." (emphasis mine)

To clarify a geographic confusion in Derbyshire: Palau is one of the many island groups comprising the Caroline Islands, or *Carolinas*, named after Spain's King Charles II. Among the other island groups are: Yap, Chuuk (or Truk), Pohnpei, etc.

“A strange destiny, that of some peoples!” he mused. “Because a traveler arrives at their shores, they lose their liberty and become subjects and slaves, not only of the traveler, not only of his heirs, but even of all his countrymen, and not for a generation, but for all time! A strange conception of justice! Such a state of affairs gives ample right to exterminate every foreigner as the most ferocious monster that the sea can cast up!”

He reflected that those islanders, against whom his country was waging war, after all were guilty of no crime other than that of weakness. [...] With all their weakness the spectacle they presented seemed beautiful to him, and the names of the enemies, whom the newspapers did not fail to call cowards and traitors, appeared glorious to him, as they succumbed with glory amid the ruins of their crude fortifications, with greater glory even than the ancient Trojan heroes, for those islanders had carried away no Philippine Helen!¹⁴⁷

Contrary to Derbyshire’s presumption, Rizal could have been alluding to the Spanish military expeditions sent from Manila to the Marianas. What makes the passage in Chapter 24 so exceptional is its empathy with the natives defending their island from Spanish intrusion. I have not come across any 19th-century literary work that expressed sympathy and solidarity for the rebellious Chamorros.

Alas, the first Chamorro rebellion of 1671, led by Hurao, was defeated. Fr. Besco’s annual report for 1679–1680 mentions the destruction of *imangguma’uritao*, the desecration of the sacred objects venerated by the Chamorros, and the herding of children to schools to raise them as Catholics:

In mid-year, various sorties and expeditions were made through the Island and in them many houses of bachelors were torn down... Many skulls from the dead were also burned and other tools with which they invoke their *manganiti* [called the *anitos* in the Philippines] and above all there were brought from the more distant towns with least contact with us a quantity of children selected to increase the college where they are being raised and taught how to read, write and assist at mass and other Christian customs...¹⁴⁸

The Chamorro matrilineal system which ensured the autonomy and power of women was destroyed in two ways. One was through the imposition of the Catholic institution of marriage, as related in Fr. Xamarillo’s report,

And here is the proof of the virtue of this sacrament [of marriage], that turns an unfaithful woman into a saintly one for the faithful, and, Christian, man of valor; indeed she is content to live with her status, God proving it by his blessing which he gives them, through fecundity and many children; they show a good example by their life and the exercise of Christian things, the frequent partaking of the sacraments, they being more convenient of access within the Garrison, where they have one priest assigned to the Christian education of these married women, explaining to them many times a week the obligations of the married life, how they must raise their children and behave towards their husbands, learning some trades in order to be useful and helpful to him, such as sewing and other similar things which some of them take advantage of. It is so, because *in the house of their parents, they were*

¹⁴⁷ José Rizal, *The Reign of Greed (A Complete English Version of El Filibusterismo)*, trans. Charles Derbyshire (Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1912), chap. 24, 235.

¹⁴⁸ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 223.

*used to seeing that the head of the household was the woman, she ordering and the husband obeying.*¹⁴⁹ (emphasis mine)

The second was through the marriage, encouraged by the Jesuit missionaries, of Chamorro women to Spaniards and Filipinos, as related by Fr. Garcia,

And what shall I say of the native girls who were married to Spaniards and Filipinos, who lived contentedly in the garrison and were as fond of the Christian ways as if they had been accustomed to them all their lives? They attended mass everyday, and afterwards attended to their family obligations, spending their days sewing, washing clothes and doing other household tasks... Their constancy and affection for their husbands was due in large part to the grace of the Sacrament of Matrimony, which is much to be esteemed and admired in a *land where marriage lasts only so long as the wife wishes it; and where by their own free will, without cause of occasion whatever, wives leave their husbands and marry others.*¹⁵⁰ (emphasis mine)

The relentless campaign against women's autonomy regarding their sexual activities and their authority and power in their relationship with men—"female arrogance" as Fr. Strobach puts it—echoes what happened in the Philippines about a century earlier. This is well-documented and critically analyzed in the ground-breaking work of Carolyn Brewer, *Holy Confrontation, Gender and Sexuality in the Philippines, 1521–1685*.¹⁵¹ In the Philippines, the missionaries worked "to remove women's agency over their own bodies and to superimpose virginity and fidelity" as a moral imperative,¹⁵² and represented women as "the evil agents who lead men astray."¹⁵³ They sought out the indigenous priestess or *babaylan* (the "shaman" in the anthropological literature) to denounce them as *brujas*, the Devil's witches. They violently suppressed the *babaylan*'s religious authority and power and replaced it with the patriarchal authority of the friar and his native sexton or *sacristan*. *Babaylans* who refused to recognize the authority of the Catholic priest were arrested and punished corporeally or banished. Brewer cites French traveller Le Gentil's account of a "scene in a little village a few miles from Manila, where one Sunday afternoon he saw a crowd, chiefly Indian women, following a woman who was to be whipped at the church door for not having been to mass."¹⁵⁴ The irony, as pointed out by a reviewer of Brewer's book, was that after repressing the autonomy of women over their bodies and sexual desire, and ensuring their subordination to men, the friar then became a sexually active agent in Philippine society.¹⁵⁵ What ensued was widespread friar concubinage in Philippine parishes (some descendants of the offspring of this concubinage eventually filled the ranks of *mestizo* and *mestiza* celebrities in Philippine pop culture). Brewer, however, does not mention the Igorot *ulog* or *akhamang*, or anything similar to the Chamorro's *guma'uritao*.

But let's go back to the Marianas. To quell the Chamorro rebellion, the military resorted to a two-fold strategy. The first was the "*entrada*" or assault on the villages; the second was the *reducción*—the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 319.

¹⁵⁰ Fr. Garcia, "Vida y Martirio De El Venerable Padre Diego Luis De Sanvitores," 308.

¹⁵¹ Carolyn Brewer, *Holy Confrontation, Gender and Sexuality in Colonial Philippines, 1521–1685* (Manila: Institute of Women's Studies, St. Scholastica's College, 2001). For a shorter and more concise edition of Brewer's book, see *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521–1685* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

¹⁵² Ibid., 20.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 200.

¹⁵⁵ See Filomeno Aguilar Jr.'s review of Brewer's *Shamanism, Catholicism and Gender Relations in Colonial Philippines, 1521–1685* in the *International Journal of Asian Studies* 3, no. 2 (July 2006): 286–88, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479591406250071>.

forced relocation of Chamorros from various villages to one locality. The Chamorros were forced to abandon their ancestral villages, their homes and the graveyards and skulls of their venerated ancestors that they kept (much like the Catholics with the statues of the Virgin Mary and the saints) in their houses, and their *guma'uritao* tradition. In his annual report for 1679–1680, Fr. Xamarillo writes that with “the punishment of malefactors, burnings of public houses, and the other actions... much had been destroyed and ruined.”¹⁵⁶ The pacification campaign included executions. Fr. Xamarillo reports the meting out of the death penalty on more than 30 individuals.¹⁵⁷

In just fourteen years, the Jesuits felt confident that their mission had succeeded. In his “Report on the state, and progress of the Mariana mission from June 1681 until June 1682,” Fr. Morales gloated,

*The good old customs are a thing of the past: no more loose marriages, no more public houses, no more habit of inflicting one another [love] bites and scratches. All attend mass, as the roll call is taken afterwards. In Agaña [the colonial capital of Guam], 400 Indians took communion.*¹⁵⁸ (emphasis in the original)

The Jesuits’ loathing of love bites and scratches tells us more about the Jesuits’ frame of mind, or perhaps sexual deprivation, rather than any trait of the Chamorros. But Fr. Morales’ claim of victory in 1682 was true only of the island of Guam. Indeed, the rebellion had spread to all the inhabited islands north of Guam, and the consequent pacification continued and reached its most intense moment in 1684. In his annual report for 1684–1685, Fr. Matias Cuculino relates the one-sided battle between the slingshot and spear wielding Chamorros and the soldiers armed with guns and swords (not to mention canons) that started with a Chamorro attack on the Spanish fort in the island of Saipan and ended with Spanish forces attacking villages, burning houses, destroying crops, laying waste the fields, and wounding, killing, and capturing Chamorros:

[The Chamorros from the islands of Saipan, Tinian, Agiguan and Guam] began charging the fort with incredible fury on 16 August 1684. The stone throwers came first with their slingshots, throwing a lot of stones into the covered road. This was their signal for the attack during which the entire enemy army fiercely charged the palisades, trying desperately to climb over it. The charge lasted six hours, after which they were finally beaten back, having suffered quite badly from our steadfast fire. They fled for now, but after a while they dared to try two other charges with even greater fury. However, they did not gain anything, but were forced to retreat with considerable losses.

Quiroga [the commander] was not satisfied with that. He often left the fort in the care of his sick soldiers and took 12 to 18 men with him to attack the enemy. They overwhelmed their camp, which they guarded well with their bone-tipped and wooden spears and darts, their palisades [complete with] ditches and parapets. *They beat and plundered 300 to 400 Indians armed with slingshots, spears and weapons, to bring back a rich booty* for his sick soldiers whom he loved more than a father loves his children. He never lost a single man.

He became more daring. When the enemy camp was destroyed, he pursued a number of parties in the open country, always only with 12, 15, or at most 18 men. *He laid waste their fields and destroyed their crops, burned their villages, and looked*

¹⁵⁶ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 7, 311.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 341.

¹⁵⁸ Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 77.

*for enemies everywhere, wounding, killing, capturing and frightening them so much that some Saipanese were leaving their homeland, either moving to Tinian or hiding in the cliffs and rocks of their own island. Finally, three months after the rebellion had begun, they came in humility to sue for peace, which was granted them.*¹⁵⁹ (all emphases mine)

The Jesuits were enthralled and heaped praises on Sergeant-Major Don Josef de Quiroga, “The Hernán Cortés of the Northern Marianas.” In the words of Fr. Gerard Bouwens,

This gentleman is worthy of praise and to him all those of us in these islands who are alive owe our lives and the conservation of the faith hereabouts... this gentleman possesses such a remarkable goodness that, everyone agrees, he would not knowingly commit a venial sin for all the lures of the world.¹⁶⁰

In a confidential report on the 1684 revolt, Fr. Bouwens expressed his wish to get Quiroga promoted to the position of Governor of the Marianas,

[Quiroga] possesses all the qualifications for [the Mission’s] preservation and improvement, that may be judged necessary in an eventual governor: a Christian and exemplary life, one that even confounds some religious, a great valor, and resolve to undertake whatever conquest, a lucky presence of mind, and skill to pull it off, zeal for the divine and Royal service toward the eternal salvation of these souls; obeyed readily and respected by soldiers and Indians alike... he should be entrusted with this government, without need to look for anyone else. Indeed [there is no] better man, not even as good a man.¹⁶¹

At the beginning of their mission, the missionaries saw the Chamorros, who had welcomed them warmly, as “very merry and sociable,” intelligent, and “capable of receiving our faith.” But by 1684, at the height of the Chamorro resistance, the Jesuits described them in their reports as “ingrates,” “treacherous,” “barbarians.” Fr. Bouwens who was all praises to Quiroga wrote of the Chamorros in 1684 as “thoroughly unreliable and incapable of keeping their word.”¹⁶² Thus, in the eyes of the Jesuits, the erstwhile hospitable and friendly but now recalcitrant and defiant Chamorros have transformed from noble savages to barbarians.

Tragically for the Chamorros, the customs and traditions that were destroyed constituted the very foundation of their existence as a people. As Marsh and Muna observed,

Missionaries preached outside *i mangguma’ uritao* and burned them down in an effort to end what they viewed as the ‘sinful practices’ of premarital sex that occurred inside. Eventually, these houses died out as a result of the forceful and successful implementation of the sacrament of marriage during the 17th century. Because

¹⁵⁹ Fr. Matias Cuculino, “Report of the Events that Occurred in the Mariana Islands between June 1684 and May 1685,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 252–53.

¹⁶⁰ Fr. Gerard Bouwens, “Jesuit Annual Report for 1684–1685, dated May 30/31, 1685,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 348–49.

¹⁶¹ “Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Fr. Francisco Garcia, Guam, dated May 20, 1683,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 299.

¹⁶² “Letter from Fr. Bouwens to Major Esplana, undated,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 131.

i mangguma' uritao housed much more than that, Chamorro society was forever altered with the loss of this convention.¹⁶³

But for Fr. Xamarillo and his fellow Jesuits, this was no tragedy but, in the words of Shakespeare's Hamlet, "a consummation devoutly to be wished." As R. L. Green, Assistant Professor of Religion at the Jesuit-run College of the Holy Cross (in Worcester, Massachusetts), so candidly acknowledged, at the very heart of the Jesuit mission was the conviction and zeal to destroy every form of idolatry.¹⁶⁴

The men of the Society of Jesus considered coercion, force and violence to be an attractive option in their efforts to strategically extirpate idolatry from the Spanish Pacific world. The rooting out of idolatry and the planting of the church unfolded in a systematic and structural manner.¹⁶⁵

By the end of the century, the Jesuits' zeal and relentless campaigns had paid off. But the Jesuit reports were oblivious to the social and psychological trauma caused by the military "pacification" of restive villages. The *reducción*, the destruction of the Chamorro religious and social practices and institutions, and the consequent spread of diseases (for which the Chamorros had no immunity) eventually took their toll—ninety percent of the Chamorro population was decimated by the end of the 17th century. Perhaps ninety percent is a conservative estimate. Crozet estimates that the population of 60,000 was reduced to just 900. Crozet's account—particularly the passage cited below—outraged the Church authorities (and may still outrage them today):

Under the reign of their missionaries the wild islanders were finally obliged to give way to the superiority of Spanish arms, and after having for a long time defended by cruel wars their right to exist like savage beasts, according to their free instinct, they gave themselves up to a despair of which there is no other example on the face of the earth. They induced their women to take drinks which caused abortion and to have no more children, rather than to leave behind them children who, according to the ideas of liberty entertained by these savage beings, would no longer be free. Such violent resolves, so contrary to the wishes of Nature, were followed up by a stubbornness in the nine Marianne Islands *sufficient to reduce the population of the whole archipelago, which was 60,000 at the time of the discovery, to eight or nine hundred souls.*¹⁶⁶ (emphasis mine)

¹⁶³ Marsh and Muna, "Guma'uritao: Ancient CHamoru Bachelor Houses,"

¹⁶⁴ I found this student feedback on Prof. Green quite telling: "I took *Catholicism in Latin America* and it was a really interesting course. If you want an easy class this isn't for you, but if you want to be challenged and to learn, and to get insight into college and grad school take Green. He doesn't mince words and he tells it how it is which may offend some people, but I found it refreshing." "Robert Green at College of the Holy Cross," RateMyProfessors, <https://www.ratemyprofessors.com/ShowRatings.jsp?tid=1627893>.

¹⁶⁵ Green, *Tropical Idolatry*, 2.

¹⁶⁶ Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage*.

Crozet's account was incorporated into the *Histoire Philosophique des Deux Indes*, a six-volume work on the history of the Europeans in the two Indies, published in the 18th century, under the name of Abbé Raynal, but actually written not only by Raynal but other Enlightenment authors, notably Diderot. The work was singled out for burning by the church authorities in France who accused Abbé Raynal of heresy. Thus, Raynal had to flee France. According to historian Jonathan Israel, "The work marks the beginning of anti-colonialism, by saying it's a horrible story of conquest, exploitation, brutality and arrogance and imposing a religion that was alien to these people, and forms of rule which were quite alien to the peoples that were conquered." Jonathan Israel, "The Best Books on the Enlightenment" (Interview by Anthony Gottlieb), Five Books, accessed March 20, 2019, <https://fivebooks.com/best-books/enlightenment-jonathan-israel/>.

Crozet's 18th-century figures have been disputed by scholars as exaggerated. But regardless of the numbers, there is no denying that the native population was decimated. Ulrike Strasser writes in an article published in the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*,

The escalation of violence in the Pacific set two larger trends in motion: first, in the Marianas themselves, the formal "reduction" and precipitous decline of the Chamorro population. Spurred on by the missionaries, Spanish troops embarked upon punitive campaigns and the resettlement of the inhabitants of the northern islands to Guam. *By 1700, population levels dropped to about 8,000, and plummeted to levels near extinction by 1750.*¹⁶⁷ (emphasis mine)

The primary cause of the precipitous population decline has been the subject of some debate in the field of Marianas Studies. David Atienza, following Hezel, declares that it was not the Spanish conquest *per se* (i.e., the violent military campaign and the *reducción*) that decimated the Chamorros but the spread of disease.¹⁶⁸ Atienza writes,

Without any doubt, the main cause of the population loss in the Marianas was epidemics (see Hezel, 1982; McDonough, 2004), as in Kosrae, which, without wars or Catholic evangelization, went from 3,000 to 300 inhabitants in just 30 years (Hezel, 1982, p. 122). Similarly, in Yap, a demographic collapse reduced the population from 50,000 to 2,500 in just one century (Morgan, 1996, p. 33). Jonathan D. Hill (Hill, 1996, p. 4) notes a similar demographic collapse for the South American Spanish colonies, with an approximate 90% loss of the indigenous population, and for the British colonies of North America, with a loss of 95%. [...] It is clear that the populations of the Pacific Islands and the New World had not developed the necessary antibodies to confront Old World illnesses. Exposure to new viruses may have been increased by traditional Spanish policies of "reducciones"—reconcentration—as well as by indigenous funeral customs that kept the bodies of the dead in contact with the living for a long period. However, the final result hardly varies among different colonies and colonial empires...¹⁶⁹

Lurking beneath this passage is the unstated and unexamined assumption that the spread of disease was not in any way generated or aggravated by the Spanish–Chamorro wars and the *reducción*, or that the psychological stress and trauma that accompanied such unprecedented events did not in any way weaken the immune system of the Chamorros and contribute to the spread of disease or epidemics. Atienza should be reminded of an established fact in medical science—that under "chronic stress, and with the excessive release of the hormone cortisol, our immune cells are less able to respond to an invader like a bacteria or a virus."¹⁷⁰ Thus, as Linda Newson has demonstrated in her book, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines*, the two factors—conquest and pestilence—go together.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Strasser, "Copies with Souls," 570. In footnote 47, Strasser writes that "[e]stimates of the Chamorros population and the causes behind the dramatic decline vary. Some argue that population decline began before Spanish arrival and that disease rather than outright Spanish violence hastened it." Ibid., 573.

¹⁶⁸ Atienza, "A Mariana Islands History Story," Francis X. Hezel, "From Conversion to Conquest: The Early Spanish Mission in the Marianas," *Journal of Pacific History* 17, no. 3 (1982): 115–37, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223348208572442>.

¹⁶⁹ Atienza, "A Mariana Islands History Story," 21.

¹⁷⁰ Harrison Wein, "Stress and Disease: New Perspectives," MedicineNet, April 6, 2006, <https://www.medicinenet.com/script/main/art.asp?articlekey=60918>.

¹⁷¹ Linda A. Newson, *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009).

Contrast Atienza's reductionist and simplistic thinking with the more nuanced account of Luis de Ibañez y García (Governor-General from 1871 to 1873), which so uncannily antedates Jose Rizal's "La indolencia de los Filipinos" (published in the *La Solidaridad* in 1891):

The vast decrease in the population of these islands since their occupation by the Spanish is undoubtedly due in large measure to the indomitable resistance with which the natives opposed the conquerors. Cherishing their unbridled freedom, they could not tolerate foreign domination. In the beginning, the yoke of our arms weighed so heavily that when they were unable to cast it from their shoulders, they preferred to end their lives in desperation by hanging or other means. The women intentionally sterilized themselves or flung their children into the sea because they were convinced that an early death would redeem them from a toilsome and distressing life and that, once dead, they would be happy and content. They so abhorred subjugation that it was to them the final, most deplorable torment. It is also true that repeated epidemics have contributed effectively to the depopulation.¹⁷²

Stephanie Ann Puen (a doctoral student in Theology and a Teaching Fellow at Fordham University), in her review of Green's *Tropical Idolatry*, referred to what happened in the Marianas as the entanglement of religion and empire, which "led to the colonizing of, violence against, and the deaths of many people in the name of evangelization."¹⁷³ But it might be more accurate to think of it as the Catholic Church and the Spanish empire using each other to advance their respective agenda: the Jesuit mission became an instrument of empire and vice versa—*ad majorem Hispania et dei gloriam*.

What Rizal wrote in his "Filipinas dentro de cien años" about the impact of the Spanish conquest on the peoples of the Philippines could very well apply to the Chamorros:

[T]hey lost their old traditions, the mementos of their past...[for] another morality, another aesthetics different from those inspired by their climate and their manner of thinking. Then they declined, degrading themselves in their own eyes; they became ashamed of what was their own; they began to admire and praise whatever was foreign and incomprehensible; their spirit was dismayed and it surrendered.¹⁷⁴ (emphasis mine)

Such is the sad destiny of islanders, as the depressed Isagani in Rizal's *Fili* mused. But a nagging question haunts us. This was raised by my former Asian Center colleague, Professor Eduardo Tadem, the convenor of our June 19, 2019 Rizal Day symposium, during our pre-symposium dinner on June 18. In response to my story about the seemingly superhuman strength of the Chamorros, Ed asked incredulously: "So, why were the Chamorros defeated by the Spaniards?" The easy answer is, of course, in Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*.¹⁷⁵ Indeed, proceeding from Diamond, it may be argued, based on the Jesuit reports and the commentaries of authors such as Laura

¹⁷² Luis de Ibañez y García, *History of the Marianas, with Navigational Data, and of the Caroline and Palau islands: From the Time of their Discovery by Magellan in 1521 to the Present* (Granada: P. V. Sabatel, 1886), trans. Marjorie G. Driver (Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam, 1992); cited in Richard J. Shell, "The Marianas Population Decline: 17th Century Estimates," *The Journal of Pacific History* 34, no. 3 (December 1999): 291–305, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223349908572914>, 303.

¹⁷³ Stephanie Ann Puen, "Review of *Tropical Idolatry: A Theological History of Catholic Colonialism in the Pacific World, 1568–1700*," *Reading Religion*, October 12, 2018, <http://readingreligion.org/books/tropical-idolatry>.

¹⁷⁴ José Rizal, *Political and Historical Writings, 1884–1890* (Manila: National Historical Institute, 1994), 130–31.

¹⁷⁵ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1997; updated edition, 2007).

Thompson, Alexander Spoehr, and Cynthia Ross Wiecko et al., that the *fatal combination* of Jesuit missionary zeal (Jesuits as “agents of Empire”) *plus* the ruthless military pacification (“*entradas*”) *plus* the forced relocation (“*reducción*”) *plus* subsequent epidemics *plus* the destruction of the Chamorro culture eventually brought about the decimation of the indigenous population.¹⁷⁶ It was a 17th-century case of biological and cultural genocide, for which Spain and the Jesuits ought to officially apologize. Indeed, it should have been explicitly mentioned in Pope John Paul II’s much celebrated public apology for “2,000 years of violence, persecution and blunders” committed by members of the Catholic Church “against Jews, heretics, women, Gypsies and native peoples.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Thompson, *Guam and Its People*; Alexander Spoehr, *Saipan: The Ethnology of a War-Devastated Island*, 2nd ed. (Saipan: N.M.I. Division of Historic Preservation, 2000); Wiecko, “Jesuit Missionaries as Agents of Empire.”

¹⁷⁷ Rorry Carroll, “Pope Says Sorry for Sins of Church,” *The Guardian*, March 13, 2000, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2000/mar/13/catholicism.religion>.



PART III

How the Chamorro *proa* was used in the Spanish conquest of the Marianas

There is one crucial factor that seems to have eluded the attention of scholars—the role of the Chamorro *proa* in the conquest and colonization of the Marianas. Before we tackle this unexplored issue, let us consider what of the traditional *proa*'s design made it so special. Ironically, this was the one distinctive product of Chamorro culture that the Jesuits did not have much, if anything, to say. Yet, the Chamorro “flying *proa*” has amazed seasoned explorers and privateers (also known as “pirates”) in the 17th and 18th centuries, such as British Captain William Dampier and Admiral Sir George Anson and the French naval officer Lt. Julien Marie Crozet. Remarkably, no word of wonder or appreciation comes from the reports and letters of the Jesuits regarding the flying *proa* or the Chamorros' sailing skills.¹⁷⁸ At times, one gets the impression that the Spaniards even resented the Chamorros' attachment to their canoes. For example, Governor Manrique de Lara, citing the testimony of shipwrecked admiral Esteban Ramos who had lived for a while with the Chamorros before choosing to return to the Philippines on a Chamorro *proa* instead of just hopping onto a galleon ship, writes rather disparagingly—

[The Chamorros] live like brutes...they do not worship the Sun, Moon or anything else, except perhaps their canoes, *because they like them more than their parents and wives*. Whenever they are at not at sea, they look them over and clean them, keeping them in better and cleaner buildings than their own houses...¹⁷⁹ (emphasis mine)

Ramos' alleged testimony is strange, considering that he practically owed his life to the Chamorros who nurtured him like one of their own after his shipwreck and, when he had fully recovered, even happily brought him back to the Philippines on their canoe! Compare Lara's dismissive statement to the accounts of the British and French explorers who, like Ramos, were knowledgeable and experienced

¹⁷⁸ I have noticed the same lack of interest among today's Filipinos, young and old. At the June 19, 2019 Rizal Day symposium at UP CIDS, I briefly discussed the Chamorro *proa* during my lecture and invited my audience to ask questions about its design and sailing capabilities. Surprisingly, during the open forum, no one asked anything at all about the *proa*. I hoped in vain for a question about what made the Micronesian *proa* unique among traditional voyaging canoes in the Pacific, relative, for example, to our own much-vaunted *balangay*. I had the same non-response from my audience in a similar lecture I delivered in 2018 before an international assembly of the Knights of Rizal in Sydney. And it is the same non-response in my Facebook posts. The interest of Filipinos has always been on the ancient *balangay*, whose earliest remains excavated in Butuan were dated within the Christian era. Why this lack of interest in the Chamorro *proa* among today's Filipinos—considering that the Chamorros have originated from Philippine seafarers who made the very first “longest crossing of the ocean in human history”—has always been a puzzle to me.

¹⁷⁹ Manrique de Lara, “Report by Former Governor Manrique de Lara about the Ladrones, Alhuarin, dated December 20, 1667,” in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 4, 337.

in sailing and navigation. Captain William Dampier was a British privateer who, for the greater glory of Her Majesty, attacked and pillaged the treasure-laden Spanish *galleons* in the 17th century. He declared that the *proas* “sail the best of any boats in the world” and are capable of sailing at what was then considered an amazing speed of 24 miles an hour (hence, the term “flying *proa*”).¹⁸⁰ He writes,

The native Indians are no less dextrous in managing than in building these boats. By report they will go from hence to another of the Ladrone Islands [Marianas Islands] about 30 leagues [103.57 miles] off, and there do their business and return again in less than 12 hours. *I was told that one of these boats was sent express to Manila, which is above 400 leagues [1380.94 miles], and performed the voyage in four days’ time.*¹⁸¹ (emphasis mine)

Dampier, writing in Guam in 1686, could have been referring to the *proa* that Guam Governor Seravia dispatched to the Philippines in August 1683 when the expected galleon from Acapulco failed to arrive! And the “four days’ time” in Dampier’s account probably refers not to the time it took the *proa* to cross the Pacific Ocean from Guam to the Philippines but to the time it took the *proa* to sail from the island of Mindanao (its first landfall from Guam) to the island of Capul (off the Embocadero or San Bernardino Strait between Bicol and Samar), as recounted in Fr. Cooman’s letter to Fr. De Noyelle,

The Governor of this Island, who became impatient by the delay [of the supply ship from Acapulco] took measures to remedy the situation. He sent off a native boat under the command of a Spanish sailor and, contrary to all expectation, it happily completed the journey, by the aid of favorable winds, in 11 days of navigation, and made port in the island of Mindanao, the last part of the Christian section, and four days later reached the entrance and strait of the Islands [the Embocadero or San Bernardino Strait].¹⁸²

British naval officer Captain Woodes Rogers was so impressed by the *proa*’s speed and maneuverability when he visited Guam in 1710 that he brought a *proa* to London to be exhibited on the Canal in St. James Park.¹⁸³ When Admiral Sir George Anson’s HMS Centurion and his exhausted, sick, and starving crew landed on the island of Tinian in the northern part of the Marianas in 1742, he was amazed at the *proas* swiftly passing by his ship. A *proa* manned by four natives and a Spanish officer approached, and four natives and a Spanish officer boarded their damaged ship and helped carry the starving and severely ill crew to land ashore, where they recovered after a few days of rest, nourished by a diet of breadfruit and freshly caught fish.

Anson was impressed by the few natives that he saw—“a bold, strong, well-limbed people”—and their *proa*—“so singular and extraordinary an invention that it would do honour to any nation.” Observing that the *proa* was “peculiarly fitted for sailing with the wind upon the beam,” Anson enthuses,

¹⁸⁰ A 17th-century *galleon*’s fastest speed is seven knots or eight miles per hour. “How fast could a 17th century galleon sail?,” Quora, <https://www.quora.com/How-fast-could-a-17th-century-galleon-sail>. The large 19th-century steamship *Salvadora* (measuring 200 feet from stern to bow) is reported to have travelled from Manila to Europe in 1882 at the speed of seven to eight miles per hour. José Rizal, *Reminiscences and Travels* (Manila: José Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961), 51.

¹⁸¹ William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (London: J. Knapton, 1699), 300.

¹⁸² Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 8, 82.

¹⁸³ R. C. Leslie, *Life Aboard a British Privateer* (London: Chapman and Hall, Limited, 1889), cited in Translator’s Note, *Crozet’s Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the Years 1771–1772*.

if we examine the uncommon simplicity and ingenuity of its fabric and contrivance, or the extraordinary velocity with which it moves, we shall, in each of these articles, find it worthy of our admiration, and deserving a place amongst the mechanical productions of the most civilized nations where arts and sciences have most eminently flourished.¹⁸⁴

Anson later declared that none of the vessels in the East Indies (i.e., Philippines and Indonesia) can compare with those of the Marianas, either for their construction or swiftness—“which should induce one to believe that this was originally the invention of some genius of these islands, and was afterwards imperfectly copied by the neighbouring nations.”¹⁸⁵

Crozet gives a detailed description of the proa, but he commits a gross error in the details:

These canoes, always having the wind on one side, are built flat on that, the windward, side and rounding on the lee side, which, being more under water, requires a more suitable surface for cutting through the water. The mast is never placed in the middle of the boat, but on the curved lee side, so that the mast is, so to speak, between the boat and the outrigger. The weight of the mast thus causes the side to list, and with all the more ease, since the windward side of the boat being flat offers less resistance. Nothing is so simple or so well devised as these boats, which the Indians call *proas*.¹⁸⁶

A look at the illustration of the *proa* shows what Crozet got wrong (see Figure 13 below).

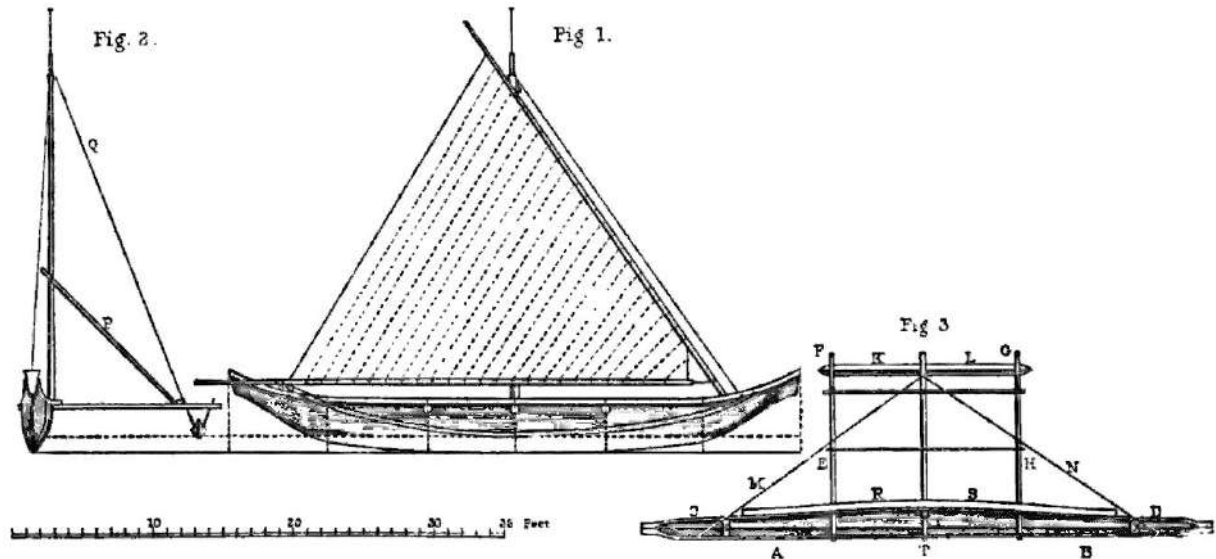


FIGURE 13 • Percy Brett's 1742 sketch of a Chamorro “flying *proa*”¹⁸⁷
(Source: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam/Wikimedia Commons)

¹⁸⁴ Lord Anson, *A Voyage Round The World in the Years 1740–4* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1781), 312, quoted in Mario Borja, “Our Sakman Story: One Sentence In History” (Paper presentation, 2nd Marianas History Conference, University of Guam, Mangilao, Guam, August 30–31, 2013), <http://www.guampedia.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/Mario-Borja.pdf>, 17.

¹⁸⁵ Lord Anson, *op. cit.*, 314.

¹⁸⁶ Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage*.

¹⁸⁷ According to Mike T. Carson, this canoe design is the first known detailed illustration of a Chamorro *proa* by Percy Brett in 1742, during the visit to the island of Tinian in the Marianas by Lord Anson. This was published in Glynn Barratt, *The H. M. S. Centurion at Tinian, 1742: The Ethnographic and Historical Records* (Saipan: Historic Preservation Office, Commonwealth

The traditional “flying” *proa* (based on Percy Brett’s 1742 sketch) is described by Haddon and Hornell in their classic *Canoes of Oceania*:¹⁸⁸

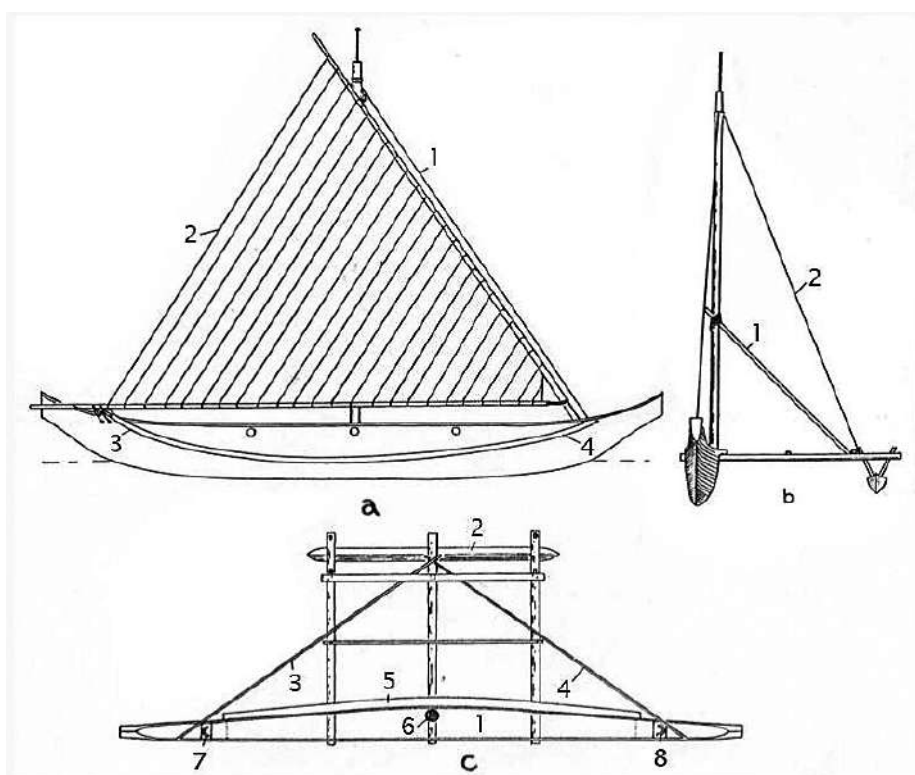


FIGURE 14 • Design of the traditional “flying *proa*” of the Mariana Islands

(a) View from leeward with sail set: (1) one of two stays supporting mast, the other hidden behind sail; (2) matting sail; (3, 4) running stays • (b) Head view, outrigger to windward: (1) mast shore; (2) shroud • (c) Plan: (1) *proa*; (2) “boat” at end of outrigger frame; (3, 4) braces from the ends to steady frame; (5) thin plank placed to windward to prevent shipping of water, to serve as seat for native who bales, and sometimes as rest for goods transported; (6) part of middle outrigger boom on which mast is fixed; (7, 8) horseshoe sockets, in one of which yard is lodged according to tack (after Anson 1748)

(Source: Haddon and Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, 414)

The Chamorro *proa* is a single outrigger canoe. The outrigger is on the windward side of the canoe. The cross-section and top view of the hull show that the side of the hull where the outrigger is attached is carved; whereas the other side—the leeward side—is flat. This makes the cross-section of the hull asymmetrical. In terms of sailing performance, this has four crucial effects. First, the flat side of the hull minimizes the sideways drag of the canoe, and the tilting of the hull on its flat side as it sails with the wind enables the canoe to slice straight through the water like an ice-skate, thereby making the canoe maintain its course. Second, when the wind blows on the sail, the outrigger rises above the water and the hull tilts on the flat side. As the outrigger rises above the water’s surface, water resistance is eliminated, making the canoe sail faster. Third, as observed by Irwin and Flay, the hull’s asymmetric form produces “extra hydrodynamic lift.”¹⁸⁹ But Irwin and Flay give no explanation except to note that “when first encountered by Europeans these were the fastest sailing craft in

of the Northern Mariana Islands, 1988), cited in Mike T. Carson, *First Settlement of Remote Oceania: Earliest Sites in the Mariana Islands* (Cham: Springer, 2014), 72.

¹⁸⁸ Alfred Cort Haddon and James Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1975).

¹⁸⁹ Geoffrey Irwin and Richard G.J. Flay, “Pacific Colonisation and Canoe Performance: Experiments in the Science of Sailing,” *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 124, no. 4 (2015): 419–43, <https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.124.4.419-443>, 438.

the world.”¹⁹⁰ Fortunately, an engineer and sailing enthusiast has come up with a scientific answer as to how the *proa*’s asymmetric hull produces hydrodynamic lift—after attending my talk on the Philippine-Marianas precolonial voyaging connections at the Philippine Embassy at Wellington, New Zealand on November 27, 2019 (see Appendix, “Flying Proa Physics” by Cameron Smart).

Although crosswise, the hull is asymmetrical, the canoe is symmetrical lengthwise. This allows for a sailing maneuver called shunting. Unlike the tacking canoe, the shunting canoe always sails with the outrigger on the windward side, thus ensuring that the outrigger is always slightly above or just skimming through the water, never getting submerged. This contributes to its amazing speed, and hence, the term “flying *proa*.” As Lord Anson observes,

From a description of these vessels it is sufficiently obvious how dexterously they are fitted for ranging these collection of islands called the Ladrões: for as these islands lie nearly N. and S. of each other, and are all within the limit of the tradewind, the proas, by sailing most excellently on a wind, and with either end foremost, can run from one of these islands to the other and back again, only by shifting the sail without even putting about; and, *by the flatness of their lee-side, and their small breadth, they are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other vessel hitherto known*, and thereby have an advantage which no vessels that go large can ever pretend to; the advantage I mean is that of running with a velocity nearly as great, and perhaps sometimes greater than with which the wind blows.¹⁹¹ (emphasis mine)

However, one disadvantage of shunting compared to tacking is that the canoe stops completely during the shunting maneuver. But while shunting is not as quick as tacking, it is generally easier and much safer than tacking, even more so when the sea conditions are worse.¹⁹² Moreover, shunting enables the canoe to sail closer to the wind when sailing upwind, as shown in Figure 15 below.

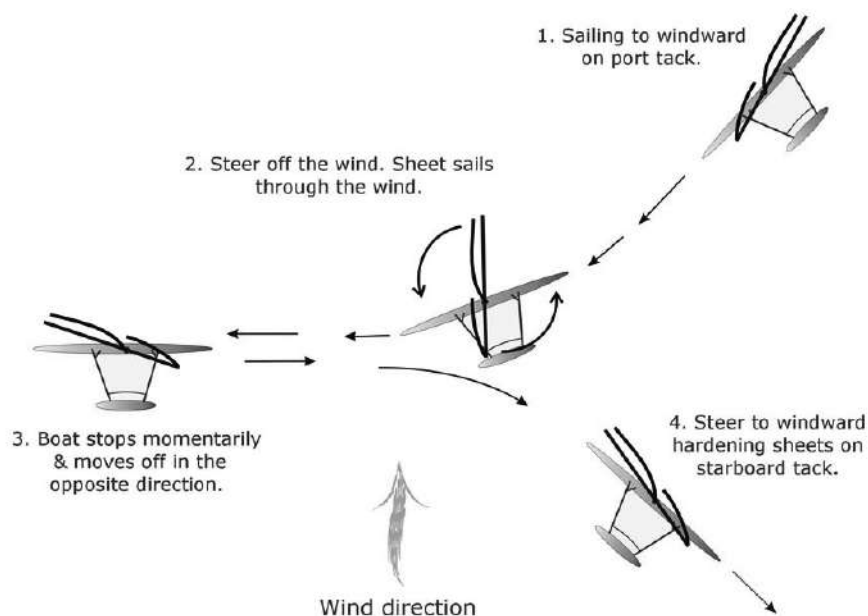


FIGURE 15 • The shunting maneuver of the *proa* (Source: Harryproa)

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Lord Anson, *A Voyage Round The World in the Years 1740–4*, 313.

¹⁹² “Shunting,” Harryproa (designer and builder of modern racing proas), http://harryproa.com/?page_id=468.

Below is a photo of a Micronesian proa at full speed. Note the raised outrigger, windward side.



FIGURE 16 • A Carolinian canoe with a pandanus sail off the Ulithi Atoll, ca. 1944

(Source: Marshall Paul Wees; "The Voyage of Building an Outrigger Canoe," *Pacific Worlds*, December 22, 2016, <http://www.pacificworlds.com/homepage/canoe-blog/canoe11.cfm>)

The design of the flying *proa*, however, makes it, under the hands of an unskilled sailor, prone to overturning on its leeward side. But this did not pose a problem for the Chamorros, for, as observed by Crozet, "the Indians are such good swimmers, and so experienced in their art of navigation, that when a boat capsizes... they have sufficient skill to right it in the open sea, and they never lose more than their cargo."¹⁹³ Indeed, the flying *proa* demands a high level of sailing skill and is not for the faint-hearted. As George Aseniero, another sailing enthusiast, observed, "Today's Hobie cat, quite fast, is child's play compared to the *proa*."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ "The Narrative of Julien Crozet, Captain of the Mascarin," in Lévesque, *History of Micronesia*, vol. 14, 611.

¹⁹⁴ Personal email correspondence.

Like Dampier, Rogers, and Anson, Crozet was impressed by the *proa*'s sailing performance,

I made a short passage in one of these proas when the wind was fresh, and estimated its *speed at three leagues an hour*. The islanders assured me that with a very strong wind they could go *five leagues an hour*, but that such speed was rarely attained. *These proas are therefore the best sailers amongst the small sea-going craft known, and are very ingeniously constructed.*¹⁹⁵ (emphasis mine)

Note, however, that Crozet's estimate of the *proa*'s speed—3 leagues per hour (about 10.5 miles/hour) up to 5 leagues per hour (about 17.5 miles/hour)—was less than Dampier's 24 miles/hour (about 7 leagues/hour), but the difference is not significant.¹⁹⁶ Crozet seemed skeptical about the long distance sailing capability of the *proa*. As we have noted, he imagined that the outrigger could easily be broken by big waves in the high seas.

But Crozet's doubts about the *proa*'s long distance sailing capability can be dispelled by the historical record. The seaworthiness and upwind sailing capability of the single-outrigger canoe with lateen sail, which is the characteristic design of the Micronesian *proa*—from the Marianas to the Carolines—is well-documented. David Lewis, a physician, sailing enthusiast, and scholar who studied traditional voyaging in the Pacific, cites accounts of voyages of Micronesian canoes that drifted to the Philippines and managed to return to their homelands.¹⁹⁷ He notes that:

- In the early 1690s, the Jesuit Fr. Paul Clain was told by a Carolinean castaway named "Olit" that "six natives from Eap [Yap] island had been stranded in the Philippines and then returned to Eap," and that the voyage had lasted 10 days.
- A little later, in 1696, two canoes were driven to the Philippines. The survivors eventually set off for home again, though the outcome of their voyage is uncertain.
- What is abundantly clear is that the castaways' range, extending as it did 2,000 miles east of the Philippines and embracing Saipan 500 miles to the north, far surpassed the sketchy knowledge of the Europeans [at that time].
- Even more striking is the fact that the oldest of the party [of castaways] had once been cast on the Philippines, on Mindanao, "where he had seen only infidels," and whence he had sailed back to his own islands ... His accomplishment was formidable in that his probable landfall targets would have been either Palau, 450 miles from Mindanao, or Yap a full 700.

Lewis illustrates these return drift voyages in two maps (see Figures 17 and 18 on next page).

¹⁹⁵ "The Narrative of Julien Crozet."

¹⁹⁶ One league is roughly 3.5 miles.

¹⁹⁷ David Lewis, *We, the Navigators* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972), 286–87.

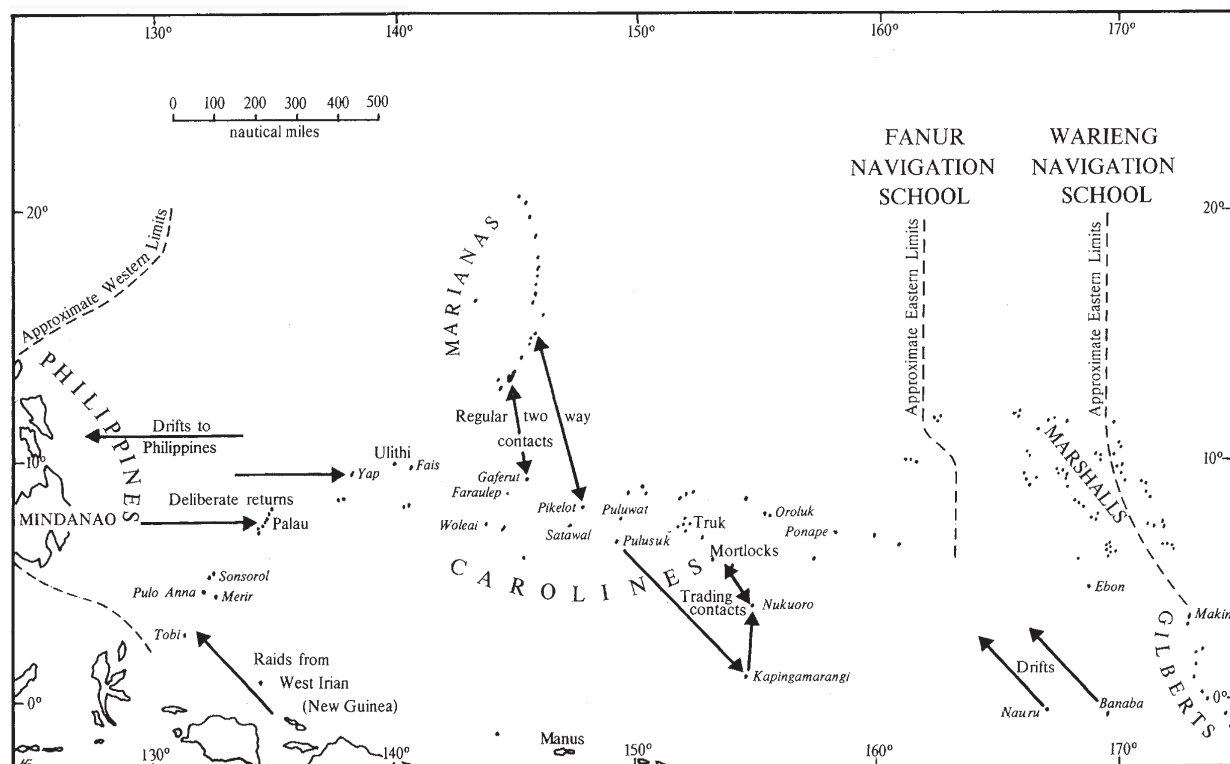


FIGURE 17 • The Carolines-Marianas sphere
(Source: Lewis, *We, the Navigators*, 33)

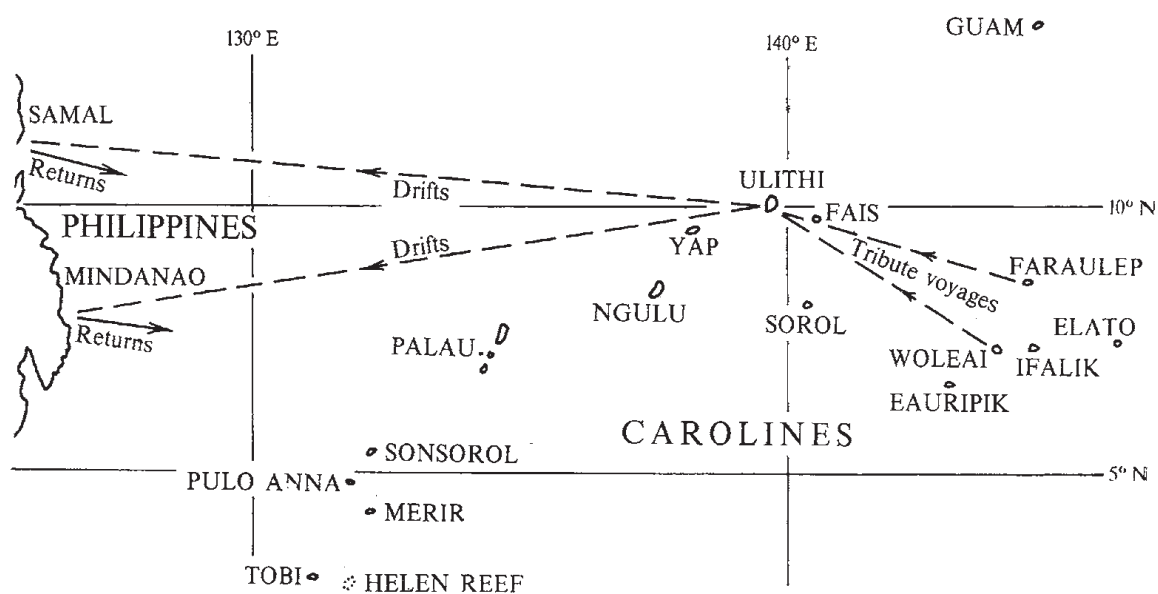


FIGURE 18 • Tribute voyages to Yap via Fais-Ulithi and drifts to and returns from the Philippines
(Source: Lewis, *We, the Navigators*, 228)

So, we return to our question: “What role did the *proa* play in the conquest of the Marianas?” Without the Chamorro *proa*, the Spanish–Chamorro war, which reached its height in 1684, might have ended differently, for two reasons. The first reason had to do with finding a solution to the West to East sailing conundrum (the assumption that it was impossible to sail upwind against prevailing trade winds, which blew from east to west), which was crucial in establishing a direct voyaging line between Manila and Guam. Being under the jurisdiction and supervision of the Spanish colonial regime in Manila, the Jesuit mission and the Spanish military force based in Guam were dependent on Manila for essential supplies and personnel (i.e., missionaries, craftsmen, and soldiers). Without these supplies and personnel, the Jesuit mission would simply not be able to sustain itself and carry out its conversion work. And, in the event of a rebellion, the Jesuits would be completely defenseless. The problem was that it took between ten months and one year for the Manila *galleon* to reach Guam. The *galleons* did not sail directly to Guam, but followed the Kuroshio Current towards Japan, and from there to California, and then along the west coast towards the bay of Acapulco, Mexico, where their valuable cargo from China were downloaded and exchanged for silver. After some months in Acapulco, the refitted *galleons* would then sail to Guam for a brief stopover (for the delivery of supplies and personnel for the Jesuit mission) before embarking on its final leg to Manila. Thus, the Jesuit mission was provided with supplies and personnel only once a year. But there were times when the expected *galleon* did not arrive. The Chamorro resistance to conversion, which started as soon as the Jesuits arrived in 1668 put their mission in jeopardy. A delay in the arrival of the *galleons* became a matter of life and death for the Jesuits. Thus, they frantically lobbied the Manila authorities to build a sloop that could carry the needed supplies and personnel and sail directly from Manila to Guam in the shortest time possible. But the Manila governor believed that such a direct Manila to Guam line was impossible and thus refused to act on the Jesuits’ urgent plea. Undaunted by the recalcitrance of the governor, the Jesuit found a solution to the West to East conundrum—they learned that the Chamorro *proa* can do return voyages from Guam to Manila. Using the example of the Chamorro

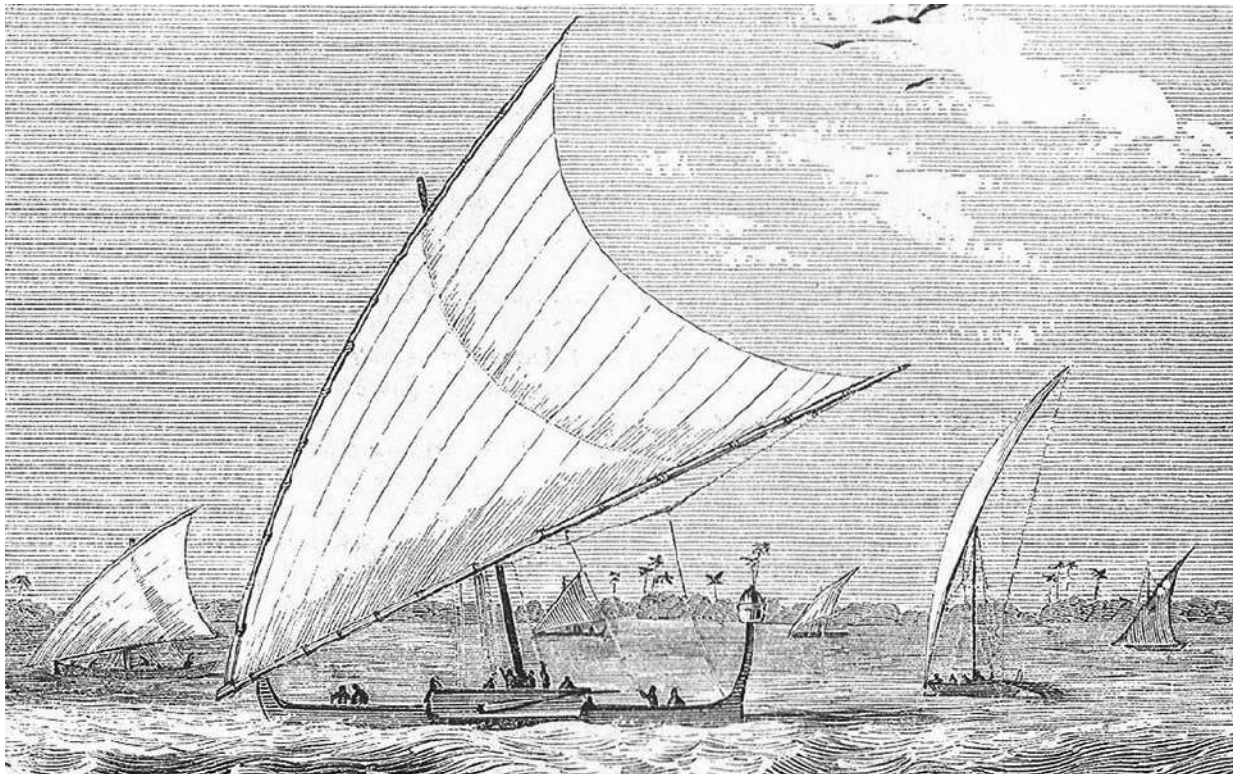


FIGURE 19 • Illustration of the *sakman*, the largest Chamorro *proa* used for long voyages, in Ballou’s Pictorial Drawing Room Companion (Source: Guam Public Library System/Guampedia)

as solid proof that boats can sail directly from Manila to Guam, they finally convinced the King and the Manila governor to build a sloop for a direct voyage to Guam. The Jesuit lobbying for a direct line to Guam bore fruit—a single-masted sloop sent from the port of Cavite (Manila Bay) finally made a successful landfall, after a 25-day crossing of the Pacific Ocean, on Guam on August 13, 1683! This was a momentous event for the Jesuit mission. Guam's 10- to 12-month wait for supplies and personnel from Manila was reduced to less than two months—about a month from Manila Bay to the San Bernardino Strait (the channel between Bicol and Samar) and 25 days from the San Bernardino Strait to Umatac, Guam. The sloop that arrived on August 23 carried Quiroga, “the Hernan Cortes of the Marianas,” who forthwith embarked on pacifying the rebellious Chamorros.

The second reason for the *proa*'s crucial role in the conquest of the Marianas had to do with Quiroga's successful pacification campaign. Without the *proas*, Quiroga would not have been able to wage his deadly expeditions. The Mariana Islands were separated from each other by distances of from 50 to 100 miles of treacherous waters. Quiroga needed *proas* for two tasks: one was to transport troops to the rebellious islands; the other was to carry out the *reduccion*, that is, the relocation of inhabitants from the outer islands to Guam. One Jesuit report mentions that twenty *proas* were used in a single expedition.

Thus, without the *proas* at the disposal of Quiroga and his officers, the Chamorros might have succeeded in putting an end to the Jesuit mission of conversion and the Spanish colonization of the Marianas. And our parable of tribes would have ended differently.



Epilogue

What then became of those who survived? We already know that they have all been reduced or herded into supervised towns in Guam. With all *imangguma'uritao* destroyed and the matrilineal system of kinship forcibly replaced by the patriarchal institution of Catholic matrimony, the survivors (from the military expeditions, the dislocations, and the epidemics that ensued) began a new life “*bajo de la campana*” (under the church bells)—under the authority of the parish priests and the military garrison. Thus, the high status of women and their autonomy from their husbands, the inheritance of property only through the maternal line, the practice of matrilocality or “uxorilocality” (i.e., married couples live with the wife’s relatives), the sexual education of adolescent boys, and the free and open intimacy between men and women became a thing of the past. Very likely, the survivors began thinking of those old practices from the vantage point of the Catholic faith—as barbaric, sinful practices induced by the Devil. Soon enough, their offspring—the next generation—educated in Jesuit seminaries for boys and for girls and inculcated with Catholic morals, would have no memories of those precolonial days of barbarism and sin.

Having been reduced into towns overseen by church and military authorities, our survivors and their offspring were prohibited from going back to their hometowns—in Tinian, Rota, Saipan, and other islands in the Marianas. This meant that they could no longer embark in long distance voyaging. Consequently, their ancient seafaring knowledge and skills were forgotten. Thus, the succeeding generations were cut off from the boat building and long-distance voyaging tradition of their ancestors. As summarized by zoo-archaeologist Judith Amesbury,

By all accounts the Chamorro were exceptionally skilled sailors and fishermen. However, when hostilities broke out soon after Spanish colonisation in 1668, the Chamorro people and culture were drastically affected. As a result of the 25-year long Spanish-Chamorro Wars and the Spanish policy of requiring nearly everyone in the Marianas to move to Guam, *the flying proa was no longer built by about 1750*, and the Chamorro people did not participate in pelagic fishing for the next 200 years.¹⁹⁸ (emphasis mine)

Lawrence Cunningham, a scholar of ancient Chamorro culture, writes: “It was in 1780 when the last recorded sakman [a large proa] had been used.”¹⁹⁹ Neither Amesbury nor Cunningham cites the sources for their dates. One primary source is the account of the explorer Dumont D’Urville. He

¹⁹⁸ Judith R. Amesbury, “Pelagic Fishing in the Mariana Archipelago: From the Prehistoric Period to the Present,” in *Prehistoric Marine Resource Use in the Indo-Pacific Regions*, eds. Ono Rintaro, Morrison Alex, and Addison David (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2013), 33–57, 53.

¹⁹⁹ Cited in Lacey A.C. Martinez, “Seafaring Traditions: Symposium Aims to Reconnect Cultures,” Micronesia Forum, October 12, 2008, <http://www.micronesiaforum.org/index.php?p=discussion/3502/chamorro-carolinian-canoe-navigation>.

observed, upon his visit to the Marianas in 1828, that the Chamorros were no longer able to make their proas, and those from the Carolines (Yap, Palau, Satawal, etc.) constructed on the same design were used instead.

By the time of Crozet's visit in 1772, changes in the behaviour of the Chamorros were apparent:

they have adopted a vice unknown to their ancestors, for the men are slightly given to drunkenness, and will drink a great deal of coco-nut spirit. They love music and dancing, but do not care much about work. They are passionately fond of cock-fighting. On Sundays and holidays they assemble after service at the door of the church, every man bringing his cock to fight that of another, and every man bets on his own bird.²⁰⁰

Crozet's observations seem to suggest that the Chamorros have acquired the vices of Filipino *indios*. But what Crozet had presumed as Chamorro men were most likely not the indigenous ones. Indeed, the immediate consequence of the conquest, as mentioned in the Jesuit reports, were the marriages of Chamorro women to Spaniards and Filipino *indios*. Some Chamorro families and single men fled to the nearby Carolinian Islands of Yap and Palau. In turn, Carolinians settled in Guam and Saipan. The result was a mix of ethnicities in which the indigenous Chamorros ended up comprising but a fraction of the total population of Guam, now called "the Guamanians." This could explain the discrepancy in the description of Chamorro men between the early accounts of the missionaries and the later 18th-century accounts of privateers and explorers. Recall that Fr. Martin Ignacio de Loyola and Fr. Antonio Sedeño had described Chamorro men as tall, robust, and well-formed. In contrast, Crozet and the renegade priest Abbé Raynal (who, not having travelled to the Marianas, relied on Crozet's account), though still describing the Chamorro women as "beautiful and well-built," described the men as "short, dark and ugly." Thus, Abbé Raynal came up with his fantastic hypothesis that this disparity in physical appearance between the ugly Chamorro men and the beautiful women made the men very grateful to the women which, in turn, gave rise to the latter's high status and dominance over the men.

In *Woman and Socialism* (1879), August Bebel envisioned that "the woman of future society... [would be] socially and economically independent... no longer subject to even a vestige of domination and exploitation; she... [would be] free, the peer of man, mistress of her lot."²⁰¹

Recently, Tithi Bhattacharya, following Margaret Benston's *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation* (1969), stressed that women's empowerment (and therefore human development) can be achieved only through the "complete reorganization of social production as a whole."²⁰² To wit, Benston stated that

To be more specific, this means that child rearing should no longer be the responsibility solely of the parents. Society must begin to take responsibility for children; the economic dependence of women and children on the husband-father must be ended.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Crozet, *Crozet's Voyage*.

²⁰¹ August Bebel, *Woman and Socialism* (New York: New York Labor News Company, 1904), 343.

²⁰² Tithi Bhattacharya, "Liberating Women from 'Political Economy': Margaret Benston's Marxism and a Social-Reproduction Approach to Gender Oppression," *Monthly Review* 71, no. 8 (January 2020): 1–13. Available online at <https://monthlyreview.org/2020/01/01/liberating-women-from-political-economy/>.

²⁰³ Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," *Monthly Review* 21, no. 4 (September 1969): 21–22.

The future envisioned by Marxist-Feminists August Bebel, Margaret Benston, and Tithi Bhattacharya was already a reality a thousand years ago among the Chamorros—when women, free love, and kindness ruled the day—until such a *terrestrial paradise*, to use Crozet’s felicitous description of Guam, was utterly obliterated by Spanish conquest.

Paradise lost—this is how our parable of the tribes ends. It may provide some consolation to realize that the quality of kindness dies hard. An American anthropologist, W. E. Safford, described with fondness his first impressions, ca. 1902, of Guam (now under American rule):

If wealth consists in the ability to gratify one's wants, the people of Guam may be called rich; and were it not for the frequent occurrence of hurricanes, life on the island would be almost ideal. None of the natives depends for his livelihood on either commerce or a trade. [...]

On all the farms we passed the natives were planting coconuts. There were fields of corn, sweet potatoes, and tobacco. The young tobacco plants, recently transplanted, were each sheltered from the sun by a section of coconut leaf, stuck into the ground at an angle. Everybody seemed contented and all had a pleasant greeting for the stranger. Some of the shy little children brought out by their parents to see us took my hand to kiss it, as is the custom in the island on the occasion of a visit from a dignitary of the church or state, or the head of a family. *It seemed to me that I had discovered Arcadia*; and when I thought of a letter I had received from a friend asking whether I believed it would be possible to civilize the natives, I felt like exclaiming: “God forbid!”²⁰⁴ (emphasis mine)

Tragically for the Chamorros of the 17th century, the Jesuit missionaries, Spanish officers, and their Filipino *indio* cohorts had not felt that way.

But although those Chamorros—peace-loving, jovial, cheerful, smiling, hospitable, and audacious—are long gone, they have left us a precious gift, if we only know how to recover it. American novelist and poet Jack Kerouac knew in his heart what that gift was when he sent a letter to his first wife with these words: “Practice kindness all day to everybody and you will realize you’re already in heaven now.”²⁰⁵

That’s the legacy of the Chamorros of old, a legacy of kindness that can guide us now, as we navigate our way, through the Scylla of unrelenting capitalist greed and the Charybdis of climate change, to a better world. May we all learn from our parable of the tribes—that fateful encounter in the 17th century between the Chamorros, descendants of seafarers from the Philippines 3,500 years ago, and the agents of Empire on a mission from their god—and reflect on a female poet’s words of wisdom for our age:

We, this people, on this small and drifting planet
Whose hands can strike with such abandon
That in a twinkling, life is sapped from the living
Yet those same hands can touch with such healing, irresistible tenderness
That the haughty neck is happy to bow
And the proud back is glad to bend

²⁰⁴ W. E. Safford, “Guam and Its People,” *American Anthropologist (New Series)* 4, no. 4 (October–December 1902): 727–29.

²⁰⁵ See Jack Kerouac, *The Portable Jack Kerouac*, ed. Ann Charters (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995).

Out of such chaos, of such contradiction
We learn that we are neither devils nor divines

When we come to it
We, this people, on this wayward, floating body
Created on this earth, of this earth
Have the power to fashion for this earth
A climate where every man and every woman
Can live freely without sanctimonious piety
Without crippling fear

When we come to it
We must confess that we are the possible
We are the miraculous, the true wonder of this world
That is when, and only when
We come to it.

(Excerpt from “A Brave and Startling Truth,” a poem by Maya Angelou)²⁰⁶

Floro Quibuyen
Croydon, NSW, Australia
27 March 2020

²⁰⁶ See Maria Popova, “A Brave and Startling Truth: Astrophysicist Janna Levin Reads Maya Angelou’s Stunning Humanist Poem That Flew to Space, Inspired by Carl Sagan,” Brain Pickings, May 9, 2018, <https://www.brainpickings.org/2018/05/09/a-brave-and-startling-truth-maya-angelou/>.



APPENDIX

Flying *Proa* Physics

CAMERON SMART

During a visit to the Mariana Islands in 1742, Lieutenant Peircy Brett sketched a proa which his commander Commodore Anson noted could run almost as fast as the wind and sail closer to the wind than any other boat known. Professor Quibuyen introduced me to these remarkable vessels during a lecture in New Zealand in November 2019. In engineering style, I built a 1:12 scale model from Brett's sketch and at Prof. Quibuyen's request prepared these notes to explain how the sail and hull forces are generated.

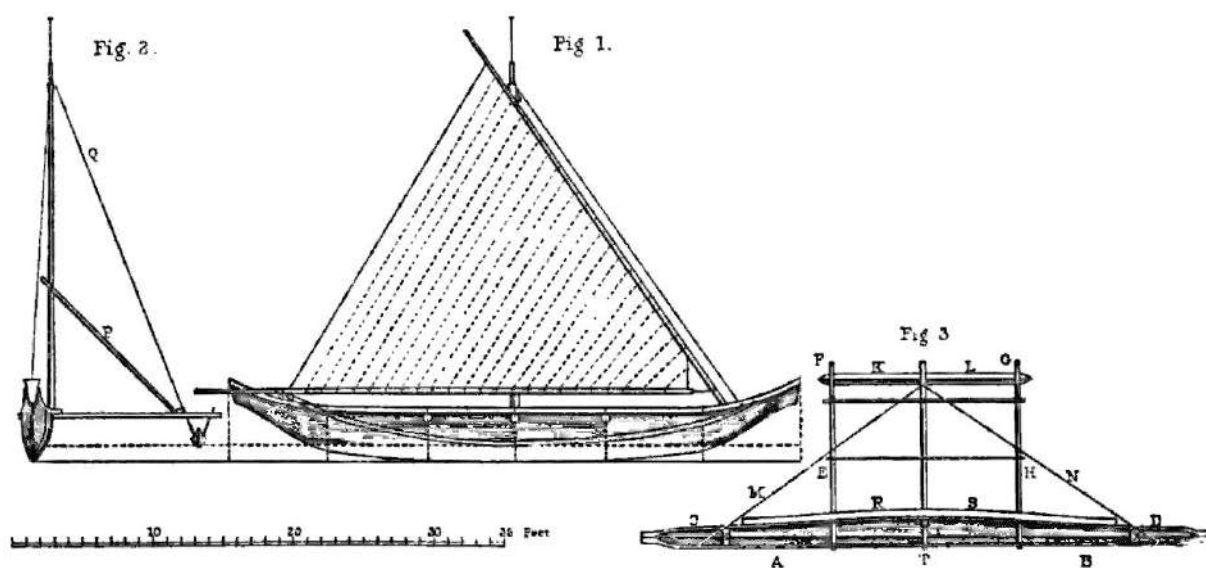


FIGURE 1 • Lieutenant Percy Brett's depiction of a Mariana Islands *proa*
(Source: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam/Wikimedia Commons)

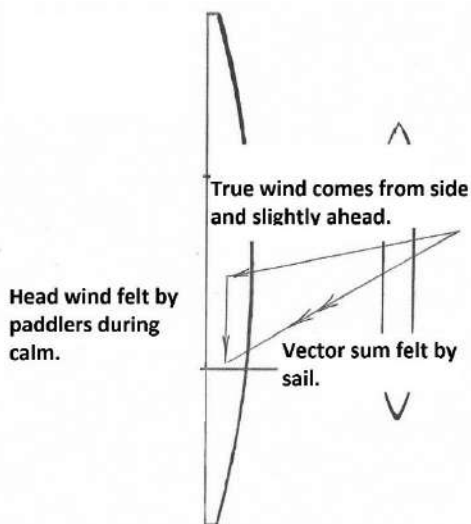
On all boats at rest or at low speed, there are two vertical forces acting, weight acting downwards and buoyancy acting upwards. These are equal and opposite.

On all sailboats moving through the water there are two sets of horizontal forces acting, a set of aerodynamic forces acting on the sail and a set of hydrodynamic forces acting on the submerged parts of the hull. These are also in balance—the aerodynamic force driving the boat forward exactly balances the hydrodynamic drag, and the aerodynamic force making the boat drift to leeward is

exactly balanced by a hydrodynamic force that minimizes the leeward drift. We will look in more detail at these horizontal forces.

These vertical and horizontal forces must not only be equal in magnitude but must be arranged with lever arms to prevent the boat from rotating about its longitudinal, lateral, and vertical axes. If, for example, the outrigger rises above the water, it loses the upthrust of buoyancy, but its weight pulls it down. Conversely, if the outrigger is submerged by a wave, it will gain buoyancy and rise. This gives stability against rolling. Similar arguments show how rotational stability is achieved in pitching (a fore and aft rocking motion) and yawing (hunting about the desired heading direction). We will not consider rotational effects here, but content ourselves with knowing the forces distribute themselves, often with help from the crew, to prevent the boat from rolling, pitching, or yawing.

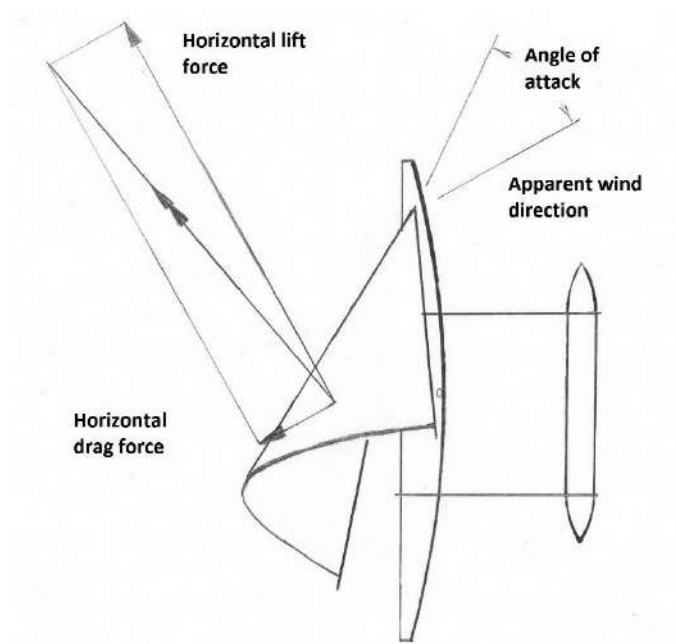
But where do the horizontal forces come from? Clearly the wind acts on the sail to blow the boat along, and the water acts on the hull to slow it down. When running downwind, the wind simply tugs the sail along while the water drags the hull back—the boat is slower than the wind. When reaching across the wind, it is possible for the boat to go almost as fast as the wind. Sailing directly into wind is impossible. How is it possible to sail faster with a side wind?



If the boat is being paddled forward in a dead calm, the paddlers will feel a head wind. We can say the boat feels the same head wind which we may represent with an arrow. If a wind springs up over and slightly ahead of the outrigger, it may also be represented with an arrow. The two arrows, called velocity vectors, may be added to give another arrow, longer than either of the others, coming from nearer ahead. This new long arrow represents the apparent wind, the wind felt by the sail.

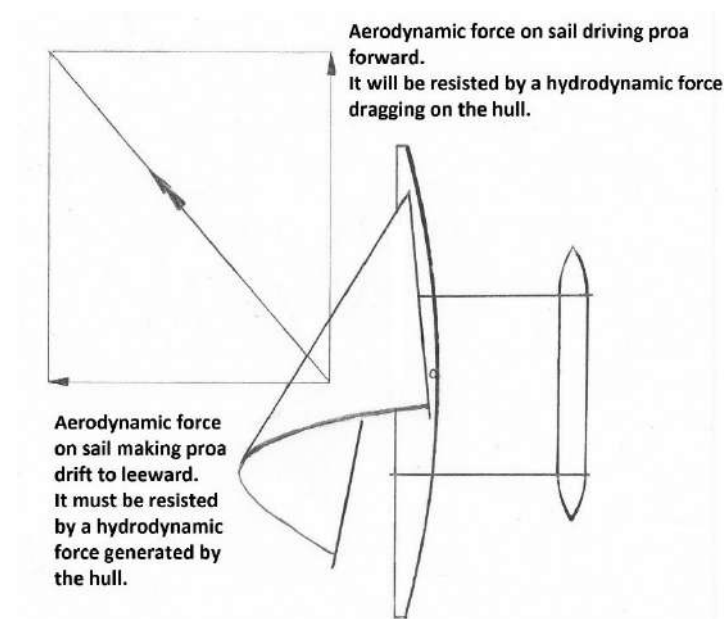
FIGURE 2 • Triangle of velocities: The curved side of the hull is to windward and the flat side is to the leeward

The crew stow their paddles and set the sail. This billows out on the leeward side opposite the outrigger. The crew trim the sail to make an angle, known as the angle of attack, with the apparent wind. One effect of the angle of attack is to bend the wind around the sail, to create curvature in the flow. The flow curves more strongly on the leeward side than on the windward. The difference in the curvature of the flows creates an aerodynamic force towards the more strongly curved side.



The aerodynamic force may be represented by another arrow, its length representing the strength (known as magnitude) of the force, and its direction representing the direction of the force. It is another vector. This vector may be replaced by two others whose combined effect is the same as the original one. One of these new vectors is in the direction of the apparent wind—it is called the drag force on the sail. The other is at right angles to the apparent wind—it is called the lift. On a well-designed and skilfully set sail, the lift is much greater than the drag.

FIGURE 3 • Lift and drag forces on sail: In this schematic, the sail may not be best set for the apparent wind direction



The directions of the lift and drag vectors tell us what happens to the sail but are inconvenient when we want to study the whole vessel. We can make the sail lift and drag vectors more useful by replacing them with another pair of new vectors arranged, or resolved as we say, to give the driving force in the direction of motion and the sideways drift force at right angles to this.

FIGURE 4 • Aerodynamic force resolved into forward driving and sideways drift forces

The idea of lift being created by curvature in the flow is mathematically difficult. For a rigorous treatment, see Milne-Thompson—but prepare to be daunted.¹ It is anything but light reading.

¹ L. M. Milne-Thompson, *Theoretical Aerodynamics* (New York: Dover, 1973), 47–49 and 114–16.

Marchaj has provided a more comprehensible explanation.² His diagrams and photographs relate to an airplane wing (hence the term lift), requiring us to make a small conceptual jump to the tall sail of a Bermuda sloop. The bigger jump to a crab claw sail or its modern delta development had to come later.

Flow in the more highly curved regions is faster than straighter flow. The kinetic energy of this greater speed comes at the expense of pressure energy, so the fast-moving air has a lower pressure than the slower flow. Hence the pressure on the downwind side of the sail is lower than the pressure on the upwind side. We can imagine the sail being sucked in the direction of the aerodynamic force.

Along the free trailing edge of the sail, air leaks from the high-pressure concave side to the low-pressure convex side. As it curls around the trailing edge, it rolls itself into a vortex which breaks off to form a turbulent wake. Energy is required to form the wake, energy no longer available to drive the boat, manifesting itself as the source of the drag force.

At high angles of attack, the trailing edge vortex spreads forward along the spars, especially on the upper one. These spar vortices have fierce circulation which creates great lift as well as great drag. Marchaj has made the analogy with a delta-wing airplane landing at a high angle of attack, but Slotboom disputes this, holding that the convexity and height to length ratio of the sail is responsible for the fine performance of the crab claw sail.³

Because theoretical aerodynamics is so difficult, designers use wind tunnels to measure forces and moments on models. The forces and moments are found to be proportional to the square of the true wind speed v^2 , the area of the sail A , and the density of the air ρ . The force is given by the equation

$$F_{\text{aero}} = C_{\text{aero}} \frac{1}{2} \rho A v^2$$

The coefficient C_{aero} is a simplifying number which takes care of the mathematical difficulties of circulation and vortices. In the international system of units, force is measured in newtons (symbol N), density in kilograms per cubic metre (kg/m^3), sail area in square metres (m^2), and velocity in metres per second (m/s). The coefficient C_{aero} has no units.

When we want the lift force, we write

$$L = C_L \frac{1}{2} \rho A v^2$$

Similarly, the drag force is given by

$$D = C_D \frac{1}{2} \rho A v^2$$

Engineers Jackson and Bailey have presented results of their wind tunnel studies on a 1:20 scale model of the Mariana proa drawn by Peirce Brett in 1742.⁴ They entered their wind tunnel results into a velocity prediction program used by designers of modern racing yachts to show that on a beam

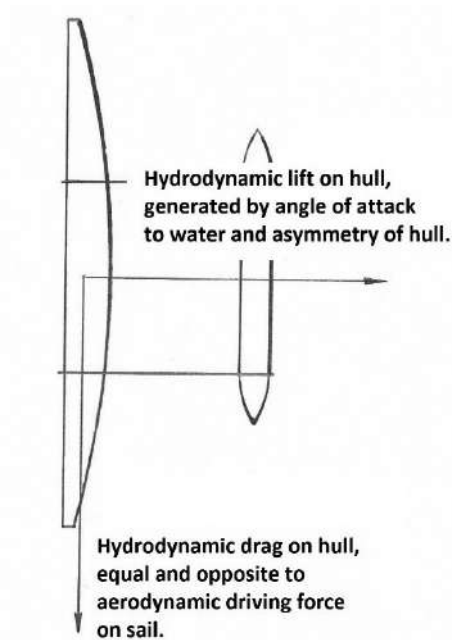
² C. A. Marchaj, *Aero-hydrodynamics of Sailing*, 2nd ed. (London: Adlard Coles Nautical, 1988), 198–226.

³ C. A. Marchaj, *Sail Performance: Techniques to Maximise Sail Power* (London, Adlard Coles Nautical: 1990); Bernard J. Slotboom, "Delta Sail in a 'Wind Tunnel,'" accessed January 7, 2020, https://multihull.de/technik/t-slotboom_gb.htm.

⁴ Peter S. Jackson and Keith I. Bailey, "Performance Prediction of a 'Flying Proa,'" in Hans-Dieter Bader and Peter McCurdy, eds., *Proceedings of the Waka Moana Symposium 1996: Voyages from the Past to the Future* (Auckland: New Zealand National Maritime Museum and Te Papa National Services, 1999), 166–69 and 307–13.

reach the full size proa would reach 10 m/s in a 13 m/s wind. They also showed that, when reaching, the outrigger would fly above the water in wind speeds above 5 m/s.

It was an anthropology student who sparked the interest of Professor Jackson who is, by his own confession, a speed freak. Professors Flay (another engineer) and Irwin (an anthropologist) made wind tunnel studies of their own to confirm the upwind performance of oceanic lateen sails (narrower isosceles triangle more nearly upright) made from woven pandanus leaves.⁵ They showed these enabled return voyages, and hence planned oceanic colonization. On a beam reach, they predicted 3.8 m/s in a 6 m/s wind.



We now turn our attention to what happens below the waterline. With a skillful crew, the hull moves swiftly forward but drifts slowly to leeward, the outrigger flying above the water. We can imagine the hull to be stationary and the water to be flowing past it at an angle of attack (same idea, but a different angle to what happens in the air above). The angle of attack will cause the flow to curve. By the theory of circulation, the curved flow will generate a force in the direction of greater curvature, now towards the outrigger, to windward.

FIGURE 5 • Hydrodynamic forces on hull, equal, and opposite to the aerodynamic forces on the sail: Proa is moving swiftly up the page and drifting slowly to the left

A symmetrical hull, or even a flat plate, in a flow with a small angle of attack, will create curvature in the flow and so experience a force to windward. The lift coefficient is directly proportional to the angle of attack α (measured in radians) and is shown by experiment to be

$$C_L = 2\pi\alpha$$

If there is zero angle of attack, there is zero lift to windward.

The Mariana *proas* are famous for having V-shaped asymmetric hulls, convex on the outrigger side and flat on the other. These generate a lift to windward, just as a symmetric hull does. But here, the asymmetry creates its own curvature in the flow, and hence a force towards the curvature, even when there is no angle of attack. Hence the coefficient of lift is greater. It is greater by an amount that is constant for any particular hull shape.

$$C_L = \text{constant} + 2\pi\alpha$$

⁵ Geoffrey Irwin and Richard G.J. Flay, "Pacific Colonisation and Canoe Performance: Experiments in the Science of Sailing," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 124, no. 4 (2015): 419–43, <https://doi.org/10.15286/jps.124.4.419-443>.

Thus, the Mariana proa can sail with less drift to leeward.

We conclude that the proa's breathtaking speed across the wind comes from the enormous lift generated by its large crab claw sail, and its ability to point high into the wind comes from the windward force generated by its V-shaped asymmetric hull moving at high speed.

There is a price to be paid for the speed. The proa is a straight-line dragster. It cannot tack, but must change direction by shunting, coming to a dead stop in the water while the forward ends of the spars are uprooted and shifted to the other end of the hull. To enable the wind to always come from the outrigger side, the bow must become the stern.



FIGURE 6 • Proa modelled at a scale of 1:12

About the Author

CAMERON SMART, CMEngNZ, MSc, BE earned his bachelor's degree (BE Mechanical) at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. He moved to Wellington to work at Physics and Engineering Laboratory (PEL) on numerically controlled machine tools, helped to pioneer the base isolation method of earthquake defence, and made developments in agricultural airplanes. He took leave without pay to serve as a volunteer lecturer at Institut Teknologi MARA in Malaysia teaching manufacturing processes and thermodynamics, then returned to PEL.

He won a fellowship to Cranfield Institute of Technology in England where he took his master's degree (MSc Applied Mechanics) specializing in stress analysis, vibrations, and the finite element (FE) method of structural analysis. On returning to PEL, he applied his FE knowledge to industrial problems in stress analysis and vibration.

A new job at Broadcast Communications Ltd gave him structural responsibility for TV and cell phone towers, adding new antennas and strengthening the towers against wind and sometimes combined wind and ice loads.

He then moved to the Institution of Professional Engineers New Zealand (IPENZ) where he was engineering practice manager. He coordinated teams of engineers who wrote practice notes demonstrating good practice in earthquake engineering, fire prevention in industrial buildings, and safety in heavy vehicles.

Since retiring, he has written a book on early radar developments in NZ (unpublished), taught English to new immigrants and engineering courses to degree level at Wellington Institute of Technology.

He is married to a Filipina who has established a home with him in Wellington.

His can be reached through cam.smart46@gmail.com.



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About the Author



FLORO C. QUIBUYEN holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and an M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Hawaii at Manoa, a B.A. in Philosophy from the University of the Philippines Diliman, and a Diploma in Community Services Work from the BCA National Training Group, Sydney, Australia.

Quibuyen's publications on Philippine history and culture include *A Nation Aborted: Rizal, American Hegemony and Philippine Nationalism* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008); "And Woman will Prevail over Man:" *Symbolic Sexual Inversion and Counter-Hegemonic Discourse in Mt. Banahaw* (Center for Philippine Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1991); the chapter "Japan and America in the Filipino Nationalist Imagination: From Rizal to Ricarte" in *The Philippines and Japan in America's Shadow* (edited by Kiichi Fujiwara and Yoshiko Nagano; National University of Singapore Press, 2014); and the chapter "Sulipan, Apalit: A

Lost Opportunity in Heritage Conservation?" in *Philippine Towns and Cities: Reflections of the Past, Lessons for the Future* (edited by Aloma Monte de los Reyes; Heritage Conservation Society and Urban Partnerships Foundation, 2010).

Two of the chapters in his *A Nation Aborted* have been translated into Japanese in a ground-breaking scholarly study on three Filipino historians (including Reynaldo C. Ileto, Vicente L. Rafael, and himself) entitled *Firipin Rekishikenkyu to Shokuminchi Gensetsu* (Philippine Historiography and Colonial Discourse), edited by Yoshiko Nagano and published by Mekong Publishing Co., Tokyo in 2004.

Quibuyen has also written, directed, and produced several short films and video documentaries—notably "Hibik sa Dapit-Hapon" (a short experimental film tribute to Josephine Bracken), "Project Lazarus: Exploring the Ancient Burial Sites of Mangkayan, Benguet, Philippines (a documentary film on the discovery of ancient burial sites), and "Stars Across a Sea of Time: The Hokule'a Lives On!" (a documentary video on the Voyage of Rediscovery of the Hawaii's Hokule'a voyaging canoe). He has likewise written a three-act play, "The Story of Cablesang Tales," which was staged at the Blacktown Cultural Centre (NSW, Australia) in 2017 and at the Greater Western Sydney Theatre for Performing Arts in 2018.

In his 25 years of teaching, Quibuyen had taught 29 undergraduate and graduate courses across various disciplines—including philosophy, mathematical logic, debating, art appreciation, modern Philippine drama and cinema, filmmaking and photography, anthropology, psychology, political science, and history—at the University of the Philippines, University of Santo Tomas, and the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Quibuyen retired from the academe in 2008 and continues to write and give lectures and seminars on Rizal and Philippine history and culture, and Pacific history and traditional navigation. He founded the Research Institute on Sustainable Alternatives (RISAL) in 2015.

He can be reached via quibuyen07@gmail.com.

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