BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHAMORROS AND FILIPINOS IN GUAM

Peter E. Patacsil*

ABSTRACT

The indigenous Chamorros of Guam and the rest of the Marianas were seafaring people who migrated from Southeast Asia to the Pacific. Guam was a Spanish colony from 1565 to 1898 when it was ceded to the United States after the Spanish-American War. When Father San Vitores established a Jesuit mission in Guam in 1668, the Chamorros numbered between 24,000 and 30,000 throughout the Marianas with approximately12,000 living in Guam. At the end of the Spanish era in 1898, there were approximately 9,800 people living in Guam including 8,600 to 8,700 Chamorros. According to the 2000 census, Chamorros comprised 37% of the island's population of 155,000. Chamorro customs still pervade the everyday life of the island. The Chamorros have absorbed immigrants into a neo-Chamorro society but still perpetuate Chamorro consciousness at the grass roots level. The Filipinos, on the other hand, have been the primary immigrants to Guam since 1638 when shipwrecked sailors from the Spanish galleon Concepcion married Chamorros and raised families. Since that time, Filipino soldiers, political exiles, construction workers, laborers, doctors, nurses, teachers, and others have migrated to the island and have made Guam their home. According to the 2000 census, Filipinos comprised 26.3% of Guam's population. The continuous immigration from the Philippines has perpetuated the heterogeneity of the "Filipino community."

---

* Dr. Peter E. Patacsil, Associate Professor of Mathematics at the University of Guam, submitted this article to *Silliman Journal* long before he passed away unexpectedly on March 31, 2005. In publishing this article, *Silliman Journal* wishes to honor the memory of a man whose many interests in life, especially in mathematics and history, have touched his colleagues and students in different ways. A true Filipino and a Chamorro to the end of his days, as this article affirms, Prof. Patacsil will be remembered by those in whose life he was a daily presence and who must miss him from minute to minute and hour to hour. *Silliman Journal* is grateful to Prof. Dirk Ballendorf and Prof. Larry Cunningham of the University of Guam as well as the other readers of Prof. Patacsil's paper for helping to get this article to print. (Ed.)

The long history of Spanish and American colonial rule has shaped and distorted relations between Chamorros and Filipinos who have waged common struggles against the colonial mentality. On the other hand, the Chamorros' struggle to maintain their identity and their land accosts immigrants who are pursuing their own piece of the mythical "American pie" but who, at the same time, refuse to abandon their own identity and culture. In addition to ancient ties in location of origin, language, and material culture, Chamorros and Filipinos share an asymmetrical solidarity in their struggles for dignity and human freedom to maintain their identities in the face of Euro-American encroachment.

Introduction

Located approximately 1,500 miles south of Japan and approximately 1,200 miles east of the Philippines, Guam is America's westernmost territory in the Pacific Ocean. In 1521, Ferdinand Magellan discovered Guam for Europe during his circumnavigation of the globe. Spain commenced its colonization of Guam and the rest of the Mariana Islands in 1668 when Father San Vitores, a Jesuit priest, established a mission at Guam. Spain's rule continued until 1898 when the island was taken over by the U.S. Navy. Guam was ceded to the United States at the end of the Spanish-American War while the rest of the Marianas Islands was purchased by Germany from Spain. Guam was placed under the administration of a naval government until December 8, 1941 when it was invaded, then occupied by Japan during the Second World War. The U.S. Marines liberated the island on July 21, 1944, which is still celebrated as a local holiday. A naval government was again established and continued to administer the island until 1950 when a civilian government under the Department of Interior was formed.

Because of its proximity to Asia, Guam is a U.S. strategic outpost in the western Pacific. In recent decades it has evolved into a tourist mecca for the Japanese and other Asians. Guam has a multicultural and multiethnic population. According to the *Pacific*

Daily News, the 2000 census indicates that this population numbers approximately 155,000. The ethnic breakdown of Guam's population by percent is as follows: Chamorro (37%); Filipino (26.3%); Caucasian (6.8%); Chuukese (4%); Korean (2.5%); Chinese (1.7%); Palauan (1.4%); Japanese (1.3%); Black (1%); two or more ethnic groups (14%); and others (4%). This paper describes the history, characteristics, and impact of the two primary ethnic groups in Guam, the indigenous Chamorros and the Filipinos.

The Indigenous Chamorros

Origin of the Chamorros

The Chamorros were originally seafaring people of Austronesian (formerly called Malayo-Polynesian) stock who migrated from Southeast Asia to the Pacific. Their route and how long their journey took are not known. One theory is that the Chamorros came via the island of Luzon in the Philippines. According to Sanchez (1988), another theory asserts that they came by way of the islands to the south and southwest of Guam, possibly through New Guinea or Indonesia and the Western Caroline Islands. Since these places were already populated by different races, Chamorros probably visited them only long enough to rest and to gather and load provisions into their canoes.

Sanchez (1988) narrates that when Magellan visited Guam in 1521, the indigenous natives of Guam were described as stalwart men. Taller than the Spaniards, they had straight black hair, brownskin, and wore no clothing. Since the Spaniards were searching for the Indies, they referred to the natives as *indios* (Indians). When Spain formally claimed Guam in 1565, they called the islanders of the Marianas *chamurres*, the Spanish version of *chamorri*, the native word for high caste. Spanish sailors interpreted *chamurre* to mean "friend." After Father Diego Luis de San Vitores established a Jesuit mission on Guam in 1668, the local natives were called Chamorros. According to Rogers (1995), the word *Chamorro* is apparently indigenous in origin and may have been adapted from the Spanish word *Chamorro,* which

means "bald" or "shorn." The word was descriptive of some of the native men who had shaven heads except for a top knot.

The Chamorro Population

Rogers (1995) reports that in 1668 the Chamorros numbered a total of between 24,000 and 30,000—approximately 12,000 of them on Guam and 12,000 to 18,000 throughout the rest of the Mariana Islands. However, disease and warfare decimated the Chamorro population. In 1688 the brigantine San Francisco arrived in Guam from Acapulco with supplies. The crew or passengers or both infected the Chamorros with a disease then referred to as blood rheum with fever, which was probably either influenza or small pox. The following year a Spanish galleon brought another disease that struck down the indigenous natives. Within three months, 80 people or five percent of the people died from the disease. Rogers (1995) states that although eighty may seem such a modest figure, in 1690 the population of the island was estimated at 1,800, including Spaniards and Filipinos. The decline in Guam's population from an estimated 12,000 to 1,800 (or fewer) was therefore disastrous. In 1690 Father Jose Hernandez of the Umatac church estimated that there were still 7,000 Chamorros in existence. These were the Chamorros who had fled to either the other Mariana Islands or to the Caroline Islands, which are south of Guam.

Warfare also diminished the ranks of the Chamorros. Between 1671 and 1685, numerous small-scale clashes took place between the Chamorros and Spanish soldiers resulting in the deaths of hundreds of Chamorros. Even larger numbers of Chamorros died in battle during unsuccessful sieges of Hagatna forts during the same period: Hurao's attacks with 2,000 warriors (1671-1672); Aguarin's "hundreds" of warriors (1676-1677); and the Apurguan uprising (1684). Despite their ancient weapons, the Chamorros attacked courageously and repeatedly in the face of musket fire and cannon barrages. In 1695 Jose de Quiroga captured the last Chamorro rebel stronghold with the help of his Chamorro allies led by Antonio Inoc, a converted chamorri. In

1698 an expedition of 400 Spanish and Chamorro troops rounded up the last Chamorro refugees, approximately 1,000 people, in the far northern islands of the Marianas. While being transported to Guam, many of these refugees perished on the way, their boats wrecked by typhoons in high seas. Thirty years after Father San Vitores established the first mission on Guam, the *reduccion* of the Chamorros ended. Rogers (1995) defines *reduccion* as an effort by the Spaniards to "subdue, convert, and gather pagans into Christian congregations."

Chicken pox epidemic on Guam in 1779 killed Chamorros but few Spaniards, mestizos, or Filipinos. Consequently, the Spanish census of 1783 indicated that there were more non-Chamorros than Chamorros for the first time in the Mariana Islands. There were 1,623 non-Chamorros (Spaniards, mestizos, Filipinos and their descendants, including many Chamorro mixtures) compared to 1,608 pure-blooded Chamorros. Between 1783 and 1816, Spanish censuses showed that the pure-blooded Chamorros were approximately equal in numbers to the non-Chamorros. After 1816, the pure-blooded Chamorros became a diminishing minority in their homeland until they were finally absorbed into a hybrid "neo Chamorro" (Underwood, 1976) mixture at the end of the nineteenth century. At the end of the Spanish era in 1898, there were approximately 9,800 people living in Guam including 8,600 to 8,700 Chamorros. Although the absolute number of Chamorros has increased since 1898 when Guam became a U.S. territory, the percentage of Chamorros has decreased from 99% in 1901 to 37% in 2000. Note that during the 1950s and 1960s Chamorro families left Guam and migrated to the continental U.S. and this migration continued into the 1970s in increasing amounts. Consequently, half of the Chamorro population (about 50,000 persons) live in the continental U.S.

Caste System

The ancient Chamorros had two family castes: the high-ranking one had rights to property and was called chamorri; the low status one or commoner was called *manachang*. Members

of the chamorri did not normally intermarry with members of the manachang. The chamorri was comprised of two classes: the *matua* and the *achoti*. The *matua* was the highest class and both the *maga'lani* (headman) and the *maga'haga* (headman's wife) came from this class. Members of the *achoti* were fishermen and sailors. The manachang were primarily farmers and did not own property. However, they were not slaves to be bought and sold.

During the Spanish era, Chamorro land tenure changed. That is, communal ownership of ancestral lands by Chamorro families gradually degenerated with ownership passing on to the principalia, the new class that had replaced the chamorri. Simply put, the traditional Chamorro matrilineal system was supplanted by the Spanish first-born male inheritance system. The principalia class was the forerunner of the *manak'kilo*, a small elite class of families known as the "high people." This privileged class had houses normally made of coral masonry called *mamposteria* in the center of Hagatna. The manak'kilo adopted Spanish and Filipino clothing and manners. Although they were educated in the Spanish language, they continued to speak Chamorro at home. The manak'kilo families gradually came to own the largest parcels of private land on Guam. The manak'kilo was the local "city" gentry comprised of about twelve families. They had a tendency to marry Spaniards and to become mestizos. The manak'kilo remained aloof from the *manak'papa*, the ordinary "low people" of predominantly Chamorro blood. The latter group lived primarily in the outskirts of Hagatna and in the rural villages. According to Rogers (1995), many of the manak'papa did not own land during the Spanish rule.

Chamorro Customs

During the Spanish era, the family in Chamorro society was strengthened by the acceptance by the Chamorros of Spanish Catholic marriage rites and the observance of godfathers (*compadre* in Spanish, or *kumpaire/kumpaile* in Chamorro) and godmothers (*comadre* or *kumaire/kumaile*). By the nineteenth century a church marriage became an inseparable union

much unlike the marriage arrangements during the precontact period. The obligations and roles of godparents were formalized through baptism. These kinship ties created extended families resulting in the family and the church becoming the centers of social loyalty.

The absorption of introduced customs by the Chamorros indicates that they were agents of their own transformation and not just victims of foreigners. Chamorro women, in particular, quietly manipulated foreign systems for their own purposes. They adopted new practices and concepts to meet local needs while at the same time obstinately held on to control of the family and the core of their language. Because of this family-language lineage coupled with Guam's isolation, the Chamorros were neither totally Hispanicized nor supplanted by a hybrid non-indigenous population, as occurred in Puerto Rico and Cuba. Rather, the Chamorros absorbed immigrants into a neo-Chamorro society but still perpetuated their Chamorro consciousness at the grass roots level. Chamorro customs still pervade the everyday life of the island. For example, when the Guam Federation of Teachers (GFT) went on strike in 1981, many of the actions and interactions were based on the customs of the Chamorros.

When Governor Paul Calvo and Bishop Felixberto Flores joined together and appealed for support of the local government, they noted that Guam's cultural traditions were derived from *ina'fa'moalek* or cooperation and interdependence, and not on confrontation. Confrontation during the GFT strike was inconsistent with Chamorro cultural values. One of the core values is for a family member to avoid *mamahlao*, the embarrassment or shame of a family when a member acts in a confrontational or self-serving way. Closely related to mamahlao is the local custom of respect for a benefactor, person of authority, or protector called the patron. The patron helps the family by providing benefits (e.g., jobs) to family members. The governor and the bishop are the most authoritative figures to Chamorros. Moreover, the Chamorros were reluctant to strike against their *mangga'chong* (close friends) and godparents who were

employed by the local government. The strike called by GFT failed.

The Filipino Immigrants

Early History

Since the seventeenth century, Filipinos have been the primary immigrants to Guam. The first Filipino settlers in the Marianas were shipwrecked sailors. On September 20, 1638, the Manila galleon Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion ran aground on a reef at Agingan Bay on the southwest tip of Saipan. Some of the shipwrecked Filipinos and Spaniards from the Concepcion married Chamorros and raised families. In 1668 the San Diego arrived in the Mariana Islands with Father Diego Luis de San Vitores, fellow Jesuit Tomas de Cardenas, some Filipino catechists, and a complement of 19 soldiers. The small group of missionaries included Esteban, a Filipino survivor of the Concepcion shipwreck. Retrieved in 1662 on Guam by the San Damian, Esteban had earlier been hired by Father San Vitores in the Philippines to teach the Jesuit friar Chamorro and to serve as an interpreter for the Marianas mission. When Father San Vitores arrived in Guam, Pedro Calonsor, a Christian Visayan Filipino, came aboard the San Diego. Calonsor was also one of the shipwrecked survivors from the Concepcion.

According to Rogers (1995), he brought aboard his two-year-old daughter who was baptized and given the baptismal name Mariana. Calonsor became a trusted companion of Father San Vitores as well as a catechist. Lorenzo de Morales, a Malabar native and another Concepcion survivor, also joined Father San Vitores' mission as a catechist. Calonsor and Morales were among 40 non-Spaniards who were part of the mission. The Marianas mission consisted of five Jesuit priests; Lorenzo, a scholastic brother; three Spanish officers; and the 40 non-Spaniards. The latter group was comprised of mostly Filipinos and Mexican mestizos of Spanish and Indian descent. The non-Spaniards included 31 soldiers and the rest were either catechists or servants. Rogers (1995) reports that from 1674 on, almost every

complement of soldiers arriving on Guam included Filipinos (usually Pampangos) and Spanish-Indian mestizos from Mexico.

The Spaniards maintained social distinctions between peninsulares (people born in Spain), criollos (Spaniards born outside Spain), insulares (Spaniards born in the islands), mestizos (people of Spanish and Indian blood), Filipinos, and indios (Chamorros). Filipino, mestizo, and Spanish soldiers began to marry Chamorro women in church ceremonies in the 1670s, and set up permanent households. During the Spanish-Chamorro Wars (1671-1695), the Spanish forces lost 118 to 128 men. Rogers (1995) states that the dead included six Jesuit priests, six catechists, and soldiers, mostly Filipinos. Since the Chamorro population was dwindling due to war and diseases, several proposals were made starting in 1772 and over the years to transport Filipino families to the Marianas for voluntary resettlement. Finally, a ship with Filipino migrants sailed for Guam in 1748 but sank enroute. All on board drowned, ending all mass migration attempts.

In 1702, the War of the Spanish Succession erupted upon the death of Charles II. Spanish authorities in both Mexico and the Philippines were concerned about the threat posed by English privateers. At the time the Spanish troop strength in Guam consisted of 130 men in three companies. The men in two of these companies were listed as Spaniards who probably included many mestizos. The third company was comprised of Filipino Pampangos who also worked as carpenters and stone masons for the mission and the garrison. A Spanish census of 1727 listed more than 400 families of Spanish and Filipino soldiers and retirees, most of whom had married Chamorro women. A recurring social phenomenon, the migration of Filipinos to Guam has impacted the history and development of the island.

In the 1750s, British men-of-war sailed the Pacific Ocean. During the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), the city of Manila fell to the British in 1762. When Jose de Soroa, a naval officer and Governor of the Mariana Islands, learned of the fall of Manila, he mobilized all able-bodied men in the event the British invaded Guam. In addition to 60 soldiers assigned to the presidio, there

were 67 Spaniards, 57 mestizos, 100 Filipinos, and several hundred Chamorros. Fortunately, the British ignored Guam. Sargento Mayor Mariano Tobias served as governor between 1771 and 1774. He organized a 200-man volunteer militia to back up the regular troops. The militia had Spanish officers and Filipino non-commissioned officers.

Filipino Rebels

Filipinos were sent to Guam as *deportados* since the early 1870s. The 1870s was a period of political turmoil for Spain. As Spain's government changed, supporters of the previous regime were arrested and deported to the colonies as political convicts or deportados. The deportados, especially the educated Filipinos who advocated radical political ideas pertaining to "native rights," had a subversive impact on the Chamorros. The first groups were sent after rebellious acts (e.g., the Cavite Mutiny) occurred in the Philippines. Oftentimes the deportados were not imprisoned and were allowed to work and live among the Chamorros. In January 1872 Filipino priests led the Cavite Mutiny in the Philippines, which was crushed by the Spaniards. Three priests were executed and numerous others were sentenced to be deportados. Consequently, approximately 1,200 political exiles from Spain and the Philippines were deported between 1872 and 1877 to the Marianas along with ordinary convicts. In June 1876, all deportados were freed and repatriated by King Alphonso XII, leaving military convicts and ordinary civilian convicts in the Marianas.

After an unsuccessful insurrection against the Spaniards in August 1896, Filipino rebels were exiled to Guam. Many of these deportados were massacred during an escape attempt on the night of December 20, 1896. After the Spanish-American War, Filipino patriots fought against the U.S. Army and were defeated, then imprisoned. Stade (1998) defines an "irreconcilable" as a Filipino who fought against the U.S. for Philippine independence and who refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the U.S. after being captured by the U.S. Army. Several "irreconcilables" were transported to Guam as political prisoners. Forty-five Filipinos

plus 14 servants arrived in Guam in early 1901 and were held in a temporary prison site in Asan. The group included Apolinario Mabini (one of the leaders of the insurrection), his brother Prudencio, and five generals. In 1903 most of the Filipino insurgents returned to the Philippines. Three "irreconcilables" opted to remain in Guam: teacher-lawyer Leon Flores, lawyer Panracio Palting, and Maximo Lorenzo Tolentino, a young cook. Felixberto Camacho Flores, one of Leon Flores' sons, became the first Chamorro archbishop of Guam in 1971. Jose Aguon Flores, another descendant, became leader of the Baptist church and mission of Guam in the 1930s. As for Palting, he later became a judge. Meanwhile, Tolentino married Tomasa Crisostomo Lizama and raised a large family. On July 4, 1961 the Filipino community erected a memorial to the former exiles at the Asan site. During the dedication ceremony, Monsignor Felixberto Flores who later became Bishop of Hagatna, rendered the invocation. Maximo Lorenzo Tolentino, the former cook and the last survivor of the exiles, proudly stood at the dedication ceremony.

Filipino Laborers

In May 1947, the U.S. and Philippine governments entered into an agreement regarding the recruitment and hiring of Filipinos by U.S. armed services and their contractors in the Pacific area, including Guam. The agreement was in violation of U.S. immigration laws but was an expedient that allowed the military and its contractors to quickly acquire Filipino laborers. According to Rogers (1995), the Brown-Pacific-Mason consortium and the Marianas Stevedoring and Development Company were allowed to import as many alien laborers as they needed on Guam. These laborers were hired under one- or two-year contracts without Philippine passports or U.S. visas. The U.S.-Philippine agreement stated that Filipino laborers would be paid the current Philippine salary, with a 25 percent overseas differential. They were also to receive medical care, room and board, and round-trip air transportation from point of hire.

Huge camps or towns were built to accommodate these men and the few Filipinas with them. Camp Roxas was the largest, housing 7,000 men (mostly Visayans), and was located north of Agat-Santa Rita on former Bordallo land. The camp consisted not only of barracks, but also included mess halls, movie houses, and a beach. The Tagalogs and Ilocanos were housed in Camp Edusa near Dededo and in Camp Marbo (named after the Air Force's Marianas-Bonin command area and also called Magsaysay City) in Yigo. Camp Quezon was located near the present site of the University of Guam in Mangilao. Meanwhile, the military's American civilian employees were housed in Camp Asan located on the site of the old Asan presidio, which was used to incarcerate Filipino rebels in 1902-1903. Camp Asan was unlike the other camps as it contained a bowling alley and other amenities.

Early 1949 saw an influx of thousands of American contractors and Filipino construction workers whose salaries and allowance differed widely on the basis of ethnicity rather than on work performance. In 1950 the U.S. Congress passed an Organic Act that ended U.S. Naval Rule, established a local civilian government structure, granted limited U.S. Citizenship, and defined Guam's political status as an "unincorporated territory." The passage of the Act also authorized the newly created Government of Guam to permit private businesses and merchants to import Filipino contract workers. Consequently, labor migrants were brought to Guam through both the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the U.S. Navy. The Navy recruited workers independent of the INS. During the Korean War (June 25, 1950 to July 27, 1953), Guam served as a busy support base for military operations. For some time the military remained dependent on a large number of alien workers from the Philippines for the completion of construction projects in the western Pacific region. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 changed the control and administration of contract workers on Guam. H-2, one of the worker categories established by the act, allowed aliens to perform labor or temporary services, if unemployed persons

capable of performing such labor or service could not be found in the U.S.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952 granted permanent resident status to all contract workers who had resided in Guam before or during 1950. Consequently, many Filipino immigrants departed Guam for either the continental U.S. or Hawaii. Rogers (1995) points out that the Act of 1952 also specified the conditions under which additional labor immigrants would be permitted to enter Guam: "An alien having a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning... who is coming to the U.S. to perform other temporary services of labor if unemployed persons capable of performing such service or labor cannot be found in this country." Since this section of the act was designated (H) and (ii), contract workers in Guam came to be referred to as "H-2 workers." However, the influx of Filipino contract laborers did not diminish as most of them were brought in by the U.S. military. Additionally, the military did not want to send back any of these laborers as they constituted cheap labor and permitting them to remain resulted in cost savings associated with recruitment, travel, and training.

The act allowed the military to continue using Filipino contract workers. The Philippines established a consulate on Guam in 1950 to assist the Filipino laborers. In 1952 there were approximately 17,000 Filipino H-2 workers on Guam. In the late 1950s, the number of Filipino workers dropped as military projects were completed and the large labor camps closed. In 1960 the INS commenced a three-year phase out of H-2 workers and by 1962, most alien contract workers were gone from Guam. While the H-2 program was being phased out, steps were being taken to alter the alien labor situation. The "Aquino Ruling" (based on a Board of Immigration Appeals case) of 1960 allowed certain categories of non-immigrant alien workers to remain as permanent U.S. residents. As a result, about 1,700 Filipino non-immigrant aliens became permanent residents by 1962. These new residents, along with other Filipino contractors who had married American citizens, eventually became U.S. citizens by applying for a "green card."

As U.S. citizens, Filipinos who remained in Guam petitioned for immediate family members in the Philippines to enter Guam.

Despite the phasing out of H-2 workers, laborers were still needed for military construction. Consequently, the H-2 program was replaced by the Defense Parolee Program under the provisions of the 1952 Immigration and Naturalization Act. The parolees, unlike the H-2 workers, worked under the old discriminatory wage scales that were low. Thus, as before the parolee program provided military contractors with the same source of cheap alien labor for U.S. defense purposes. Through the years, this flow of immigration, which was over and above the regular U.S. immigrant quota for the Philippines, gathered momentum. Consequently, Americans of Filipino ancestry have become the largest minority on Guam, comprising about one-quarter of the island's population. They also comprise the majority of the residents of Dededo, Guam's largest village.

Supertyphoon Karen struck Guam on the evening of November 11, 1962, devastating the island and wiping out entire villages in its wake. To re-build the island, a federal reconstruction and rehabilitation program as well as a public law providing grants and long-term loans for Guam residents resulted in a construction boom on the island. Rogers (1995) reports that to provide labor for rehabilitating Guam after Typhoon Karen (November 1962) and Typhoon Olive (April 1963) struck the island, INS allowed Filipino workers (and several hundred Micronesians for the first time) into Guam under the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Program, a second parolee program. These workers were hired under six-month contracts, which were extended until May 1970. As a result, the number of alien workers again began to increase to almost 4,500 by the end of 1967. Exploitation of these workers, however, continued and according to reports they were given poor food and lived in filth and squalor. The abuses led to the formation of the first labor union in Guam in December1964. There were 1,500 members (mostly Filipinos) in Operating Engineers Union Local 3 of the AFL-CIO.

According to Rogers (1995), tourism developed into a major industry in Guam in the early 1980s. Guam's income from tourism rose to $200 million a year in 1985. The tourism surge served as a catalyst in the construction industry resulting in the hiring of H-2 workers including Chinese, Koreans, Malaysians, as well as Filipinos.

Filipino Professionals

In 1950 Governor Carlton Skinner separated the civilian hospital from the naval hospital and named it the Guam Memorial Hospital (GMH). At the time, the civilian hospital was located in two Butler buildings in Oka. The governor recruited doctors and nurses from the Philippines and hired them under contract. Although these doctors and nurses were granted American credentials after passing examinations, their remuneration remained well below U.S. standards. Nevertheless, many of these medical professionals remained in Guam after fulfilling their contracts and became U.S. citizens, forming the nucleus of Guam's private medical sector for many years. To date, hundreds of Filipinos are employed as teachers in the public school system. In February 1981, the Guam Federation of Teachers (GFT), the teachers' union in Guam, called a strike. Rogers (1995) reports that the strike evolved into a clash of values between statesiders (who comprised the majority of the strikers) on one side, and Chamorros and Filipinos (most of whom remained on the job) on the other side. The statesiders were primarily non-Catholic, individualistic in demeanor, and liberal in their viewpoints. Many of these islanders (unlike most Chamorro and Filipino teachers) dressed in shorts, T-shirts, and zorii for work. Because Chamorros and Filipinos have always held the teaching profession in high esteem, they viewed this casual attitude displayed by the statesiders as lack of respect for students and for the teaching profession.

The Filipino Population

During the first decades of American rule, Filipinos comprised less than five percent of Guam's population. About the

time the Philippines became an independent nation in 1946, there was a strong wave of immigration from the Philippines to Hawaii and the continental U.S. via Guam. In 1965 when the U.S. government changed the policies that limited immigration from Asia, there was another significant increase in Filipino immigration. Since that time, the number of Filipino immigrants to Guam has increased steadily. By 1990 ethnic Filipinos comprised 22.6 percent (30,043) of the population. According to the 2000 census, this number has increased to 26.3 percent (40,714).

Filipino Community

Stade (1998) states that to speak of "*a*" or "*the*" Filipino community of Guam is misleading with regard to culture communion as well as political homogeneity partly because members of the "Filipino community" have arrived on Guam at different points in time and mainly because they came from different parts of the Philippines—from the north and south, from metropolitan Manila and remote villages, from wealthy and poor families, and so forth. A Filipino construction laborer who lives in a barracks, and saves his money to send back home to support his family, to build a house, or to open a business, may care little about the aspirations of the socialites who dress up and play the part of royalty during coronation balls when they participate in the "Mr. and Mrs. Filipino Community of Guam." The contract laborer who has recently arrived on-island may not be interested in the issue of dual citizenship for Philippine expatriates. On the other hand, Filipino residents in Guam who have acquired U.S. citizenship may closely follow the Filipino Dual Citizenship Bill in the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives. The point to be made here is that the continuous immigration from the Philippines perpetuates the heterogeneity of the "Filipino community". It is important to also note that the Filipino immigrants may have brought different political loyalties with them.

The Filipino population also includes young adults who have been born and raised in Guam. Although many of them speak their parents' dialect, they have few ties with the Philippines. Some

of them call themselves Guamanians, unsure of what their identity is. It is an even more complex identity problem for a young adult who has a Chamorro father and Filipino mother or vice versa.

Chamorro-Filipino Relations

The historical relations between Chamorros and Filipinos in Guam can be viewed from two perspectives. First of all, their ancient migrations from Southeast Asia and the long history of Spanish and American colonial rule have shaped and distorted the relations. Second, Chamorros and Filipinos have waged common struggles against colonial mentality.

Diaz (1995) provides a historical perspective of the local relations between Chamorros and Filipinos. These two ethnic groups share similar origins in Southeast Asia. Chamorros are the descendants of seafarers and traders from Southeast Asia. Their ancestors passed through Indonesia, Malaysia, or the Philippines and settled in the Marianas. Chamorros and Filipinos speak languages that have a common origin. They also have common ceramic traditions as well as common navigation and maritime technologies, including the use of the outrigger. During colonial and neocolonial struggles, first under Spain then under the U.S. and Japan respectively, the Chamorros and Filipinos shared similar experiences. During the Spanish era, government authorities enlisted and forced Filipino soldiers to help maintain its subjugation of the Chamorros from the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. The Marianas provided the setting for voluntary and forced Filipino labor in support of missionaries and civil authorities against rebellious Chamorros.

In the aftermath of the Chamorro-Spanish Wars of the seventeenth century, most of the Chamorro men had died. Consequently, Filipino men were imported to Guam to help rejuvenate Chamorro society. Chamorro women married Filipinos and other non-Chamorro men, bearing children who were raised to speak the Chamorro language. Souder (1992) points out that Chamorro women in their roles as mothers and as protectors of the family distinguished themselves as the makers and shapers of

Chamorro history and cultural continuity. It can be said in this vein that Filipino men were assimilated into Chamorro society by the workings of what is now referred to as "kustumbren Chamorro," the term used widely to refer to a local Chamorro cultural system that combines elements of a precontact aboriginal culture and those of later arrivals. According to Forbes (2000), Filipinos who were settled in Guam in the eighteenth century had family names such as Manibusan, Pangelinan, and Untalan. These Filipinos have been assimilated into neocolonial Chamorro society along with their Caucasian (e.g., Johnston, Sgambelluri, and Underwood), Chinese (e.g., Chaco, Tydingco, and Unpingco), Japanese (e.g., Onedera, Shimizu, and Tayama), and Spanish (e.g., Leon Guerrero, Martinez, and Perez) counterparts.

The militarization and reconstruction that occurred after the Second World War signify the beginning of some of the most profound shifts in Chamorro-Filipino relations. This reconstruction resulted in the importation of thousands of Filipino workers. The arrival of these workers, complaints of adverse effects, and the relaxation of immigration quotas led to a troublesome period characterized by federal policies and local interventions to cope with national security concerns and local growing pains. Guam's postwar context also included population explosion and growth. It was during this period that the fear of Chamorro culture extinction first manifested itself in recent times. Diaz (1995) argues that American colonial history has manipulated relations between Chamorros and non-Chamorros, providing a troubled legacy that has pitted the indigenous Chamorros against non-Chamorros like the Filipinos. The U.S. military, Congress, and the Departments of Interior and Justice have largely dictated immigration conditions, labor requirements, and economic and political development resulting in the troubled growth and social situations confronting Guam. Chamorros' struggle to maintain their identity and their land collides with the immigrants' own pursuit of a piece of the mythical "American pie" and refusal to abandon their own identity and culture. This confrontation occurred during Guam's early recorded history and has recurred since the end of the Second

World War but especially in the last two decades often resulting in hostility and/or resentment, and sometimes violence

Some Chamorros discriminate against Filipino residents. On the other hand, many Filipinos look down on Chamorros for not being as culturally rich as the people in the Philippines. Moreover, many Filipinos often ridicule facets of Chamorro culture as being "borrowed" from the Philippines, behaving as if a culture has never borrowed things from other cultures. Diaz (1995) asserts that mutual respect can go a long way in improving relations between Chamorros and Filipinos providing that a certain asymmetry or lopsidedness in their respective histories is recognized. He identifies this asymmetry in the unequal way in which Chamorros and Filipinos were allowed to exist under the conditions of a Spanish and American colonial history. This historical asymmetry continues to adversely affect Chamorros in Guam. As for Filipinos, a neocolonial history continues to drive them out of their homeland.

Both Spain and the U.S. have used Guam for their own ends and both have made inroads into Chamorro society to the point where the Chamorro language is the dominant feature of the culture that still remains. The Philippines, on the other hand, was ruled by Spain for centuries and by the United States for decades. However, neither Spain nor the U.S. was able to improve the lot of the Filipino people who have been leaving their homeland for decades and who are still migrating to other lands in pursuit of better economic opportunities. The point to be made here is that in addition to ancient ties in location of origin, language, and material culture, Chamorros and Filipinos share an asymmetrical solidarity in their struggles for dignity and human freedom to maintain their respective identities in the face of Euro-American encroachment.

Summary and conclusion

The ancient Chamorros were seafarers and traders who migrated from Southeast Asia to the Pacific. After settling in the Marianas, their first contact with westerners was in the sixteenth

century. There were approximately 30,000 Chamorros in 1668 but warfare and diseases decimated this population to the point where fewer than 1,400 Chamorros existed in 1786. Through the centuries, Caucasians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, and others have been assimilated into a neocolonial Chamorro society. Although immigrants have been absorbed into this society, the Chamorros have been able to maintain their language, some of their customs, and identity. The Filipinos first settled in Guam in 1638. Throughout Guam's history, they continued to migrate to Guam as soldiers, catechists, and servants and in recent decades, as doctors, nurses, teachers, other professionals, and laborers. Guam's Filipino population is a heterogeneous group whose members differ in terms of place of origin, cultural backgrounds, occupation, interests, and arrival times in Guam. Accordingly, it is inappropriate to refer to "*a*" or "*the*" Filipino community of Guam.

The Chamorros and Filipinos share many things in common. Both are descendants of seafarers and traders from Southeast Asia and speak languages that have a common origin. Also, both Guam and the Philippines have been ruled as colonies by both the Spaniards and the Americans and both were occupied by the Japanese during the Second World War. Although the Chamorros and Filipinos have many things in common, the asymmetry in the unequal way in which they have been allowed to exist under the conditions of Spanish and American colonial history continues to undermine the relations between the two groups. Recognition of this asymmetry will lead to mutual respect and only then the thorny relations between the Chamorros and Filipinos may be improved.

References

Diaz, V. M. (1995). Bye bye Ms. American pie: The historical relations between Chamorros and Filipinos and the American dream, *ISLA: A Journal of Micronesian Studies, 3* (1), 147-160.

Forbes, E. (2000, March 17). *Origin, meaning and history of family names in the Marianas*. Paper presented at the Micronesian Area Research Center Lecture Series, University of Guam.

Limtiaco, S. (2000, February 9). Population 154,805. *Pacific Daily News*.

Rogers, R. F. (1995). *Destiny's landfall.* Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Publishing House.

Souder, L.T. (1992). *Daughters of the island: Contemporary Chamorro woman organizers on Guam.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America; Guam: Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam (co-published).

Stade, R. (1998). *Pacific passages: World culture and local politics in Guam.* Stockholm: Gotab.

Underwood, J.H. (1976). The native origins of the Neo-Chamorros of the Mariana Islands. *Micronesica, 12*(2), 203-209.